

Foreword

In July 2007 I bought the magazine "India Today" because of the free special named: "Woman making a difference". When I opened the magazine at home I was astonished about the headers; "women who make yoga cool, cease fire: why smoking is no longer a fashion statement, after hours; you've made the money, now here's how to spend it". This describes women making a difference, I wondered? In the Statesman, a newspaper from the same month (10/07/07), my attention was drawn to an article with the header: "Patient raped, woman molested; "a 17 year old patient (female) was raped in the operation theatre before a surgery, which later turned fatal for the patient and another 28 year old women was molested by a hospital staff". A bit further I could read the marriage advertisement how to find a spouse through an arranged marriage. The situation of women in India is complex and there is still so much to be done.

It shows the topicality of the subject of my thesis. Women empowerment in India; narrowed down to a project called Mukhtangan, where women from the local community get a chance to be higher educated and to practice a profession. With these women I have conducted my research about their level of empowerment.

There has not been one single moment during my research or writing my thesis that I did not enjoy working on it. My biggest hampering was my work for the Non Governmental Organization called Atma Mumbai, started by an Australian friend and myself in November 2005, while we were living in India. Atma Mumbai unexpectedly grew very rapidly and to combine heading an organization and finishing off my thesis has been a real challenge. But I'm happy to say that a passion for both is the result and I finally may present this thesis to you. My sincere thanks go to all these people who have supported me throughout this journey. My family who encouraged me throughout my stay in India and my friends, from who some even came to visit me in India and above all my professor, Ms. Dijkstra, who patiently waited for my thesis, a chapter at a time, with long gaps in between and who gave me valuable insights in the world of women empowerment and assisted me in pointing out some key correlations and books to study. I would also like to thank Mr. van Nispen for being the second reader of this thesis. Many special thanks go to the organization Mukhtangan and their teachers, who filled in the long questionnaires so honestly and were willing to share bits of their lives with me. Many thanks go to Liz and Sunil for giving me the trust to work on this topic within their organization, which has been studied for the very first time at an academic level. I truly hope that this research will improve and continue the work Mukhtangan does and that this thesis about women empowerment may be a support and inspiration for future exploration and application within the academic world and elsewhere. It certainly has inspired me to continue in this field.

Adrienne van Dok

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Foreword

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

I was working in a team of seven young people in India, Mumbai. All had enjoyed a good education and came from well to do families. There were four men and three women, from whom the latter I was one. During one of our meetings the chairman, a male, said he wanted tea. Coming from the Netherlands my first thought was; "go and get it yourself". To my surprise one of my female team members instantly got up and without questioning went to make tea, returning minutes later while the meeting continued.

This small experience opened my eyes to the world of gender. I started to observe interaction between male and female and began to ask questions to my colleagues about their vision on the relationship between men and women. I wanted to know more about this topic. Especially when our team expanded from 7 to 57 people from 29 different countries and I more and more realized that the experience I witnessed was not just culturally related.

Months later, while I was working with a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) called Mukhtangan ('Mukt': free and 'angan': traditionally the courtyard of a home) an opportunity appeared to get profound insight into this field.

In January 2007 Mukhtangan comprised three schools for economic underprivileged children in Mumbai and was set up in 2003 for the communities around the mill complex of Worli and the slum community Prabhadevi; the old textile area in Mumbai. The textile business died in the eighties, leaving thousands of people without jobs. This resulted in the longest strike (1982-1983) within the Industrial history of India. The strike brought the former laborers only a place in the Guinness Book of records (Rob Vreeken, 2006: 228) and many had to find new ways of income.

Mukhtangan is an initiative of the Paragon Charitable Trust, a Trust born out of the former Textile business from Paragon. After closing most of their factories, the director, Sir Sunil Mehta and Trustee, Mrs. Liz Mehta went into the communities where their former employees lived, telling them this Trust was once started for their benefits. Mr. and Mrs. Mehta asked them what they would prefer to happen with the money available in the Trust. The answer was clear: an English Medium School for their children, as they deserve a better life and future. As Liz Mehta had been working in education in India for more than 35 years, she put her experience and gained knowledge into practice and Mukhtangan was born.

Mukhtangan is a community-based teacher model that seeks to train teachers from within the community and use these trained teachers to educate the

children of that same community. The teachers are all women with an education up to 10th standard¹.

In December there were 53 women active as teacher and 21 trainees, from which one was a man. In January 2007 Mukhtangan existed out of three schools, providing education to 428 children with a teacher -student ratio of 1:15. The most recent development is that Mukhtangan has been asked by the BMC to start work at six other BMC school with the Mukhtangan teaching method. Mukhtangan works according to the teaching method designed by Mrs. Mehta and is unique in India. The education is child centered, non-hierarchical and the development of the children is being tracked by observation of the teachers. Attention is also paid to their health, educating the parents and providing a nutrition snack every day.

The training program also designed by Mrs. Mehta and housed inside the school involves learning while doing. The teachers are trained in arts, English language, science and mathematics. The children daily plan a set of their own activities, which encourages their learning experience. The teachers guide these children through this planning and observe their progress, which they share with other teachers and the staff in the review meetings. After a training period of six months the trainees take over all the classes from the teachers for a period of three months. This enables these teachers to return to the training program and get trained to be able to teach in the next standard for the year to come. The teachers who conduct the training course are certified teachers and the English teaching is often taken care of by a foreign native English speaker with teaching experience.

Unique to Mukhtangan is their cooperation with the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC). This corporation is in charge of founding and managing public schools in Mumbai. The BMC has given Mukhtangan classrooms in one of their school buildings; accepting the fact that the BMC schools face a high drop out rate due to the high teacher-student ratio: mostly one teacher towards 60 children. The website of Mukhtangan (www.mukhtanganedu.org) has the following to say about BMC schools: "The children are forced into a dis-empowering unthinking acceptance, discipline and obedience. The negative effects of such a top-down educational system are further compounded by lack of parental guidance and absence of an environment that encourages and supports questioning or innate thinking habits."

Opposite to the judgment about the BMC schools is their mission statement: "To create an educational model consisting of hands-on 'teacher training' that is fully integrated into community based schools, with child-centered learning as the guiding force." With hands on 'teacher training' they mean the training takes place in the same building as the school and can straight away put their theory into practice. With "fully integrated into community based schools", they mean that the teachers are drawn from the same community as the children. Therefore they understand their social and economic

¹ The Indian school system starts with first standard from the age of 6 up to 12th standard.

background and are able to address them in their mother tongue when needed.

Fact is that the results of Mukhtangan have been outstanding. Every year the children attending BMC schools have to make a three hour exam in order to test their knowledge. These results are compared with the results of all public schools in Mumbai. Even though the Mukhtangan children are not used to making exams, their results were above average. And exam results are not the only factor that proves their success:

- As opposed to the official Indian schools drop-out rate of 33%, Mukhtangan students have left only in a few cases due to migration.
- In the annual exams of April 2005, conducted by the BMC in their 54 English-medium Primary Schools in Mumbai, four of the top six students came from Mukhtangan.
- In the same exams in April 2006, 92% of the Mukhtangan children scored above 70%.
- Parents are Mukhtangan strongest advocates. Attendance at monthly two hours long Parent-Teacher Meetings stands at above 90%.

Mukhtangan seems to be a very successful school and it is not surprising that other educational organizations have approached Mukhtangan to participate in their teacher training course. But next to their education practices they promote themselves as an organization that changes the lives of many young women. On their website they state it as following:

"The women who join the training course and stay on as teachers, find respect and dignity in their community, discover a career where they are contributing meaningfully to the next generation, and helping their families and communities move towards a better life." During one of the conversations I had with the director she told me that these women have been empowered by Mukhtangan.

At the first hand it truly looks like these women have undergone a tremendous change, but I was wondering what happened to those women back in their homes and their community. Are their male family members truly happy that they have a job, are they allowed to keep the money they earn? I could not simply accept this empowerment value-faced and that is how this research begun.

However, it is important to realize that the empowerment of these community women is not the main goal of Mukhtangan and neither is it part of their mission statement, but as the school has expanded their tasks to community development, empowering the women becomes more and more an issue they face. This explains the title of this thesis: the teachers of Mukhtangan, as this is my research group and the study is about their women empowerment.

1.2 Purpose of the research

The anecdote, described in the previous paragraph was my first incentive to know more about this topic. As all science starts with questioning, that was exactly what I did: asking people about their experiences, observing the team I was working with and reading research papers about the development of women in India. I realized I had to be aware of the fact that being a woman myself and seeing my female Indian friends struggle with their sex and role in society, gave me a strong feeling of injustice and inequity. This could affect my objectivity in my research; hence attention had to be paid while conducting the research.

The purpose of this research reaches further than satisfying a burning question and sense of injustice. While living in India a friend and I started our own NGO, Atma Mumbai. Atma Mumbai (soul of Mumbai in Hindi) supports local NGOs working in the field of children and education. The goal is to help them to overcome their practical and strategic problems and to work towards sustainability and independence of their existence. One of the projects we support is Muktangana who wishes to become a replicable model for other schools and community projects, paying attention to the role of women. Through this research I hope to give them insight in empowerment and provide them with useful recommendations and tools for future use. Next to that I wish to obtain my academic degree by conducting this research.

The social relevance of this thesis is to reduce the subordination of women in India. The academic relevance of this research is to increase insight and knowledge in the concept of women empowerment within the context of Mumbai, India, through empirical research. I hope to contribute to the body of knowledge of public administration by providing insight in a grassroots Non Governmental Organization (NGO), who plays a role in the public domain by providing education to hundreds of economically less developed children, giving women an education and a job and taking over work that was traditionally done by the Mumbai government. NGOs are an important actor within the public domain; they often operate at a grass root level and therefore have insight in the problems populations face and work towards solving these problems, citizen involvement and solidarity. The European Union also states the importance of NGOs on this point: "It recognizes the important contribution made by voluntary service activities to developing social solidarity" (<http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/index.htm>). Governments and NGOs should complement each other in the functioning of society; hence insight in the results of an empirical study about women empowerment should help both NGOs and Governments to develop accurate policies which would address the problem of the subordination of women in Mumbai, India.

1.3 Research question

Women empowerment first came onto the international political agenda in the seventies with the United Nations' Decade for Women (1976-1985). This first wave of official feminism sought to make 'women' visible as a category in development research and policy. The conviction was that the contribution women made economically was to be seen by policy planners and makers. They were an untapped resource who could provide an economic contribution to development. If the planners and policymakers would see this potential, the women would no longer be marginalized in the development process and become visible. This wave became known as the WID (Women in Development)².

It turned out that women were indeed more recognized in planning, textbooks, conferences and several governments set up a 'women's desk', but often this was more of a symbolic recognition than an actual change in approach. A next wave argued that this was due to WID looking at women in isolation, instead of looking at their relationships through which inequalities would surface. The implication was that the problem- and hence the solution-concerned only women, as Kabeer points out in her book *Reversed Realities* (1994). What was needed was to look at gender relations as the key analysis in development.

This approach, called the GAD (Gender and Development), aims not only to look within the domestic domain of families and households, but looks at male power and privileges being institutionalized. GAD was influenced by writers such as Oakly (1972) and Rubin (1975), stated in Caroline Moser's book, *Gender and Development* (1993:3). "They were concerned about the manner in which the problems of women were perceived in terms of their *sex*- namely, their biological differences from men- rather than in terms of their *gender*- that is, the social relationship between men and women, in which women have been systematically subordinated."

Men and women not only play different roles in society and family, with distinct levels of control over resources. They also have different needs. For gender analysis it is the distinction made by Molyneux (1981) between strategic and practical gender needs that is relevant in order to judge whether empowerment has taken place.

Practical gender needs can be described as: "the needs women identify in their socially acceptable roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labor or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living

² WID was first used by the Women's Committee of the Washington, DC, Chapter of Society for International Development, a network of female development professionals who were influenced by the work on Third World development undertaken by Ester Boserup and other 'new' anthropologist (Moser, 1993:2).

conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment (Moser, 1993:40).”

Strategic gender needs are described as following: “the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labor, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women’s control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women’s subordinate position (Moser, 1993: 39).”

To examine the empowerment of the Muktangan teachers I have chosen to use the GAD approach at a micro level, because looking at women in isolation would be only half of the story. For example through the WID approach a women receiving an income would seem empowered, as they earn a wage and contribute economically, but by using GAD I am forced to look beyond this and ask questions such as: do these women have a free choice where their wage is spent on? I will also research if practical and strategic gender needs are met and to what extent. Therefore I have developed the following research question:

To what extent are the teachers from Muktangan empowered in their gender role by their profession as teachers?

Empowerment is an abstract concept that I have translated into five different variables, which will be explained in the following chapter. However, an overall way of explaining empowerment is to lift women from the subordination of men. Gender is defined as the social relationship between men and women.

In this research I will measure if Muktangan plays an important role in the advancement of women empowerment for these teachers. To do this I will compare the outcome of the questionnaires with the teachers who have been working in Muktangan for less than a year and those who have been working there for a longer period. In chapter four will be explained which steps I have taken to seek this answer.

A variable, simply defined is a concept that varies (Lawrence Neuman, 2000:126). From the research outcome of these variables I can conclude if practical and strategic gender needs are met and if empowerment has taken place. I came to these variables through extensive reading. The first document was of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. Goal number three is to promote gender equality and empower women; the variables they use are employment of women, enrolment of the girl child into primary school and the political role women play (The Millennium Development Goals Report 2007, 2007:8). Personally I thought these are rather limited, as they do not even touch upon autonomy of the body. But it

was a good start in order to create a list of variables researchers used for women empowerment. Further reading increased the list of topics related to women empowerment. Especially the work of Caroline O.N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development* (1993) and the work of Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities* (1994) mention various variables that explain empowerment, such as legal rights, domestic violence and equal wages. Articles also mention the labor position of women, discrimination against women, choice and age of marriage, choice over the number of children one would want to have, being allowed to have a job outside the house, to be part of decision-making and so on. The more I read the more repetitive these features became and the more insight I gained into what were variables and their defining indicators. The reason why I choose for these five variables is because it separates the body, the household women are part of, the community they live in and addresses two important other factors; health and education of women. Due to this separation I can get a better insight into the situation the women are in and try to look at it from different angles, hence not only economically, such as their position in the labor market, but also socially, like what is their bargaining position. The reading I have done is summarized in the following chapter and will show the relation of these variables with the concept of women empowerment and how this concept is made operational into different indicators. Finding an answer to the research question and sub questions will be addressed in chapter four.

The five variables are the following:

- Autonomy of the body
- Autonomy in the household
- Autonomy outside the household
- Health
- Education

These variables are translated into different indicators, who themselves are turned into questions in the questionnaire. As I examine the relationship between women and men, I will not only survey the women working at Muktangan, but will also question their male family members.

The research sub questions can be directly derived from these variables. Autonomy of the body focuses on choices women have about their own lives. Can she choose her own partner or the number of children she would like to have? Is she allowed to use birth control methods? These are all aspects that are part of the variable autonomy of the body, which results in the following research sub question:

| |
|--|
| 1) Do the teachers of Muktangan have autonomy of their body? |
|--|

Autonomy in the household is about the influence they have on decision making concerning issues within the household, such as purchases,

education of the children and how are the household chores divided within the family. This would lead to the following research sub question:

2) Do the teachers of Mukatangan have autonomy within the household?

Autonomy outside the household refers to the community life the family is involved in. Are other activities than work undertaken by the family? Are the men and women involved in community work? The research sub question reads as follow:

3) Do the teachers of Mukatangan have autonomy outside the household?

Health of the women is also an important feature, it is a so called impact variable. This means that the health situation of the women can be the impact from another variable. For example research points out that woman often fulfill a triple role, explained as a productive, reproductive and community role. The productive role refers to the paid work that is being done by the women, the reproductive work refers to household chores and mending of family members, while the community role refers to activities they often take up for the benefits of the community they live in. This triple role often results in less sleeping hours than their male family members. Research in a rural part of India has also shown that women often eat last within their family and that food preference is given to boys over girls. Another aspect is that women will less often attend a doctor, than their husband or male family members, if medical attention is needed (Tisdell, International Journal of Social Economics, volume 29, number 9, 2002:712). Another effect can be that the autonomy of the body is violated by physical abuse or high number of child bearing. This results in the following research sub question:

4) What is the health situation of the teachers at Mukatangan?

The last variable is education and is a more underlying variable. Being educated can greatly influence a women's life, either in a positive or negative way. Through education people learn about their rights and duties. Education gives a chance for a (better) job and one can become economically more independent. Education has also shown to reduce the fertility of women (Moser, 1993:61) and their personal hygiene and nutrition levels. However, women who are highly educated can be seen as a threat to men, making life more difficult. And when charges for education go up girls are taken out of the schools first (Moser; 1993:73), because investing in their education is seen as a loss, as the women once married will join the family of her in-laws.

5) What role does education play for the teachers of Mukhtangan?

To framework this research I have excessively used the work of Caroline O.N. Moser, *Gender Planning and Development* (1993). In this book she urges for gender planning as a new tradition, whose goal is to ensure that women, through empowering themselves, achieve equality and equity to men in developing societies. Another key work for this research is the work of Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities* (1994). Naila Kabeer traces the emergence of 'women' as a specific category in development thought and examines alternative frameworks for analyzing gender hierarchies. She identifies the household as a primary site for construction of power relations and compares the extent to which gender inequalities are revealed in different approaches to the concept of the family unit.

1.4 Research set up

This research is qualitative, but follows a linear path as theory plays an important role. This means that I will first translate the concept empowerment into variables derived from theory and then make them operational into indicators, after which I will measure them empirically through a questionnaire. The strategy is a case study and the method used is questionnaires. The results will be analyzed with the existing theories about women empowerment by Caroline Moser and Naila Kabeer and other writings about the variables and will be processed in SPSS 14.01. The advantage of using questionnaires is that I will be able to reach more than half of the research population and questionnaires will also reduce the problem of socially acceptable answers, as the teachers and their male family members will be able to fill in the questions anonymously.

The next chapter will describe the city of Mumbai. As this is a case study it is very important to understand the historical and spatial context and the social relations within the city of Mumbai. Therefore the next chapter will tell more about the different aspects of this city.

In the following chapter I will set aside the ideas from Caroline N. Moser, Naila Kabeer and other writers and use it as the theoretical framework for this research, answering the question what is empowerment? In chapter four I will share with you the methodology I have used and will guide you through each step of this research, explaining why I have chosen for a particular method and how I ensure validity and reliability. In this chapter I will explain how I will answer the question if Mukhtangan advances empowerment of the women who they train and provide jobs.

This will be followed by the more general research results to give an overview of the research population. Chapter six will provide the analysis of the research, answering the sub research questions and addressing the different indicators. The conclusion will follow in a separate chapter,

explaining to what extent the Muktangan teachers are empowered. The scope for improvement can be read in the final chapter with the recommendations. In the end the bibliography and the appendix can be found.

2 THE CITY MUMBAI

Gender divisions are set in contexts that are always spatially and temporally specific. In order to read this research in the right context this chapter is aimed at providing insight within the history, the infrastructure, governance, economy and the culture of Mumbai city.

The original inhabitants of the area belonged to the Koli fishermen, who lived on several of the small islands in the Arabian Sea and who even today occupy some of the beaches in the city in order to house their boats and shacks. With the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century it was founded as a trading city and given the name "Bom Bahia", which means good bay, later referred to as Bombay. As part of a wedding gift one century later, it was given to Charles II and the Portuguese Catharina from Braganza and became part of the British Empire, who allowed the East India Company to exploit the area. With the British rule through the East India Company came freedom of religion and movement within the city, instead of the Portuguese feudal and religious policies. In 1858 the East India Company handed over the governance of the city to the British crown, while Bombay flourished as a free port. This was especially the case after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which cut travel time to the Empire in half. The Portuguese had start building forts and warehouses on the most southern islands and halfway through the 19th century the urbanization grew rapidly. The old fort area (still carrying that name today) became the center of a dense urban area. Through time the different islands grew together through reclaiming land and bridges and became the long shaped peninsula it is today. Bombay became the gateway to India, supplanting Calcutta as the richest city in the Indian Empire. Bombay's earmark today is the Gateway of India, beautifully described by Suketu Mehta in his book *Maximum city* (2004:16): "a domed arch of yellow basalt surrounded by four turrets, was built in Bombay in 1927 to commemorate the arrival, sixteen years earlier, of the British king, George V, instead, it marked his permanent exit. In 1947, The British left their Empire under the same arch, the last of their troops marching mournfully onto the last of their ships."

After independence immigrants kept on coming to Bombay in search for jobs and a better way of life. The size of the city expanded to the north, while business - hence jobs - remained in the south. This is still true today and puts an enormous pressure on the local infrastructure of roads and the railway track which are shaped in a Y shape, making it worse for the traffic to go in and out. From the 15 million trips that are made on a daily basis through the city, 52 % take the train, 36 % the buss, 8% a cab or rickshaw³ and 4% goes by car. Nowhere in the world is public transport as busy as in Bombay, trains have a capacity of maximum 1750 passengers, but carry 4500 in rush hour. In the morning between nine and eleven there are 1.2 million people on the trains. In rush hour the train holds 16 people per

³ A rickshaw is three wheeled motorcycle covered and with a double seat in the back used as hired transport.

square meter, 25 by 25 centimeter per person (Vreeken, 2006:97,102). The trains have separate ladies compartments (the "ladies only", 2 out of 12 carriers) for safety and convenience, as it is better to stand so close to another woman than a man if the larger part of your body is touching at least four different human beings, telling from personal experience. Bombay is to be said the most liberal and emancipated city for women. Nowhere else in the country do women hold such high positions in their jobs, which means they use the public transport, hence the existence of the ladies compartments and a special ladies train that runs four times a day. The train is by far the fastest way to travel in Bombay, as the roads are completely cramped with cars. According to Vreeken (2006:101) there is no other city in the world which has such a high car density; 700 cars by square kilometer and everyday another 180 to 200 cars are added to the roads, as the middle class is growing rapidly. The busses are stuck in the same traffic and forced to go on an average speed of 10 kilometers an hour. Therefore Mukhtangan has the great advantage of being in the middle of the community, reducing the travel time for the teachers, which a few respondents also pointed out as an advantage.

While the majority of the people use the public transport the government still chooses to invest in roads. The reason? Many people say corruption; the construction companies have the money and the politicians need it to buy their votes, so they ask the companies for money, returning them the favor of construction assignments once they're in power. This resulted in a plan of building 55 fly-overs in the city, while research pointed out that only 19 were needed.

But there is another reason: on the side of the train tracks thousands of pavement dwellers have built shanty houses. By building another railway track all these families should be found replacement housing, in a city where land is a scarce resource, which is a big disincentive to improve the public transport by rail. Another issue is that the railway company belongs to the Government in Delhi, who receives the profits, but spends it elsewhere in the country.

Bombay is said to be the melting pot of India, people come from all over, a majority through chain immigration. Every day a few hundred people arrive in the city with the goal to stay and build an existence. In this melting pot Brahmans⁴ are forced to live next to outcasts, Hindus next to Muslims and they all have to adjust in the little space available. This mix of cultures can also be seen at the Mukhtangan schools, where teachers have various backgrounds and speak many different languages.

Contradictory to this stream of immigrants was the rise in the seventies of the Hindu nationalist political party, Shiv Sena, named after a 17th century Maharashtrian warrior King. Shiv Sena promotes Bombay to be only for the Maharashtrians, one of the 28 federal states of India in which Bombay is

⁴ There are five different levels of the system, the so called "varnas": Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra, and Harijans. Within each of these categories are the actual castes or "jatis" within which people are born, marry and die.

situated. The leader behind this initiative is Bal Thackeray, also responsible for the waves of violence which struck the city in 1992 and 1993, after Hindus in Ayodhya in the north of India destroyed a mosque believing it was built over the birthplace of the God Rama. For most people the violence in Bombay between Hindus and Muslims came as a surprise and it took five years for the independent ShriKrishna commission to prove that the Shiv Sena was behind the violence. A quote from the report reads:

"The Shiv Sena pramulh⁵ Bal Thackeray, like a veteran general, commanded his loyal Shiv Sainiks to retaliate by organized attacks against Muslims... The attacks on Muslims by the Shiv Sainiks were mounted with military precision, with list of establishments and voter's list in hand." After the riots, 240 NGOs united to put the city back together. Human chains of citizens were formed, stretching across the city, to demonstrate unity. Groups called Mohalla Ekta Committees were formed to bring together Hindus, Muslims, and the police, to identify fistfights before they could escalate into riots (Mehta, 2004:46)." Even today during religious days of either religion the police will have a stronger security and some people speak of this incident as the scar of Bombay. But while the report was being drawn up the Shiv Sena came into power in 1995 by forming a coalition with the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) in Maharashtra state and not surprisingly the Shiv Sena officially rejected the report. Many people say that the two things the Shiv Sena achieved during their ruling era is wasting public money, which was proven by an independent committee (Brunt, 2002:149) and changing the name Bombay into Mumbai; the original name from the Koli fisherman. But as protest by the immigrants who call Mumbai home they keep on using Bombay in speaking language.

But even today the Shiv Sena, who controlled the city for years through taporis: the streetpunks, the bhais: the dons and the neta: the politicians, have kept part of their power in the Bombay Municipal Corporation with 84 seats out of 227.

One can ask how it is possible that one man in such a large city can gain so much power. The answer lies in politics and the increasing entanglement between politics and criminality (Brunt, 2002:148), resulting in increased corruption in the local government. The political model of Mumbai derives from the British council law dating from 1888 and has not changed much. The council is officially the highest governing body. It has the right to choose a mayor among their midst, who can sit for one year, with the option for extension, but the council is said to be no more than a discussion group. The council has 227 seats, from which there are 124 reserved for tribal, outcast, lower cast and women. However, the constitutionally granted rights had not led to active involvement of women in politics. Through the amendment of article 74 of the Constitution of India in 1992 the inequalities within the political representation were aimed to be balanced. Section 243T-3 reads as follows: "Not less than one third of the total number of seats to be filled by

⁵ Pramulh can be translated as leader or someone who is given a lot of respect.

direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality” (Holzner and de Wit, 2003:5). This amendment has resulted that indeed today itself up to 30% of the seats in the council in Mumbai are taken by women, compared to 8,3%⁶ on a national level (MDG, 2006: 39). But to speak of some kind of revolution would be too enthusiastic, as Holzner and de Wit (2003) point out. They speak of the heavy odds women face in order to make their voices heard in the council, the difficulties they have with balancing the role as councilor, housewife and mother and they mention the phenomenon of so called “proxy women”, where the husband or brother convinces his wife or sister to stand for election, becoming the director of her election and the real power behind the seat.

The real power of the local government lies with the Municipal Commissioner, who is supported by two adjunct commissioners and 9 other assistant commissioners. He is appointed by the federal state and has far reaching authority. As he is not a chosen figure and has personal budget authority, he does not have to be accountable to the council. This diminishes any type of democratic control.

Another powerful figure within Mumbai is the Chief Minister (CM), the premier from the federal state. But here another problem arises: votes. The CM’s supporters are mainly agrarians from the plains of Maharashtra. It is a huge risk as CM to get too involved into Mumbai, as he might not get reelected. Next to that the ruling party in the federal state the Congress party is opposite the ruling party in Bombay. With the increasing corruption and entanglement between the crime and politics people have lost trust in the political system, which results in low voting participation.

Mumbai is the third biggest city in the world in terms of population. 18,5 million people living on a stretch from south to north; about the distance in length Rotterdam – Amsterdam and in width Zandvoort - Amsterdam (Vreeken, 2006:13). No where in the world does a city have so little square meter living space per person available. Nearly 60% of the population of Mumbai lives in slums and Mumbai is home to the largest slum in Asia; Dharavi a triangular piece of swamped land tucked away between a creek and the railway track. Approximately 1 million people live in this triangle from 1600 by 1700 by 1800 meter. The swamped land was filled with waste, on top of which all those people live nowadays (Vreeken, 2006:43).

But at the same time Mumbai is the richest and most productive city of India, taking care of 40% of the export from India, 10 % of industrial jobs and one third of all income tax in India. Mumbai made the step to the tertiary sector, the service economy and has a rapidly expanding middle class. The cities economy is segmented; there is a relative small formal sector and a large informal sector, adding to the buzzing sight of the city with stalls and street vendors on every pavement. On a national level the division of sectors shows the following (estimate of 2003): agriculture 60%, industry 12%, and

⁶ Please note that in this thesis American English spelling is used, but that with numbers the European way of commas and dots is used.

services 28%. The unemployment rate in India is 7,8% (2006 estimate) and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is 3800 dollars. (CIA factbook, 2007).

Mehrota describes Mumbai as two cities; the static city with skyscrapers and other buildings and the kinetic city that has the character of a bazaar. In a lot of ways these worlds differ, but are still closely tight together, as the slum dwellers from the kinetic city provide many services to the rich, such as maids, drivers, watchmen, rag pickers etc. But Brunt in his book: "Een maniakale stad" (2002:77) does not agree with this and prefers to look at Mumbai as one space with many worlds.

From the beginning of the city there was a Bombay culture unique in India (Mehta, 2004:15). According to city historian Sharada Dwivedi, referred to in Rob Vreeken's book "Bombay Hyperstad" (2006:22), Mumbai has always been home to a mix of cultures, which would live together in a cosmopolitan spirit. It's not important where you come from or how much money you make. Bombay is a city of dreams with opportunities for everyone. This image encourages the pull factor for many people from the countryside to earn money or at least try to find a job and become a Bombayite, citizen of Bombay. Even though the city is host to many different backgrounds many marriages tend to stay within their background, as arranged marriages are still the most common form of marital ties and tend to happen within their own kin. A census of 2001 by the United Nations states that mean age at marriage is 18.8 for females and 23.5 for male. The divorce rate in India is amongst the lowest in the world 11 marriages out of 1000 end in divorce (<http://www.divorcerate.org/divorce-rate-in-india.html>). In Mumbai this is expected to be slightly higher due to the cosmopolitan character of the city and the higher education level compared to rural areas.

The pressure of people, transport and a lack of infrastructure such as electricity and water could add to this sense of unity; it surely creates creativity and a spirit of innovation and above all a way of adjustment. But it also creates an environment of tension. When accidents occur a riot is likely to break out within seconds after the incident and violence at home is a common problem. Hard data is missing but government officials say that 70% of women in India between the age of 15 and 49 are victims of rape, beating or coerced sex.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6086334.stm). Another problem concerning women in India is the so called missing women. In Asia alone 90 million women are missing due to selective abortions, girl child killing and neglect and resulting in uneven sex ratios. In India the sex ratio is out of balance; currently 111 boys are born towards a 100 girls (Zwartboek, 2007:39). There is a significant difference in the rural-urban life expectancies of both males and females. In the cities access to health care and sanitation is much better. There is also a much larger group of educated women in the cities, which results in better knowledge about hygiene and health and often education helps to discuss certain issues concerning health or fertility more openly.

The total population of India is 1.129.866.154 (estimate July 2007), with the following age structure: 0-14 years: 31,8% (male 188.208.196 to 171.356024 female), 15-64 years: 63,1% (male 366.977.821 to 346.034.565 female) and 65 years and over: 5,1% (male 27.258.259 towards female 30.031.289). The life expectancy at birth for the total population is 68,59 years and for male:66,28 years and for women: 71,17 years. The population growth rate is: 1,606%. (CIA factbook, 2007).

Bombay is a city that never sleeps with people working hard to improve their conditions. Education forms an important aspect in order to improve living conditions. Goal number two from the Millennium Development Goals is "achieve universal primary education". The enrolment in the primary level is up to 92,2%. The percentage pupils who reach grade one is: 78,9%. A positive trend can be seen at a national level with the girl child's enrolment to school. In the United Nations Human Development report from 2006 it says that female as percentage male is 86.9% in primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio. Literate women in India contain 47.8% of the female population opposite the male literacy which is 73.4% in India (CIA factbook, 2007). Beneath a map of Mumbai, showing the shape of the city and where Muktangan is situated.

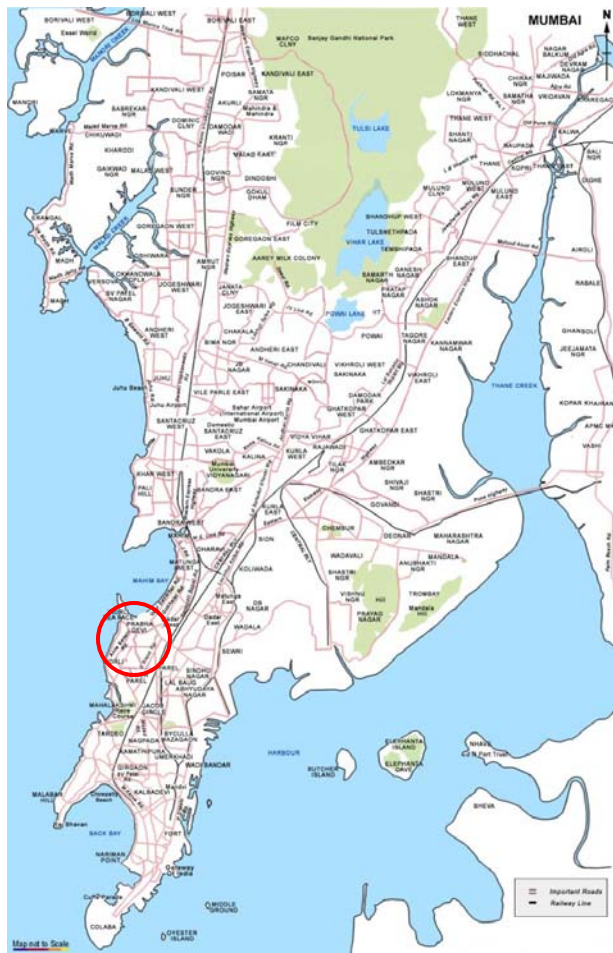


Figure 6: source: <http://www.properties.in/images/mumbai.JPG>

3 WHAT IS WOMEN EMPOWERMENT?

Halfway last century women became a topic on the development agenda and different approaches about women's development began to play a role. It started with the focus on women as a vulnerable group, articulated in the welfare approach up to the more recent empowerment approach, where self-reliance and power distribution within societies are the key focus. Interesting is that these shifts in focus happened parallel to general trends in Third World development policies.

This chapter will explain the different approaches women's development went through, towards the background of the Third World development policies. This will give valuable insights into the concept empowerment and how I came to choose the five variables mentioned in the introduction in order to explain and measure the concept empowerment. The approaches are described chronologically, but this is an oversimplification of the real world, because often policies merge into one and other or happen partly simultaneously, such as happened in reality.

In the last five sections of this chapter I will explain each variable according to different theories, making them tangible, through the explanation of the different indicators involved, which in their turn result in the questions in the questionnaire.

3.1 Welfare approach

It started with the welfare approach which was introduced in the 1950s and 1960s. This approach finds its origin in the residual model of social welfare in the colonial times, where the ruling government's first priority was a stable environment in order to let their trade flourish. This meant little attention to social welfare, but a high concern for law and order and a strong conviction that social needs should be satisfied through individual efforts in the market place. Voluntary charity organizations tried to fill the arising gap and the focus of the social welfare ministries became the vulnerable group who could not succeed in their own livelihood. Moser refers in her book (1993:59) to MacPherson and Midgley (1987): "Because of welfare policy's compatibility with the prevailing development paradigms of modernization, it was continued by many post-independence governments." Women became the first to be seen as the vulnerable group. They were looked at in their roles as wives and mothers and as passive beneficiaries of development, resulting in top down aid, such as handouts of food aid, family planning and fighting malnutrition on the one hand and financial aid for economic growth on the other. According to Moser the welfare approach is based on three assumptions:

1. Women are passive recipients of development, instead of participants within the development process.
2. Motherhood is the most important role for women in society.

3. Child-rearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development (Moser, 1993:59).

Throughout the years these programs extended with nutritional education, provided with extra food for the children; placing the women in their roles as mothers. A second development, which started in the seventies, is the role of the women in family planning. They were appointed responsible for limiting the size of the family.

In the seventies criticism arose towards the welfare approach, people were concerned that the programs were negatively affecting women and that modernization theory⁷ would fail. These voices led to the United Nations 1975 International Women's Year Conference and later to the UN decade for women (1976-1985). Overall can be concluded that the "welfare approach" meets the practical gender needs relating to women in their reproductive role, but it does not question the relationship between men and women in their division of labor and therefore does not meet the strategic gender needs, hence empowerment. This approach led to the WID approach.

3.2 Equity approach

The welfare approach was followed by the equity approach, originally the official WID approach (Women In Development). In this approach women are seen as active participants in development as well as in their reproductive role and their productive role; contributing to economic growth. The origins in this way of thinking lie in the errors of that times policy, which Tinker (1976) points out, quoted in Moser (1993:63):

1. "Errors of omission or failure to acknowledge and utilize women's productive role.
2. Errors that reinforced values which restrict women to the household engaged in childbearing and child-rearing activities.
3. Errors of inappropriate application of western values regarding women's work."

Such research stimulated the development of the WID approach, resulting in policy that started to focus on bringing women into the development process through access to employment and the market place. The equity approach is part of the WID.

The equity approach meets the practical gender needs because of employment of women and therefore providing a livelihood, but also strives to reach strategic gender needs by reducing inequality between men and women in the gender division of labor through top down legislative

⁷ Modernization theory is based on accelerated growth strategies based on maximizing GNP.

measures. "It places considerable emphasis on economic independence as synonymous with equity". (Moser, 1993:64).

The equity approach turned out to have more supporters in western countries, opposite to representatives from developing countries, who said during the International Women's Year conference in 1975, to be more concerned with peace and accused the west of capitalism and militarism, which would have led to the underdevelopment. However, the equity approach lacked clear indicators or benchmarks to measure the progress and therefore encountered problems from the outset.

3.3 Anti-poverty approach

This approach is also counted under the WID approach, but as the milder version of the equity approach. Women are still seen as an untapped resource for development and encouraged to increase their productivity. The main difference with the equity approach is that the underdevelopment of many countries is explained by the unproductive role that women have, instead of by the subordination they face. Thus the emphasis of the equity approach is focused on reducing the income inequality between men and women, instead of reducing the overall inequality women face from men. The World Bank was following this approach and in 1972 officially shifted from a preoccupation with economic growth to a broader concern with the eradication of absolute poverty and the promotion of redistribution with growth (Moser, 1993:67).

Underlying the anti-poverty approach is the assumption that women's inequality with men and women's poverty are due to their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital, and to sexual discrimination in the labor market (Moser, 1993:68).

This approach especially found root with NGOs, but remained on a small scale otherwise. It often worked towards increasing women's role in activities traditionally undertaken by women, instead of introducing them to new areas. Next to that there is a lack of understanding the problems women face in their gendered role, such as taking care of children and having a paid job. Critics also said that through running income generating programs for women it gives the wage less importance and is often only seen as secondary or pocket money.

The anti-poverty approach meets the practical gender needs by supplying jobs and income, but does not direct a positive change in the relationship between men and women. Thus strategic gender needs are not met.

3.4 Efficiency approach

The efficiency approach is also counted under the WID approach and gained popularity due to the debt crisis in the eighties. The goal of this approach is to make development more efficient and effective by the participation of women in the labor force. This approach is the final WID approach and became known this way and was also the one referred to in the previous chapter. The approach relies heavily on women to fulfill their triple role; combining paid work, with child bearing and caring and to take up community work. "Women are seen primarily in terms of their capacity to compensate for declining social services by extending their working day." (Moser, 1993:70). The difference with the previously described approach is that the focus is shifted away from women's poverty towards development, believing that through economic participation equity is automatically increased. The potential in the market was not being used. Maguire (1984) who Moser (1993:70) refers to says the following: "The shift from equity to efficiency reflected a specific economic recognition of the fact that 50% of the human resources available for development were being wasted or under-utilized."

The shift from the anti poverty approach towards efficiency happened at the same time as the deterioration in the world economy from the mid seventies onwards. To ease the situation of falling export prices, protectionism and recession, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) together with the World Bank developed economic stabilization and adjustment policies, which were implemented by a number of national governments (Moser, 1993:70). These policies with, two of the main objectives being efficiency and productivity, turned out to be a stabilizing factor for the countries economies and explains for a big part the popularity the WID gained.

But critics also spoke up. They argued that by women's economic participation their conditions did not per se improve. Some even said it got worse, because the policies held a larger role for the women in their aid programs, which were in their unpaid time, assuming a natural flexibility between the triple roles of women. For example when fighting malnutrition, the food subsidies are expected to be managed and distributed by women in their "free time" Critics say that the WID is purely looked at from an economic perspective, hence evaluated that way. But if one would look beyond this, it reveals a serious deterioration in living conditions of low-income populations resulting from a decline in income levels (Moser, 1993:72). Hence this top down efficiency approach would reach practical gender needs only at the expense of less sleeping hours, longer working hours and increased unpaid work. Strategic gender needs are not met.

3.5 Empowerment approach

This approach is articulated by women in Third World countries and derived less from the research of women in the First World (Moser, 1993: 74). Emphasis is laid on the greater self reliance of women and the triple role of women is recognized. Moser (1993:74) describes the approach as follows: "The empowerment approach acknowledges inequalities between men and women, and the origins of women's subordination in the family. But it also emphasizes the fact that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order."

This approach differs from the previous ones, because it strives for women to increase their power, which not necessarily has to be at the loss of men. It strongly believes in the self-reliance and internal strength of women. This should result in decision-making power and being able to influence a direction in life. It strives for legal changes in society, such as law, property rights and self control over women's own bodies. It has a bottom up approach to challenge women's subordination from men and seeks support of women organizations to reach their goals. It utilizes practical gender needs as the basis on which to build a secure support base, and a means through which strategic gender needs may be reached. This approach is part of the Gender And Development (GAD).

3.6 Five variables.

From the different approaches many lessons can be learned. A general conclusion can be that it is important to look at women in relation to men, to understand their triple role and their subordination from men. For this research the empowerment approach is used, as it looks at women in relation to men (GAD) and believes in the self-reliance and internal strength of women and it follows a bottom up approach. Muktangan follows a bottom up approach; they started with a core necessity, English education for underprivileged children. As there was a need for teachers they selected women from the surrounding community and trained them to be teachers. This opportunity changed the women's lives by providing them education and a job. How much they are empowered by Muktangan will be measured in this research.

The five variables chosen for this research are impacted by all the approaches, but mostly by the empowerment approach. Important is the decision making power over her body; does she want children or not, is she physically hurt? It also looks at women within their household and the freedom of decision making they have and how the tasks are divided within the family. The role women play in the community can give insight into their triple role and how this affects the women. Health is an impact variable and can be the result of the other variables. The reason to measure this variable is because being healthy is of huge importance to these women. In India and

especially in Mumbai the population is dense, which increases the competition among people. Every person can be easily replaced by many others; hence to be in good health is of great importance. Education is connected to health and the other variables, thus a more underlying variable. Educated people often have better nutritional levels, marry later in life, have children later and their opinion is often more valued within the family. As Mukhtangan emphasis greatly on education, not only for the children, but also providing daily classes to the teachers, I thought it is important to incorporate this variable. In the following part of this chapter all variables and their indicators will be described in detail and in an Indian context.

3.7 Autonomy of the body

Autonomy of the body exists out of the following indicators: choice of partner and choice of marriage, domestic violence, birth control and the preferred sex of children, the uneven sex ratio in India and the fertility rate. Autonomy of the body means that a woman has a right to choose over her own body. All these indicators imply that, as will be explained in the sub paragraphs.

Choice of partner and marriage

Autonomy of the body is the right for people to make decisions about issues that affect their body. One of the aspects of this autonomy is being able to choose your own life partner and whether to marry or not. Not being married above a certain age is still considered to be very negative for the reputation of a woman in India, opposite to a male, who can marry at any age and faces less stigma when remaining single. By Indian law a woman reaches the marriageable age at 18 and for the men this is 21. India traditionally is a country where child marriage was custom, but after independence this became less common and nowadays it occurs in rural areas, but is less likely to happen in urban areas. Ghosh and Roy (1997) point in their research to the perception that the primary role of women was child-bearing, which is confirmed by the statistics on the percentage of married women who are in their reproductive age group (15-49 years).

For centuries arranged marriages have been common in India and even today most of the marriages are arranged. After marriage the bride is expected to move in with her in-laws of her husband. Nowadays India knows three types of marriages. First: a love marriage where two people on the basis of love decide to get married. This does not automatically mean that both families are satisfied with the choice of their children and many family disputes arouse from this. Second is the love-arranged marriage, where people on the basis of love come together, but having the same background and status are allowed by their families to unite or even hurried into a marriage, as dating a young woman for a long period is seen to be dishonoring to her. Third, is still the most common practice; the arranged marriage where the male family members, with input of the mothers, choose a partner for their child, who sometimes gets to meet the family's choice before he or she might get married and is allowed to express his or her

opinion about the choice of their family. Or they would have never met each other before they unite into a marriage. Divorces in India are legally allowed by the Act of Marriage and Divorce applicable to Hindus of the entire nation since 1954⁸. But the social stigma around divorce is still very strong, which makes many women remain within their unhappy marriage. Research also points out that it is often the husband who seeks divorce or creates a situation that is conducive to marital separation (Singh, 2004:133).

Domestic violence

Another aspect of autonomy of the body is domestic violence. Domestic violence is the most common form of gender based violence and involves physical and mental abuse. Domestic violence is believed to be high in India, but hard data is missing as many women choose not to report to the police or suffer in silence due to the stigma surrounding domestic violence; the underlying belief of their subordination to men that goes back centuries with the old Hindu religion or Islam. The United Nations Population Fund (2005: 68) speaks of 70% of women in India who believe that wife beating is justified for at least one reason, for example: refusing to have sex, preparing dinner late and going out without telling the partner. There is also the question of how much the police can be trusted, which in India differs strongly per state. In Mumbai the police are corrupt (Vreeken, 2006: 76), hence it is questionable what support they will give. And if they would help, the lawsuit that arises out of the charge will become part of the judicial process that has a backlog of 15 to 20 years (Brunt, 2002: 164).

For centuries women in India have been taught to serve their husband; "pativrata", which means sacrifice and master (Mitter, 1991:98). This would take on extreme forms in the practice of "sati"⁹, where the widow would be burned alive with her dead husband, particularly common among the Rajput feudal warlords in Rajasthan. "By the first century A.D, sati began to gain the support of some of the Hindu law codifiers, who described it as an act of great honor. It was generally practiced by the upper castes and reflected the belief that a man's possessions – and his wife was his chief possession – could be sent with him into the next world if they were burned along with him. It was also considered a better alternative for a widow than facing a miserable life of abuse from her in-laws, who frequently blamed her for her husband's death, made her sleep on the floor and kept her isolated from the rest of the family and all social functions. Many widows were beaten, denied food and forced to beg in the streets" (Bumiller, 1990:64).

"Sati" was outlawed by the British in 1829, but Roop Kanwar, an 18 year old widow shocked the nation on September 4th 1987 by committing "sati" in her village in Rajasthan. It has never been clear what really happened, if she was forced or has done this by free will, for she was said to be a very religious girl. But fact is that hundreds of people stood to watch a young woman burn to death and did not do anything to stop her.

⁸ This Act is commonly known as the Hindu Marriage Act 1955 and superseded all the previous Acts that were drawn up in the federal states (Singh, 2004:10).

⁹ Sati is named after the wife of the God Shiva, who burned herself to death when her father refused her husbands attendance to a sacrificial feast.

"Domestic violence is often seen as a private domain in which the state only interferes in special circumstances. Violence is closely linked to unequal family structures and women's economic dependence on men. In addition, social stigma attached to single women frequently forces women to stay married" (Moser, 1993:44). According to Kabeer (1994:149) it is conflict over resource allocation that often sparks off domestic violence. Conflicts over food, property and especially in India dowry: the price that the bride's family pays to the family of her future husband. In India these conflicts often end in so called "bride burning" or "dowry death". The in-laws or the husband pours kerosene over the women's body and lights a match. "The police say the low survival rate helps to make the practice a popular form of murder. Bride burning is also grimly expedient. Guns and knives are expensive, but kerosene exists in every Indian household and rarely leaves a trail of evidence." (Bumiller, 1990:47). Usually the bride burning occurs in the first year of an arranged marriage, after it has become clear that the bride's parents will not meet the demands of the in-laws for more wedding gifts. Narasimhan (1999:26) quotes numbers from the "Perspective of the Indian Women Movements in 1995" who state that 17 women are killed every day for dowry. Dowry originally coexisted with the custom of bride price, where the groom's family would pay a price for the girl to compensate the loss of the family. However, the dowry practice was more common among the upper "varnas" and the bride price among the lower ones. Historians say that the lower "varnas" wanted to copy the higher "varnas" and started to demand dowry as well (Bumiller, 1990:48). Hence it has recently spread to the lower "varnas" (Singh, 2004:40). Dowry is banned by law since 1961 through the Dowry Prohibition Act, but has failed totally, very few cases have been brought to court, even though demanding or giving dowry is a punishable crime (Mitter, 1991:111).

Another ancient practice in India was the "purdah", which meant that women were not allowed to leave the house and were kept inside by their husbands to show off their wealth. This made women completely dependent on men and gave little possibility for another choice in life. Nowadays "purdah" is not very common, but still practiced in certain rural areas and also in urban areas the in-law family would sometimes not want their daughter-in-law to work outside the house. Interesting to note is that demand for seclusion of females does seem to be related to income levels in India, with those on high incomes having a high demand for seclusion of females. (Tisdell, 2002:707). These practices among many others have contributed to the subordination of women in India and the belief that women are to serve their husbands. It often leaves them powerless to control any aspects of their own lives. As Kabeer (1994:149) stated; "Women may have to stay with violent husbands, or accept sexual abuse from their employers, because the alternatives to such behavior are even more bleak".

Birth control

An area where the state does interfere, especially in India, is birth control. India's population is growing rapidly and already passed the billion inhabitants. In the early 1960s India became the first developing country to

set up a Department of Family Planning in the Ministry of Health. The Indian government was and still is afraid that overpopulation would endanger the economic growth and would eat into its natural resources, which led to extensive population control outreach programs. Overpopulation is strongly connected with poverty and many of India's problems can be directed back towards the rapidly increasing population. "The conditions of poverty frequently engender high fertility" (Kabeer, 1994:203), because having children means having a larger productive force and someone to look after you in your old days. India is still a country with 300 million people living under the so called poverty line; living with less than a dollar a day, so action is definitely needed (NRC 17/01/2007).

Women and men became the focus in the population-control programs in the sixties. But as Kabeer (1994:194) points out: "The absence of women's interest in the shaping of population policy has been one of its enduring characteristics across the world. In some contexts, women enter the policy process only as the targeted clients of family-planning services which frequently violate the principles of human rights and reproductive choice." To this, one can add the social and cultural context, which should be taken in account. This did not happen in 1975/76 at the so called vasectomy¹⁰ camps, where police forced eligible men into sterilization, which many village men compared with castration. This brought about such a wave of criticism, internationally as well as nationally, that the government forced down their aggressive methods and after that not much happened around the already sensitive issue of population control in India (the sensitivity of the topic is the reason why India always referred to birth control as family planning).

Until Rajiv Gandhi came into power and launched a revised strategy to promote "a small family is a happy family", which due to the past experiences mainly targeted women, even though the sterilization procedure is much easier to perform on men. Birth control can be looked upon in different dimensions; one would be the social implications of child bearing, as well as its implications for individual women (Kabeer, 1994:202). As the World Bank reports in 1984 quoted in Kabeer: "Birth control is not just a technical and demographic issue; it has a moral and a cultural dimension." Becoming a parent has severe emotional implications due to the deeply personal event, next to that the parents and child will play a role in the community.

However, this cultural and moral dimension is still overlooked in the Indian family planning, due to the strict annual sterilization quotas that local government health workers receive from the central government in Delhi. The sterilization camps that often operate under unhealthy conditions are forced to reach their annual targets, resulting in health workers paying part of their own wage for women to undergo the operation or health workers deliberately forging numbers, stating that women who have been dead for years underwent the operation, or women were listed twice or even older women that already had six children and were not likely to give birth to more

¹⁰ Vasectomy is a surgery where the vas deferens from the male is removed.

underwent the so called laparoscopy¹¹ (Bumiller, 1990:264). It is very difficult for health workers to reach their targets, especially in rural areas where large families provide a helping hand and a secure future, due to a lack of a social welfare system. But the focus on targets often goes beyond the human sentiment involved.

There is also a lack of sufficient information transfer for the women who undergo the treatment, as described an incident in Bumiller's book "May you be the mother of a hundred sons": a woman who underwent the operation asked the doctor to undo it, as one of her two children had died and now she wanted one more. Information on health and nutrition could also reduce the death rate amongst children, but this issue will not be discussed in this paper.

Uneven sex ratio

A more fundamental problem around the population control is the Indian family's desire for sons. Most couples in India prefer to have two sons, one as heir and one spare, who would provide for them once they are old and who could perform the funeral rituals, which is only allowed to be done by the son. This is also influenced by the dowry system, which many poor people can't afford and thus resulting in another phenomenon: the killing of baby girls in rural areas or the sex selective abortions in urban areas. Statistics showed that in 1986 in Mumbai from the 8000 abortions all but one were female fetuses after amniocentesis (sex-determination test) (Mitter, 1995: 115). Feminists in Mumbai replied to this phenomenon with fierce and were able to lobby the state government of Maharashtra to pass a law in 1988 to ban the test for the use of sex-determination. But in reality the control turned out to be very difficult without infringing on a women's right to abortion, which women in India have since 1971 under the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act.

After independence the sex ratio steadily declined. Gosh and Roy write the following about this: "The relatively steady decline of the sex ratio in India for almost 100 years is contrary to the trend in developed countries, and it does seem to give credence to the view that the neglect of women in India is a persistent phenomenon." Reliable statistics to explain the causes of the decline do not exist, but demographers tend to advance a number of hypotheses also mentioned by Gosh and Roy (1997:905):

- "the higher under-enumeration of females in the Indian census because of various social reasons;
- the higher mortality rate of females, particularly during child-bearing ages; and
- the market preference for sons and the consequent neglect of female infants among both Hindus and Muslims."

¹¹ The method of laparoscopy gained popularity because of the speed of the operation, local anesthesia and only 24 hours of rest, making it possible for the women to start work soon.

Added to this list can be the sex-selective abortions, as described above. Currently the sex ratio is: 111 boys towards a 100 girls, whereas in countries without preference the biological sex ratio is 105 boys towards 100 girls (Zwartboek, 2007:39).

Gosh and Roy mention that there is a significant difference in the rural-urban life expectancies of both males and females. In the cities access to health care and sanitation is much better. There are also a much larger group of educated women in the cities, which results in better knowledge about hygiene and health and often education helps to discuss certain issues concerning health or fertility more openly. In cities the access to birth control methods are also more easily available, but the use of these depends whether the women are aware of those methods.

The uneven sex ratio has a negative effect as it gives rise to the phenomenon of "missing women". In Asia alone it is said that 90 million women are missing; they are absent in the sex ratio statistics, because they are dead for reasons mentioned above (Zwartboek, 2007:40). Tisdell (2002:707) has the following to say about this: "Because missing women as proportion of the population appear to have risen as India's income per capita has increased, this suggests in economic terms that women are treated as an inferior commodity in India"

This uneven sex ratio gives rise to another problem: a shortage of female marriage partners. This problem already occurs in China and in the north of India, where more often younger girls are married off. Women being a scarce resource does not improve their position, the opposite seems to be true as trafficking and dealing in brides is an expanding problem and women are treated as an object instead of women with improved status.

Fertility

Kabeer (1994:219) points out in her book that education is identified by a large number of studies as a key variable in predicting women's fertility, status and autonomy. Access to education and employment has decreased female fertility. "Modernization, social change and education have enabled them to enter new professions and occupations; and such a change has also led to the emergence of new social attitudes to educated women. The traditional prejudice against women working outside the home has slowly disappeared, or is fast disappearing in big urban centers" (Gosh and Roy, International journal of Social Economics 1997, volume 24:911). Educated women tend to get married later and give birth to their first child when they are older. Family planning is also more common among educated women. But overall fertility rates remain an issue within India, as Moser (1993:45) puts it: "For women, the problem with population policy is that it fails to recognize their strategic gender need to control their own fertility. If birth rates are left to women, it obviously gives them great power." The fertility rate in India is 2,81 children born per woman (CIA factbook, 2007).

3.8 Autonomy in the household

Another variable to measure empowerment is the autonomy in the household. The indicators for this variable are the following: having a paid job and if that is accepted by the family, to make decisions about earned income and about where money within the family is spent on and how the work is divided among the family and if there is time for leisure. These indicators show different aspect of autonomy of the household. But how do we define household and intra-household decision-making? Broadly speaking there are two different approaches; one where the household is seen as a unit of altruistic decision-making and one where the household is the arena of bargaining and conflict.

Altruistic decision-making within the household

The first one has its roots in neo-classical economic theory, where rational choice and welfare maximization are the key components. Family is assumed to be a nuclear family; a husband, wife and two or three children. This family forms the basic unit of society and is connected with the concept of headship; the head of the family, normally assumed to be a man, is also assumed to be the breadwinner of the family, the financial supporter, with all other members defined as dependants (Moser, 1993:16). Hence "the family would function as a socio-economic unit within which there is equal control over resources and power of decision making between all adult members in matters influencing their livelihood" (Moser, 1993:15). The problem here is how can individual preferences from different family members be aggregated into a single order? Samuelson was the one asking this question and also providing an answer; "the natural altruism of the family would be sufficient to override any deviations from the technical conditions for joint-welfare maximization" (Kabeer, 1994:98). This problem was also addressed by Becker, who came up with the New Household Economics; he identified the family as the basic unit for production and consumption, who would behave as being a single entity, maximizing a joint welfare function. They produce Z-goods (utility goods), bought on the market but altered with domestic input. The headship of the family, who Becker refers to as "benevolent dictator"; sets the goals of the household in the interest of the household as whole (Moser, 1993:23). The allocation of work is based on the principle of comparative advantage; which means: all do what they do best and with the best relative returns.

This approach does not find much foot in reality. Many families are dependent on inter-household relations, where women take care of each others children or where resources are exchanged. Also the intra-household relations are often different than "equal control over resources and power of decision-making", due to self-interest of members of the family members. Often the headship does not know about the daily problems associated with the household, or he doesn't care sufficiently for all members of the family to ensure an equal division. Neither can we expect all members of the family to listen and act obediently to the headship. And as Folbre (1986a) points out the contradiction: "the belief that individuals who were guided by competitive

self-interest in the marketplace became selfless altruists when it came to intra-household behavior" (Kabeer, 1994:103). Another important issue in the New Household Economics is about the time allocation to different labor; it can be flexibly allocated with a cost comparative motive, hence if a woman's earning on the market increases, she will increase those efforts and her tasks at home will be taken up by someone else or bought as a service on the market.

In reality this flexible time allocation resulted in girl children being taken out of school in order to take care of the house chores or in longer working hours for the women. Studies from the Philippines, who Kabeer (1994:106) refers to show that increased productive work, results in a reduction in leisure time. All these critics gave rise to a bargaining and conflict model.

Bargaining and conflict within the household

This approach finds its root in the institutional economics and focuses not only on production cost and economic activity, but also on transaction cost between different economic actors. These economic actors are different type of institutions, from which the household is one. "Households can be seen as a specific institutional response to the problems of meeting needs and organizing behavior in an uncertain world" (Kabeer, 1994:108). This uncertainty makes the family involve in long-term commitments through marriage and birth, which give certain stability and even some advantages over institutions, such as transactions where loyalty and a certain amount of altruism play a role. The intra household decision-making does not need to be equal, but varies with family members having different bargaining positions. "Decision-making within the household is thus seen as the resolution of potentially conflicting preference through a process of negotiation between unequals" (Kabeer, 1994:109). Important to realize is that bargaining here can't simply be compared with bargaining in the market place and does not only reflect individual preference, but also the social context; because individuals are part of a household not only for security and stability, but also due to normative pressures.

Sen (1990) therefore extends the bargaining model by addressing the perception in the allocation of resources within the family. For example if a person thinks less of him or herself the outcome of negotiation will tend to be more negative towards that person, as the bargaining position will be weaker and would be more likely to accept a more negative outcome. Another perception can be seen in the contribution a family member makes; if all believe that his or her contribution is much better than from the others, even though the reality might be otherwise, the collective outcome would be more positive for this person. Interesting to note is that contribution is often viewed upon in terms of money, other contribution such as cleaning or cooking is often not perceived to contribute. A final issue is the ability of family members to use pressure or violence to get their preferred outcome.

Overall the bargaining model offers a more realistic view of the family, by treating altruism as an option one can choose, but not taken for granted. Overall they accommodate a greater diversity in decision-making behavior and address the conflicts that happen with intra household decision-making.

Friedman (1979) adds from a feminist anthropologist point of view the "dual specification; internally diverse institutions, embedded within and interacting with a wider array of networks and institutions beyond their boundaries." (Kabeer, 1994:114), thus paying attention to the social and economic world around the household. This means that households vary across countries or regions and have given rise to different structures. Moser states: "Yet ideological and cultural as well as economic reasons underlie the symmetries and asymmetries in intra-household resource allocation" (Moser, 1993:23). Feminist anthropologists point out other factors they feel are missing in the above described economic models, such as "the nature of interdependence in the production process" (Kabeer, 1994:118); when work is shared between men and women, the latter tend to be lower in the hierarchy, meaning they have less decision-power or are less valued for the work they do. Opposite is the gender segregated production, meaning that women have managerial authority over their work, which would lead to more independency for women or the so called "internal markets" where men and women pay for each others products or services, which strengthens the women's bargaining position. Another aspect that feminist anthropologists point out is the social relations that women get access to. Having access to social relations outside the house improves the bargaining power of women. Research shows that women who are connected to extra-domestic associations have a better self esteem and more influence within the household. Kabeer (1994:121) quotes Guyer (1981): "One needs social and political resources to get material resources".

Throughout the last decades more non-nuclear household structures arose, such as the female headed household, either "de jure"; where the male is permanently absent due to death or divorce or "de facto"; where the male is temporarily absent due to migration work; rural to urban or national to international or due to desertion. Another family structure is the extended family, which comes in many complex structures. "Dyson and Moore (1983) suggest that India is the meeting point for two larger socio-cultural formations: a West Asian kinship system charactering the northern plains and the more egalitarian Southeast Asian kinship system in the south" (Kabeer, 1994:116). The first are organized around cultural rules which focus on male responsibility for the protection and provisioning of women and children, in these areas the "purdah" and "sati" are more common. The latter often has segregated gender aspects of the household and men and women tend to cooperate more in order to foresee in the needs of the household. Mumbai has immigrants from all over the country, but inclines toward the last formation.

Threat points

Bargaining and conflict within the household arise because men and women are positioned differently towards the allocation of resources. This could also be described as risk mitigating mechanisms, because how far can one go within a conflicting situation before it would lead to a final break up. This also draws the attention to the management of the conflict, because the one who

faces less risk can be more suppressive, opposite to the one who faces a big risk and who would be more cooperative. This is also related to gender and active or passive resistance.

To look at this in the light of the above described socio-cultural formation, where men are the head of the family, one could state that these corporate patriarchal households would be able to form a higher pressure on women to cooperate with their male counterparts. As women are often kept inside the house and their relationships with the outside world are managed by their men, these women have no other option than to acquiesce in the hierarchy of decision-making and be passive in their resistance as their long term interest would be served best this way, even though this could be at the cost of their personal wellbeing (violence, abuse, mistresses of their men). The wellbeing of the women is directly dependent on the collective prosperity of the family. In times of (economic) crisis it would be men who would abandon their wives, as they would not want the burden to take care of one more expense. Hence it is for her own well being to invest more in her son (as these cultures have preferences for sons) and to win him as an ally; as insurance for an insecure future. The women are not entirely powerless and have secret strategies as trusted relatives who conduct small businesses for them outside the house, but their best surviving strategy is to apply to the subordination of their men.

However, a household that is run by a segmented production, meaning that women and men have separate but interdependent responsibilities gives women managerial authority over her production, thus she would give more open resistance towards her man. Because women have ties with a world outside their house and often have their own small enterprise, which gives them a much better bargaining position could lead to a situation where either the husband or the wife ends their cooperation in marriage and become head of their own household. For these households it is common to have openly expressed conflicts alongside cooperation. Kabeer (1994:132), while referring to Whitehead (1990) states this as following: "Despite interdependencies in male and female familial obligations and hence expenditure patterns, differing obligations can lead to differing distributional priorities and frequent domestic conflict, especially in conditions of economic stress."

Income allocation

Another aspect of the variable autonomy in the household is the income allocation. Is a woman allowed to decide where her income will be spent on or is it pre defined? Often cultural traditions determine which aspects of the family expenditure the wife or the husband covers. "Rarely are women's and men's income allocated to the same expenditure categories" (Moser, 1993:24). Research points out that male income is more often spent on personal forms of consumption, such as alcohol, cigarettes, gadgets, eating out and women's company, while a larger part of women's income is spent on the welfare of their children or goods for the overall household (Kabeer, 1994: 104).

There are gender-based differences in the access to welfare and productive resources as well; for women it is much more difficult than for men to gain access and expand income generation. Certain policymakers believe that by increasing the women's income position her situation improves, due to a better bargaining position. This will have an overall positive effect on resource allocation, hence the welfare in the family. "Evidence that children from female-headed households did better nutritionally than children from other households supported the idea that where women's preference dominated in household distributional patterns there were likely to be positive nutritional effects" (Kabeer, 1994:104). Or as Moser points out by referring to the studies of "good mothering"; "a child's nutritional level correlates positively with the size of a mother's income, food inputs from subsistence farming and the quality of family-based child care" (Moser, 1993:25).

However, this connection between income and more equality in resource allocation cannot just be taken for granted. The perception that Sen (1990) speaks of, plays an important role here; because how will the woman's contribution be valued and maybe the woman will expect her husband to control her income. Hence self esteem and the ability to mobilize external strengths, such as wages or community opinion and internal strengths, such as better education and health, are also important to improve their situation (Moser, 1993:27). Among this, recognition from the political rulers about gender issues is important to improve their situation.

Reproductive role of women

Another important aspect of the variable autonomy of the household is already shortly referred to in the last chapter. The triple role of women: reproductive role, productive role and their community role.

The reproductive role consists out of bearing children and taking care of the children, it also means taking care of the production force (the family members that do paid work) and attending the elderly. This became a women's role due to the (not surprising) fact that women bear children. Rogers (1980) links the increasing importance of women's reproductive role in Western economies to the Industrial Revolution where women lost their traditional jobs as farmers and craftsmen and became more dependent on the wages of their men. This was accompanied by beliefs about the central importance of women's child bearing role and "maternal instinct" (Moser, 1993:30). This ideology reinforced the domestic sphere and the house as the women's place. Even if women have a job their main role is still seen to be the wife and mother.

A result of this "natural" role for women is that their work becomes invisible. It is not perceived as real work, as it is part of being a woman. Men do not have a clear defined reproductive role. This doesn't say they don't spend time with their children, but for example means when they come home from (paid) work they want to rest, while women are not expected to do so, because taking care of the children is not looked upon as work. This results in women working longer hours than men across the world (Moser, 1993:30).

Reproductive work mostly takes place within the social relationship of marriage. This provides the link with productive work, as being a mother and having to care for children weakens their position on the labor market, the productive role. Another link can be drawn from the perception of resource allocation that Sen (1990) speaks off; the more a woman perceives her work to be valuable the better her bargaining position will be.

Productive role of women

The productive role consists out of paid work, either cash or in kind and therefore has an exchange value. The productive role is done by both men and women, but a gender division exists in the form of which job falls to men and which one to women. The division is often at the disadvantage of women, who pick up the jobs that men won't do (Moser, 1993: 32). Feminist have argued that reproductive work should be considered as productive work as well, even though mothers don't get paid, it is the production as use-values, hence having exchange value (Moser, 1993:32). Another aspect that can be found with the productive role of women is the so called "dual productive role", this means that women have more than one paid job. In rural areas in Africa this often means that a women first works on her piece of land and after that she will work on her husband's plot.

These two jobs are further combined with the reproductive role and the community role, which will be described when addressing the next variable. This combination of roles is often a big pressure on women's lives, resulting in long working days. There is widespread evidence that women work longer hours on average than men. Sen and Sen (1985) referred to by Kabeer (1994:119) found that poorer women were most likely to combine waged labor, income-replacing work (provision of fuel and water, care of livestock and poultry) and domestic labor (cooking, cleaning and child care); specialization in purely domestic work was largely the privilege of women from wealthier households.

3.9 Autonomy outside the household

Community role

The third part of the triple role is called the community role. Moser describes this as activities undertaken at the community level. Women are more likely to take up tasks concerning health and education as a voluntary task and extension of the reproductive role. Men more often will be involved in politics and receive money for their efforts, combined with status, respect and prestige in the community (Moser, 1993:34).

Kabeer (1994:276) in her books separates the different dimensions of the gender division of labor by: what is produced, who produces it and how is it produced in order to achieve more conceptual clarity, especially for the concept of the community role. This has the advantage of showing what resources are involved and through which relations they are produced. Resources can be collective claims for better infrastructure or housing. The social relations through which these resources are produced vary widely from

political parties to women's organizations. In order to measure empowerment it is important to look at the tasks women perform next to their reproductive and productive role and to the access they have to be able to perform a role there and the hierarchy involved in these social relations. This also leads to the spectrum of the politics; are women allowed to form community groups, are they allowed to enter a political arena and does the gender division within community activities exist?

Right to property

Another aspect of autonomy outside the household is if a woman owns property. Moser when explaining the underlying assumption of the anti-poverty approach (1993: 68) says: "women's poverty and inequality with men are attributable to their lack of access to private ownership of land, capital and to sexual discrimination on the labor market." Property gives a security for the future, because it can provide food or money in times of crisis. But the constraints on women's mobility and earning power, because of social norms and cultural contexts, make it difficult for them to save money or purchase items. Hence their main access to tangible property is through kinship entitlements; inheritance and marriage gifts (Kabeer, 1994:153). In India women are allowed to inherit land or property. However, in reality if women inherit they are expected by their society to give it to their brothers for use and also the wedding gifts, which were traditionally given as a security for the marrying daughter are taken in the groom's family. Gosh and Roy (1997:912) conclude as follows: "The implementation of the inheritance law is seriously hampered by long-established social traditions of a predominantly patriarchal society which tends to discriminate against women generally, and against married women in particular." Hence property is a topic to be handled with caution whether to see if it really offers security to a woman or not.

Legal protection

The constitution of India, which came into force on January 26, 1950 guarantees equality for all, outlaws discrimination on the grounds of race, caste and birth, and promotes equality of opportunity in employment for all (Moser, 1993:46). But it also recognizes the unequal social position of women and children, which resulted in special laws for women for example working in mines or about maternity leave.

"However, in the enforcement of the constitutional rights of Indian women a serious anomaly has arisen because of the lack of a uniform civil code in India" (Gosh and Roy, 1997:904). When the constitution was made up the sub committees did accept that a uniform civil code was needed, but no time frame was attached to this commitment. The Hindu code bill was passed in the mid fifties, but the Muslim women still remain without a civil code for protection, which means that Muslim Personal Law, derived from the

Shariat¹² and not the Quran¹³ and is counted as the law for Muslim women in matters of marriage, divorce and maintenance after divorce. The reason why the Indian government does not pass a Muslim Code, is because they don't want a confrontation with Muslim extremist, resulting in the status of Muslim women lagging behind in rights compared to other religious groups in the country, such as Hindu, Christians, Sikhs or Parsis.

3.10 Health

Health of women is an important variable to measure the empowerment of women. One of the indicators to look at is the hours of sleep a woman gets every night. Social researchers agree that women across the world sleep less hours than man, because of their longer working hours. "Comparisons of the work hours of men and women across geographical regions, show that women work longer hours than men in both market and non-market activities" (Narasimhan, 1999:27).

Another aspect that Narasimhan points out is that women make less use of health services than men. Attendance and admission figures at hospitals are significantly lower for women than for men; for every three men who receive some sort of treatment, only one woman uses the medical services. The answer to this asymmetry lays in several factors: "Health is a function not only for medical care but also of economic and cultural factors; women have neither the time, mobility, childcare assistance, nor leisure to travel to health centers for medicines or treatment. In addition, an ideology that glorifies self-effacement and suffering for women makes them more inclined to put up with pain and ill-health, rather than demand attention and rest" (Narasimhan, 1999:25).

Women's nutritional status also affects the health, as it affects the birth weights of infants and women's control over resources can have a beneficial effect on children's nutritional and health status (Kabeer, 1994:182). Because women regularly eat last, and less (with girl children also discriminated against in the allocation of food) and less frequently get new clothes or go without luxuries (Moser, 1993:24). Among these domestic violence, as described earlier, can affect the physical health of the women. A way to measure the health of women is the health index, in which height and weight is compared.

¹² The Shariat is the the code of law derived from the Koran and from the teachings and example of Mohammed; "sharia is only applicable to Muslims"; "under Islamic law there is no separation of church and state" (www.thefreedictionary.com).

¹³ The Quran literally means the "recitation" and is the central religious text of Islam (www.wikipedia.org).

3.11 Education

Education gives women a better chance to compete in the market place and to improve their economic situation because of generating an income. The advantages of having an income are described in the paragraph about the autonomy in the household. Education also gives a better knowledge about fertility, hygiene, nutrition and child care, through which they not only improve their own lives, but also those of their families. Earlier this chapter the correlation between the size of a mother's income and the nutrition level of the child is mentioned. Education is a more underlying variable and therefore it is difficult to point out exact variables. But as Muktangan is all about education I thought it was important to add this variable and to look at the advantages and disadvantages of female education and how education gives voice to women.

Voice

Education also helps to give "voice" to the women. When they can read or write their access to information increases and their bargaining position within the household improves, also because of their improved status as educated women. An addition to this "voice", is shown by Singh in her research about deserted and divorced women in contemporary society; "although there are various reasons, yet it is mainly due to the spread of education among women and their exposure to agents of mass media that they have become more aware and possesses knowledge of familial and marital laws (2004:133). In her research she points out that there is a positive correlation between women's positive attitude to divorce and their education, employment and urban living. The proportion of literate and educated respondents is much larger in the divorced sub-sample, than in the deserted. The difference between deserted and divorced is described by Singh as follows: "desertion is a de facto or actual cessation of conjugal rights, obligations and bond whereas divorce is a de facto and de jure dissolution of marriage."

But to seek divorce is still very uncommon and a social and financial risk. Often divorced women do not prefer to remarry and are discriminated and assigned the lowest status in the society they live in.

Female education

Education for females has increased significantly since independence and has reached 47,8 % literacy rate for females (2001 census). Public education in India is for free, but school uniforms and books are needed. Hence poor families often take their girl children out of school in times of economic crisis. They are seen as an economic burden as they will leave the family once married, so letting them work at home makes them useful. Boys however are seen as their economic back up in the future and the preserver of the family name, so they are kept at school at high costs. However, being able to give your daughter a good education often means advantage in the marriage market. A quick look in one of the newspapers or internet sites which

promote marriage partners adds¹⁴, can see that women with higher education enjoy a premium, but also here it is important to look at the social relationship that a woman has, because will she be allowed to choose her own life partner or decide what she does with her individual owned wage? And will she be allowed to work after being married off?

Education for males has the same benefits as for women as mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, but when a man is well educated he can demand for a higher dowry, with all the possible negative consequences described earlier this chapter, such as the killing of the female child and sex selective abortions.

Reverse of education

Education can have negative consequences too, as Mitter points out in her book *Dharma's daughters*: "a girl who is too educated is assumed headstrong; one too liberated from tradition, a threat to family harmony- in a word unmarriageable (1995:64)." Not being married in India is seen as a social pariah; there is nothing worse for an Indian woman to stay unattached. This trend has no exceptions in different strata of society. To quote Mitter (1995:159): "the whole ethos is that your life begins and ends with marriage. Your existence is meant for your husband and children – you have no right to exist as an individual." A woman needs to undergo the religious rituals of the marriage in order to attain "moksha", which means salvation and signifies the break of the endless circle of reincarnation.

The above described variables and indicators show the complexity of the concept empowerment and the different dimensions involved. In order to measure this concept the indicators are translated into questions, as you can read in the following chapter.

¹⁴ In order to find the right partner for arranged marriages modern communication tools, such as internet and newspapers play a very important role in India.

4 RESEARCH SET UP

In the first part of this chapter the methodological aspects of this research will be described. The main research question is: *To what extent are the teachers from Muktangan empowered in their gender role by their profession as teachers?* This question aims to answer if the women who work as teachers at Muktangan are empowered because of this project. Initially the idea of the research was to compare the women of Muktangan with a group outside of the school. However, due to ethical considerations this was not possible. I also wanted to compare the data of the teachers with their male family families, but as they were not willing to cooperate I decided to only focus on the data of the teachers from Muktangan. Therefore I decided to compare the women who just entered the school as trainees, hence are working at Muktangan for less than a year, with the women who have been working there for a longer period. I also compare the research output with data from a national level, wherever available. How I have gone about this process can be read in this chapter. The entire population was 74, from which 42 have filled in a questionnaire and eight have filled in the pilot. Hence I have studied 56,7% of the population for this research.

4.1 Research strategy

In the introduction the purpose of this research and the research questions have been addressed. As Robson (2002:80) points out it is important to use the appropriate research strategy and method in order to answer the research question. That is why this research is set in a flexible design, also referred to as qualitative design (Robson, 2002:5). Characteristic of a flexible design is that upfront it's less clear what the following research steps will be, the path emerges out of the research itself and there should be constant revise of all the aspects of the research, hence the sampling method does not have to be decided in advance. For example it could happen that during the research a change in approach seems more appropriate. For example I had to adjust my steps as it was not possible to conduct a research with a group outside of the school.

Opposite is a fixed design, following a deductive method, hence is driven by theory. A fixed design represents upfront knowledge about what research steps will be followed and how the research will be conducted. It requires a conceptual framework or a theory in order to know what to look for. A pilot study is an important part of this design and often quantitative data, statistical generalization and a closed or controlled surrounding are part of this approach (Robson, 2002:4).

However, the separation between fixed and flexible is not always as strict as stated above and "mixed" research exists. For example this research started off in a more flexible way, as it wasn't clear from the beginning how to measure empowerment. But extensive reading made me decide to break down the concept empowerment in five different variables and to make the theory guide the research, making it a more fixed design. I have processed

and analyzed the data in a computer program called SPSS 14.01. Next to that I used text analysis, to avoid recoding of certain questions.

Social science cannot reach the degree of closure that appears with quantitative research, where experiments take place in closed surroundings, such as laboratories or where the external conditions are controlled. Social science takes place in open systems, where the actual shape of structures and processes are constantly changing, making precise prediction impossible (Robson, 2002:40). In this research the open system is the city of Mumbai, from which the social relations, the spatial context and history are mapped out in the beginning of this thesis. These are three aspects that Hutjes and van Buuren (1992: 155) say are needed to place the case in the correct context.

The concept empowerment can be classified as social science, because it is the behavior and beliefs of people that facilitate empowerment. Therefore this research follows the strategy of the case study. This strategy has the characteristic that a case is intensely studied in its own right within the context they are part of and in a way that the connections between relevant factors is preserved (Hutjes en van Buuren, 1992: 15). Case studies often use several methods for data collection and aim to develop an in depth analysis (Robson, 2002:178). A case can vary from a single person to an entire group or organization. A definition of case study is given by Yin (1981) who Robson refers to in his book "Real World Research" (2002:178): "Case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence". Case studies themselves can be grouped in different types. The type for this research is called the "social group study" and refers to occupational groups (Robson, 2002:181), whom the teachers of Muktangan are and who come from the surrounding neighborhoods, known as Worli and Prabhadevi in Mumbai. This group has never been studied before, also making the case study a suitable strategy, because it strives for plausible expressions in this reality and can be extended or disagreed later on (Hutjes en van Buuren, 1992: 23).

4.2 Research method

The theory described in the previous chapter is used to explain the concept empowerment and functions as a guideline for the questionnaire. Robson (2002:61) explains theory as: "It is an explanation of what is going on in the situation, phenomenon or whatever that we are investigating". Theory is an important part of this case study as it gives body to the concept empowerment, thus becoming the foundation for the operationalization. Operationalization links the language of theory with the language of empirical measures. Theory is full of abstract concepts, assumptions, relationships, definitions and causality but empirical measures describe how people concretely measure specific variables (Lawrence Neuman, 2000:160). Hutjes

and van Buuren (1992:35) speak of theory as the conception model or theoretical framework, which is an instrument for specification of the concepts and helps with the interpretation of the questionnaires. The operationalization in this research takes place by explaining five different variables, derived from existing research and theory and are mainly on a nominal and ordinal level. Nominal are variables that only have meaning as a name and are mutual exclusive, for example, gender: man/women, hence it is not numerical and a woman can not be a man at the same time or the other way around. Ordinal means a variable that is also mutual exclusive, but can be ranked from small to big or vice versa (van Dalen en de Leede, 2002:19), an example is a scale where respondents are asked if they are: very happy, happy, neutral, unhappy and very unhappy. In this case a characteristic is measured whether it happens more or less and not to what extent they are happier than the other, meaning that with this question it cannot be measured how much happier one is from the other, but that can be seen how many people say they are for example unhappy.

The method used for this research is the questionnaire. According to Robson (2002:242) a good questionnaire exists of the following:

- It reflects that what is meant to be measured
- It is user friendly for the respondents and assures their cooperation
- Brings about valuable information for the research

The questions in this questionnaire represent indicators, who are linked to the five variables that conceptualize empowerment. By using this structure the first point is addressed. The second point was assured by sending the draft questionnaire to friends and family for their feedback and to use a simple lay out. To bring about valuable information was assured by being present while the questionnaires were filled in and by using open, closed and partially open questions where they were most appropriate. Open questions have the advantage to discover what is really important to a participant or to get an answer to a question with many possible answers. Closed questions have the advantage that sensitive topics can be more accurately measured (Lawrence Neuman, 2000: 260). For this survey questionnaires were the best method to be used because of the sensitivity of the topic, such as asking about domestic violence and birth control methods. Through a questionnaire the anonymity would be assured and the respondents were able to fill in the questionnaire at their own speed, which was positive because of their different levels of English. By using questionnaires I was able to address most of the teachers of Muktangan, making sampling unnecessary, because nearly the whole research group is covered, which avoids the problem of representation. Another advantage of the questionnaire is that large amounts of information can be obtained and that it is efficient because it reaches a lot of people at the same time and it can rather fast be analyzed. Disadvantage is the non-respons and that measurement cannot be in depth. But the latter I tried to solve by asking several open questions. The non-respons did play an

important role with the questionnaires for the men, who refused cooperation, as can be read in the audit trail and ethical considerations.

For women and men two different questionnaires (see appendix) were made. The connection between the concept, variables, indicators and questions can be visualized in the following tables.

Table 1: visual overview operationalization for women

| Concept | Variable | Indicators | Questions |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Women empowerment | Autonomy of the body | Choice for own partner | 9,10,11, 16 |
| | | Choice of marriage | 17, 18 |
| | | Choice of number of children | 19, 20, 24, 25, 26 |
| | | Desired sex of the children | 21, 22, 23, 24 |
| | | Use of birth control methods | 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 |
| | | Domestic Violence | 50 |
| | | Fertility | 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27-33 |
| | Autonomy in the household | Paid job and the acceptance of the family | 4,5,8 |
| | | Decision making on personal income | 6,7, 12, 13, 14, 15 |
| | | Decision making on income | 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 |
| | | Decision making on the education of children | 40, 41 |
| | | Division of work; triple role | 42, 46, 47, 48, 49 |
| | | Leisure time | 43, 44, 45 |
| | Autonomy outside the household | Other activities than work | 51, 52, 53 |
| | | Community work | 54, 55, 56, 57 |
| | | Own valuable goods | 58 |
| | Health of the women | Triple role | 42 |
| | | Hours of sleep | 42, 62 |
| | | Height and weight | 60, 61 |
| | Education | Level of education | 3, 59 |
| Voice | | 34-41 | |
| Marriage | | 17, 18 | |

Table 2: visual overview operationalization for men

| Concept | Variable | Indicators | Questions |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Women empowerment | Autonomy of the body | Choice for own partner | 10,11, 12, 17 |
| | | Choice of marriage | 18, 19 |
| | | Choice of number of children | 20, 21, 25, 26, 27 |
| | | Desired sex of the children | 22, 23, 24, 25 |
| | | Use of birth control methods | 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 |
| | | Domestic Violence | 51 |
| | | Fertility | 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28-34 |
| | Autonomy in the household | Paid job and the acceptance of the family | 4, 5, 9 |
| | | Decision making on personal income | 6,7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16 |
| | | Decision making on income | 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40 |
| | | Decision making on the education of children | 41, 42 |
| | | Division of work – triple role | 43, 47, 48, 49, 50 |
| | | Leisure time | 44, 45, 46 |
| | Autonomy outside the household | Other activities than work | 52, 53, 54 |
| | | Community work | 55, 56, 57, 58 |
| | | Own valuable goods | 59 |
| | Health of the men | Triple role | 43 |
| | | Hours of sleep | 43, 63 |
| | | Height and weight | 61, 62 |
| | Education | Level of education | 3, 60 |
| Voice | | 35-42 | |
| Marriage | | 18, 19 | |

4.3 Validity, reliability and generalization

Trustworthiness of research is of key importance, because without it we can not claim the outcome to be true and add new perspectives or facts to the scientific world. It exists out of validity, reliability and generalization. The trustworthiness of qualitative research is more complex than a fixed design, because of the important role of the context and the impossibility of recreating the exact circumstances in order to replicate the research. In a fixed design a researcher can rely more on the instruments he or she uses. However, attention always needs to be paid to the different aspects of trustworthiness. One should be aware of pitfalls to reach validity, reliability and generalization. Because this research is a qualitative analysis I have used tools common in qualitative research to reach trustworthiness, such as the audit trail, where all taken steps can be read.

Validity means that findings are what they appear to be. In this case: *are the women who work at the Muktang school more empowered?* Robson (2002:172) mentions Lincoln and Guba (1985) who speak about three

threats for validity: reactivity, respondent biases and researcher biases. Reactivity is the effect the presence of the researcher has, which can influence the behavior of the focus group. The effect I had on being present during the research is mainly positive. It was the first time these women filled in a questionnaire so it was good to give them guidance. It surely helped that I am a woman too and that they felt less embarrassed of filling in the questions about birth control and domestic violence, but my presence could have led to respondent bias.

Respondent bias is when the respondent gives social acceptable answers, answering what he/she thinks the researchers want to hear. Or the opposite: withholding information or/and being non-cooperative. Between these two extremes respondent bias can vary. Padgett (1998) referred to in Robson (2002:172) explains prolonged involvement; being longer present in the research setting helps to reduce the respondent bias. In this way trust is built up and people will be more likely to give profound information. In this research the prolonged involvement has certainly played a role. Due to my involvement with the women as chairman of the NGO Atma Mumbai, the respondents knew me for more than a year already. Even though they were explained that the work of Atma Mumbai and the research I was conducting were two separate things, they did feel comfortable asking my assistance if they did not understand a certain question or the directory arrows. A negative side effect of this prolonged involvement might be that the researcher bias can increase.

Researcher bias is the pre-assumptions the researcher holds and that can result in selecting a certain group, asking certain question and being subjective.

Other ways to minimize invalidity could be peer debriefing, where peer groups, such as students or researchers can assist through debriefing sessions and guarding the researcher for bias. Robson (2002:16) uses the following quote: "Working in collaboration with someone who has the methodological skills and the experience is obviously one way forward". I did not use a group of students to debrief my research, but I did consult my professor and asked friends for feedback.

Another measure is triangulation, which means that multiple research sources are used, such as more methods of data collection, more than one observer, combining quantitative and qualitative research approaches and using multiple theories. In this research triangulation takes place by using a qualitative and quantitative approach and by using different theories. The questionnaire outcome is also compared with statistics of the OECD and the UN, wherever that is possible.

Member checking means that certain parts of the research, such as transcripts or interpretations are returned to the respondents for their feedback. This reduces researcher bias, but can also have the negative side effect that participants after reading certain parts get cold feet and want to withdraw from the research. I have not used member checking in my research, because of logistical challenges due to the anonymity.

A last point is the audit trail: to keep a complete record of every step in the research in order for other researchers to know what path was taken and what choices were made. The audit trail can be read later in this chapter.

Reliability can be described as the research results being accurate and that replication of the research can be done; if it were to be repeated, would the same result be obtained? Unless a measure is reliable, it cannot be valid. But it can be reliable without ensuring validity. For reliability quantitative researchers can rely on their instruments, such as formal tests and scales. The instrument for this research is the questionnaire, but as it takes place in an open surrounding the trustworthiness could be threatened. Thus it is very important to work honestly, carefully and thoroughly and to show others that this was done, such as through the audit trail (Robson, 2002:176). In this research I aimed to work according to these instructions as can be read in the audit trail. I also conducted a pilot questionnaire to make sure that the answers I was looking for came forward from the questionnaire.

Generalizability refers to the extent to which the findings of the enquiry are more generally applicable outside the specifics of the situation studied (Robson, 2002:93). Maxwell (1993) mentioned in Robson (2002:176) makes a distinction between internal and external generalizability. The former explains the conclusions about the setting that is being studied and the latter goes beyond that. For internal generalizability attention should be paid when selecting respondents for the research; excluding or including certain people can affect the outcome of the research. External generalizability would involve the selection of a representative sample of settings from a known population which would permit the kind of statistical generalization typical of survey designs (Robson, 2002:177). To create external generalizability was impossible as the project of Muktangan is unique in India.

4.4 Ethical consideration and its consequence

Robson refers in his book (2002: 65) to ethical considerations, where he points at the balance between the right to find answers for a researcher and the right of the research participants to privacy, dignity and self-determination. This plays an important role in this research as for the first time in this community gender came forward as an issue. Because of this I agreed with the directors of Muktangan, who pointed out the stability in the community and the fear of disrupting it, that I would only be allowed to hand out questionnaires to women and men outside Muktangan if the Muktangan teachers and their male family members would not see harm in this and would not fear misbalance in the role between men and women in their community. For the men to cooperate in this research I asked the teachers from the pilot group what would be the best way to reach out to them. They told me that giving them the questionnaire for their husbands or male family members, such as their father or brothers to fill in the questionnaire would be the best option. They would return it to class within a few days and give it

to me. I also asked them if I had to translate the questionnaire into Hindi, but they told me their husbands or male family members were able to read and write in English or else they would help them. I had certain doubts about this method, because in literature it is widely stated that questionnaires with self completion have a low response rate (Robson, 2002: 238). But I did not see another option to reach out to these men and I did not want to harm the relationship of trust I had built up with these women by not listening to their solution.

It turned out that the men were not willing to fill in the questionnaire. When I asked the reason for this, the teachers answered me that it was insulting for the men to answer questions about their "manhood" and they pointed to the questions about birth control, household chores and domestic violence. Hence only four questionnaires out of 42 returned. Because of this reaction the directors of Mukhtangan and also the teachers were afraid to address this topic further. And hardly getting any data on the male side, due to the reason the women gave me, is in itself an interesting issue related to the question of empowerment. However, using four male questionnaires to compare with 42 female questionnaires is not good for the outcome of the research; hence I used only the data of the women for the data analysis. For the overall view of the research group described in the following chapter I have used the data from both the men and the women.

In order to make a comparison between the teachers of Mukhtangan and other women I have decided to compare the trainee group and the women who have been working for Mukhtangan for more than a year to measure the change it made to their lives. The theory will also give guidance in order to see if certain changes have or have not taken place with the women of Mukhtangan. I also decided to use more general statistics from the CIA and the UN to compare this specific group towards the figures on Indian women on a national level.

4.5 Audit trail

This research follows a normal set up, as said in paragraph 3.3. The mark out of the group is simple as there is no other project such as Mukhtangan. The research question is directly linked to the group and the concept empowerment which is empirically tested through the conducted questionnaires. When I finalized the draft of the questionnaires I did pre testing, by sending the questionnaire to friends and family for their feedback. I also made it a special effort to get feedback from Indian friends for their remarks about the English I used. Indian English can differ from English from the United States by certain expressions or words and I also wanted the English to be simple, clear and unambiguous. A valuable feedback an Indian friend gave me was to change the word contraceptives into birth control, a term more commonly used in India. I also used theory to assist me in creating a good questionnaire, such as Robson who points out that questions should be constructed in such a way that the fixed alternative responses are

accurate, exhaustive, mutually exclusive and on a single dimension (Robson, 2002:244). My professor also assisted me and due to her feedback I changed the questions about work around with the ones about their marital status and added the scales, where the respondents could mark their influence in the decision-making process. I also paid attention to the lay out, keeping Robson's (2002: 245) checklist in mind. Hence making sure that the lay out was simple and clear and welcoming for people to fill in.

In India I conducted a pilot test with the questionnaires with a group of eight of the Muktangan teachers. The director of Muktangan allowed me to do this during one of the planning meetings, having the advantage that teachers from all different levels were present. Eight teachers filled in the pilot with a time range from half an hour to an hour, depending on their level of English. Due to the pilot several practical changes were made, as described beneath.

- I added an example with the second question about their year of birth
- I changed the > and < signs in words, because they didn't know these signs and their meaning
- I changed INR into Indian rupee
- I added writing space to question 8
- With question 34 I took away one line of writing space
- For the questions 36, 38, 40 I added the option; mother and father
- I changed the timing for leisure as the women said it was too high
- I added writing space to question 59
- I changed the height in centimeter to inches, because most were unfamiliar with centimeters

I also noticed that if the answer would be "no" they would not tick the box; hence I added this in the oral instruction before filling in the survey. After these changes I asked a friend to recheck my questionnaire, after which I copied enough copies for the teachers to fill in and for their husbands or male family members to fill in. I bought thick envelopes to secure their anonymity and after copying I also checked if all the copies were complete and placed in the correct order. It was unfortunate that I was not able to conduct a pilot with the male focus group, but as the changes for the pilot with the women were practical I made the same changes according to that feedback. The pilot group is rather large compared to the entire case group (10,4%). But as Muktangan is such a unique program it was important to do the pilot with Muktangan teachers and the planning meeting was a good opportunity. I also looked into the option of having a pilot with teachers who used to work for Muktangan, but these were only a few women and would have severe logistical challenges. Hence having a pilot test in which the planning meeting group seemed like the best option with women from all different levels within Muktangan.

The research itself was spread over several days, because I was allowed to conduct the research during the women's English classes. The advantage was that they were small groups and therefore easier to guide them. The English

teacher from the US, Celine, also assisted during these sessions. I had given her instructions before the questionnaires were handed out. In the introduction I explained that this research was done on a personal note and had nothing to do with Atma Mumbai, but they still knew who I was and that I could be trusted and am well respected by their bosses. I did not use the word empowerment in the introduction to assure that their answers were not biased. I made sure they were well informed about the research before I handed out the questionnaires, which can be found in the appendix. The introduction reads as follows:

Hi everyone, you all know who I am, but today I am not here for Atma Mumbai, but on a personal note. I study social sciences at the Erasmus University in the Netherlands and am working on my final thesis in order to get my master degree. The research is about social changes in a society, where I especially look at Mukhtangan. Therefore I would like to ask your cooperation to fill in this questionnaire. It is 100% anonymous and your answers will only be shown in total figures after being processed. The questionnaires will only be seen by me and my professor in the Netherlands. Make sure you don't fill in your name and put the questionnaire after you are finished in this green envelope, so that I can't see who filled in what. Please make sure that you tick a box when giving an answer, also when the answer is "no". If you have any questions about language, certain questions or which answer you'd have to fill in next, don't hesitate to ask me or Celine.

As the research is about certain changes in society I also want to ask you to take a questionnaire home and ask a male family member to fill it in. It is a similar questionnaire, but slightly different because it is focused on men. If you can bring them back to the next English class I will be there to collect them. If you have any questions, I'm right here.

The questionnaires were directly handed back to me in the envelopes I had given them. The questionnaires were kept safe in a folder and taken back to the Netherlands, where I entered them in SPSS 14.0.1 All questions are analyzed in SPSS, except question number eight and forty-two from the female questionnaire and nine and forty-three from the male questionnaire. For example the question; "Can you describe what a typical working day looks like, starting at the time you get up until you go asleep", provides a large textual answer and therefore I thought it better to use a content analysis for this. By using SPSS on these questions valuable information would have got lost, because I would have had to downsize the answers before entering the data in SPSS. The content analysis I did by word and phrase count, securing all the different options available.

I checked all the entered data twice to make sure that mistakes were eliminated. Then I checked the frequencies from every variable to see if all data were entered correctly. For the data entry I chose numeric variables to enter whenever possible. Huizingh (1995: 32) explains the advantages of the numeric instead of the string data entry; numbers are a faster way for data entry and there is a difference between capital and small letters, but most

important is that for string data the options of certain analysis decrease drastically.

Nearly all classifications, or so called groupings, I made only after all the data had been entered, as was suggested by Huizingh (1995:32). The one classification that was made before the data entry is based on the given answers of question 34 for the female and 35 for the male questionnaire: "Can you list the people with whom you live in terms of their family relationship to you?"

1. Nuclear family; father, mother, brother or sisters
2. Partner and children
3. Mother, father, sister, brother and sister in law
4. In law family, father in law, mother in law, brother in law, sister in law.

Only after entering all the data I made other classifications; mainly in the questions with a high number of observations. Such as the question about the year of birth, these have been classified in periods of five years. And the questions about amounts of money, for which classifications have been made in set amounts. Also some textual questions have been recoded, where I placed the single answers in the classification "other".

I noticed that question 40 for the female and 41 for the male were often left open, due to the last words "if any". As these questions are about who would take care of the children if they had any. I made the recoding that if the earlier question about children was answered negative (No I don't have children) this answers would also have "there are no children".

When I reflect on the process I can conclude that I have learned a lot about conducting research through questionnaires and I can also state there are several things I would do differently next time.

With question 14 in the female questionnaire I made the mistake of assuming that one would know how much his or her partner earns and therefore only put options with an amount. A few ladies left it blank and wrote in the side: I don't know. This was the same for question 35 in the female questionnaire. Quite a few women wrote it down in words when they did not know, but chances exist that women who did not know either, just ticked a box as they were not able to choose the option "Don't know". Question 47 in the female questionnaire and 48 in the male questionnaire were confusing, because of the end with "if any". The question was the following: "Who does the washing and drying of you and your husband's clothes, if any?" I would certainly rephrase that in a future questionnaire. As for the following question: "Who takes care of the children, if any?" "If any" turned out to be rather confusing for the respondents. As I was present while the respondents filled in the questionnaire I could guide them through it. For future research with groups, who have joined in a research before, I would certainly recommend that.

5 RESEARCH RESULTS

In this chapter I will list the results of the more general questions and from the total research group, hence women and men. In this research 42 women participated and four men, a total of 46 respondents. Outcome of the specific questions will be part of the analysis and therefore can be found in the next chapter. In that part I will only look at the results of the women.

The analysis is done in SPSS 14.0. I have chosen to use the standard tables to show the data, because in this way all the data are showcased. Thus also the non-respons and the so-called "system", which refers to the respondents who are part of the research group, but do not apply to that particular question or cross tabulation; comparing two questions, hence when data are missing or not available the total number of respondents goes down. For example when asked if the respondents have used birth control a pre selection has been made by a earlier question about if they know what birth control is, so there is a smaller respondents group, which will show in the table.

Table 3: age and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|-------------------|-------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| What is your age? | 15-19 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 20-24 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| | 25-29 | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| | 30-34 | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| | 35-39 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| | 40-44 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | 19 | 27 | 46 |

From this group most participants are aged between 20 and 34 years and more than half of them are married. From the 27 married respondents 21 have children. Interesting to note is that from the age of 35 all respondents are married and that the majority of unmarried respondents are in the age group from 20 to 29.

Table 4: marital status and children

| | | Do you have children? | | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| What is your marital status? | Unmarried | 18 | 0 | 18 |
| | Married | 6 | 21 | 27 |
| Total | | 24 | 21 | 45 |

From the 18 unmarried respondents none have children. There was one non-responses with the question "Do you have children?", which is not showcased when using the cross tabulation option in SPSS. In India it is very uncommon to have children when you are not married. These results are in line with that custom. It is also customary once you are married that a male shows his manhood by getting his wife pregnant within a year. This could explain the many parents among the married couples.

Table 5: family feelings about working at Muktangnan

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Very happy | 22 | 47,8 | 48,9 |
| Happy | 21 | 45,7 | 46,7 |
| Neutral | 1 | 2,2 | 2,2 |
| Not happy | 1 | 2,2 | 2,2 |
| Total | 45 | 97,8 | 100,0 |
| Missing Non respons | 1 | 2,2 | |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 | |

Nearly all respondents answer that their family is happy that they work at Muktangnan. The questionnaire also asked for a reason. As this was an open question and there were many different responses I decided to use content analysis to analyze the replies. This will be addressed in the next chapter. Family in India often does not refer to the nuclear family known in the Netherlands, but to larger families, either living with the parents in laws and or with uncles and aunts, called a joint family. To know in what kind of family the respondents live they were asked to describe their family, which can be seen later in this chapter.

Table 6: partner has a paid job

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|
| No | 3 | 6,5 |
| Yes | 23 | 50,0 |
| Total | 26 | 56,5 |
| Missing Non respons | 1 | 2,2 |
| System | 19 | 41,3 |
| Total | 20 | 43,5 |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 |

From the 27 married respondents 23 say that their partner has a job and three say they are jobless. There is also one non-responses, who belongs to

the married respondents. The jobs the partners have vary widely and so does the income. The jobs that are shown in the next table can be understood without further explanation. The category "other" refers to jobs that only one respondent practices, such as a fitness trainer, a jockey in the Mumbai horse race court, a computer operator, a merchandiser and a tailor in a government enterprise. The question asked if their partners have a job for the last two months, this was done to ensure that the people who don't have a permanent job, but who do small irregular jobs are filtered out.

Table 7: type of job

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---------|------------------|-----------|---------|
| | Driver | 3 | 6,5 |
| | Clerk | 6 | 13,0 |
| | Graphic designer | 3 | 6,5 |
| | Accountant | 2 | 4,3 |
| | Senior executive | 2 | 4,3 |
| | Muktangan | 3 | 6,5 |
| | Other | 4 | 8,7 |
| | Total | 23 | 50,0 |
| Missing | Non respons | 1 | 2,2 |
| | System | 22 | 47,8 |
| | Total | 23 | 50,0 |
| Total | | 46 | 100,0 |

Table 8: type of job and income

| | | How much the partner earns divided in classes? | | | | | Total | |
|---|-----|--|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|---------|----|
| | | up to 5000 | up to 7500 | up to 10000 | up to 12500 | Don't know | Trainee | |
| Did your husband have a paid job for the last two months? | Yes | 10 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 23 |
| Total | | 10 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 23 |

From the 27 respondents, 23 have a partner with a job. In the system there is one missing and three respondents stated that their partner did not have a job for the last two months. The income varies from 1000 INR¹⁵ up to 12,000 INR per month. In the questionnaire I left the respondents the option to fill in the amount either per day, per week or per month. All respondents were able to fill in the amount per month, except for one whose partner works as a cab

¹⁵ INR stands for Indian Rupee and is the currency of India. The exchange rate differs daily, but on average one can say that one euro is 57 INR.

driver and said he made 300 INR per day. I converted that amount in order to add it to the monthly income and removed the other two options in SPSS. The data shows that the majority of the respondents earn up to 5000 INR, which is also the wage group from Mukhtangan. Meaning that at least nine respondents earn more money than their wives working for Mukhtangan. The Mukhtangan trainee is listed separately, because they don't receive any income during their trainee period. It is also interesting that three women wrote down that they did not know how much their partner earns.

Table 9: familiar with birth control

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| No | 15 | 32,6 | 42,9 |
| Yes | 20 | 43,5 | 57,1 |
| Total | 35 | 76,1 | 100,0 |
| Missing Non respons | 11 | 23,9 | |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 | |

From all respondents 15 had never heard of birth control methods and from the 20 that did hear about contraceptives 12 had actually used them. The non-respons for this question is very high, as can be seen in the above shown table. There can be three explanations for this. One is the sensitive topic of birth control, which is something rather uncommon to discuss in India. Second can be the fact that this is the first time these women filled in a questionnaire and when the answer is "no" they would leave it open, as happened in the pilot. Interesting to note is that five non-respondents in the question about "have you heard about birth control", did answer the next question "have you ever used birth control" with "no". A third reason could be that they don't know the meaning of birth control and therefore left the question open.

Table 10: usage of birth control

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| No | 13 | 28,3 | 52,0 |
| Yes | 12 | 26,1 | 48,0 |
| Total | 25 | 54,3 | 100,0 |
| Missing System | 21 | 45,7 | |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 | |

In the question if they heard about birth control I asked them to mention the methods they had heard off. I did this to make sure that they really knew what birth control is, by forcing them to write the methods they knew. This way I also got insight in the methods of birth control they have knowledge off. The respondents are aware of three kinds of contraceptive; the oral pill,

condoms or the CopperT. The CopperT is also known as the IUD or intrauterine device. It requires insertion by a medical trained person. The CopperT is T-shaped and covered by a copper wire, which explains the name. "The copper releases copper ions that change the character of uterine, tubal, and vaginal secretions which in turn decreases the motility of sperm and inhibits cap citation, a required process for fertilization. IUDs do not prevent implantation but prevent fertilization by changing the uterine environment. The CopperT can remain in place for up to 10 years before removal is recommended. The CopperT has an effectiveness of 99.2%" (<http://www.themidwives.org/birthcontrol.html>).

Table 11: type of birth control familiar with

| | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------|-----------|---------|
| Condom | 3 | 6,5 |
| Pills | 2 | 4,3 |
| Mala D | 1 | 2,2 |
| CopperT | 3 | 6,5 |
| All of the above | 11 | 23,9 |
| Total | 20 | 43,5 |
| Missing System | 26 | 56,5 |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 |

The respondents were asked to list the family members they lived with. In the following table I combined the type of family with the amount of family members. There were 7 non respondents. Interesting is that 6 respondents stated that they live with their partner and children and not with either one of the parents, which is rather uncommon in India, as it is custom that the bride moves into the house of the in laws.

Table 12: type of family and number of family members

| | | How many family members do you live with? | | | | Total |
|---|--|---|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------|
| | | 0-4 family members | 5-8 family members | 9-12 family members | 13-16 family members | |
| Can you list the people with whom you live in term of their family relationship to you? | Nuclear family, father, mother and brother/sister | 5 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 15 |
| | My partner and children | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| | Mother, father, brother and sister in law | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | In laws; father in law, mother in law, brother in law, sister in law | 4 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 15 |
| Total | | 15 | 19 | 4 | 1 | 39 |

In the following graph I have combined the family size and the monthly net income per family. Interesting here is that the respondents, who said they don't know the monthly net income, are all part of larger families. For this cross tabulation 10 answers were missing, which explains the 36 respondents.

Table 13: income and number of family members

| | | How many family members do you live with? | | | | Total |
|--|---------------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------|
| | | 0-4 family members | 5-8 family members | 9-12 family members | 13-16 family members | |
| What is the nett income of your entire household for the last month? | 0-3000 INR | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| | 4000-8000 INR | 7 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 18 |
| | 9000-13000 INR | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| | More than 14000 INR | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Don't know | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Total | | 13 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 36 |

The respondents have several leisure activities which I combined with the time they have to practice these. Nearly 40 % of the respondents have one to three hours of leisure time during the week and another large group 4-6 hours. The main activities are listening to music, reading, watching TV and playing with the children. Two other respondents mentioned cooking and cleaning and the men mentioned cricket. Another respondent mentioned stitching, cooking and shopping.

Table 14: amount of leisure time and type of leisure

| | | How much time do you have for leisure during the week? | | | | | Total |
|---|------------------------|--|------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| | | None | Less than 1 hour | 1-3 hours | 4-6 hours | More than 6 hours | |
| What do you do for leisure, if you have time? | Listen to music | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| | Reading | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| | Watching TV | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| | Play with our children | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | All of the above | 0 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 18 |
| | Clean and cook | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Other | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| | Non respons | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 1 | 6 | 18 | 12 | 9 | 46 | |

The respondents were also asked if they undertake any other activities outside of working for Muktangan. A large group gives tuition in their neighborhood. Three respondents make things in order to get some extra

pocket money; to make food or cigarettes are a common practice among women to ensure an extra income.

Table 15: other activities

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---|-----------|---------|
| Study | 2 | 4,3 |
| Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (cigarettes) | 3 | 6,5 |
| Give tuition | 9 | 19,6 |
| Tailor | 3 | 6,5 |
| Cook and clean | 1 | 2,2 |
| Other | 6 | 13,0 |
| No other activity | 20 | 43,5 |
| Total | 44 | 95,7 |
| Missing Non respons | 2 | 4,3 |
| Total | 46 | 100,0 |

Table 16: other activities and time they take up

| | | How much time do these other activities take up in a week? | | | | | Total |
|---|---|--|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | Less than 5 hours | 6-10 hours | 11-15 hours | 16-20 hours | More than 21 hours | |
| What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | Study | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bidi (cigarettes) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | Give tuition | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| | Tailor | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | Cook and clean | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Other | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Total | | 12 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 24 |

If we look at the other activities in combination with the time spent on these we can see that the majority spends less than five hours on other activities, but that a large group spends six to ten hours on activities outside Muktangan, especially giving tuition takes up quite some time. The category "other" is: meeting with friends or a combination of tailoring and giving tuitions. Another combination was spending time with the family, cooking for them, playing with the children and making glass paintings and candles in the meantime. Twenty respondents say that they don't have any other activity and two were missing.

Table 17: other activities and payment

| | | Do you get paid for these activities? | | Total |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | Study | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (sigarettes) | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| | Give tuition | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| | Tailor | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | Cook and clean | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Other | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Total | | 11 | 13 | 24 |

More than half of the respondents who do activities outside of working for Muktangan get paid for doing this. The majority of the paid activities is giving tuition, which also it the best paid activity.

Table 18: other activities and amount of getting paid for these

| | What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|---|---|--------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (sigarettes) | Give tuition | Tailor | Other | |
| What amount do you get paid for these activities? | 200,00 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 250,00 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 450,00 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 500,00 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | 800,00 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | 1000,00 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 1600,00 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 3000,00 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 4000,00 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 5000,00 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 2 | 8 | 2 | 13 |

The question about community work was answered mainly negative. Only two of the respondents do community work; they teach the underprivileged child in their free time.

Table 19: community work

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|---------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| | No | 39 | 84,8 |
| | Yes | 2 | 4,3 |
| | Total | 41 | 89,1 |
| Missing | Non response | 4 | 8,7 |
| | System | 1 | 2,2 |
| | Total | 5 | 10,9 |
| Total | | 46 | 100,0 |

These tables and graphs have given some insight to different features of the respondents. In the following chapter the answers to the questionnaire will be set against the theory in order to find an answer to the question of this research: *to what extent are the teachers of Muktangan empowered in their gender role by their profession of teachers?*

6 DATA ANALYSIS

In the previous chapter the general outcomes of the research has been shown. In this part the actual analysis will happen, guided by the sub research questions stated in the introduction. Every paragraph will analyze whether or not the variable correlates positively with the respondents. In this part I have only used the data of the women and left out the four filled in questionnaires by men.

6.1 Autonomy of the body

This paragraph will seek the answer to the following sub research question:

Do the teachers of Muktangnan have autonomy of their body?

The variable consists of the following indicators:

- Personal choice of partner and marriage
- Domestic violence
- Knowledge and use of birth control and choice of number of children
- Uneven sex ratio and desired sex of the children
- Fertility

Personal choice of partner and marriage

The personal choice of the partner refers to the question "Can you define your marriage?". In India it is custom to have an arranged marriage; the family chooses the marriage partner and the marriage candidate does or does not have a say in this. Love marriages do exist, but is believed to be only a small group. To live together with a partner without being married is not accepted in India. This in combination with not choosing your own marriage partner can be seen as a loss of autonomy over the body. It is also uncommon for young women to have a boyfriend and if she does she is often forced into marrying him or breaking the relationship. For men this custom is less strict. In this research from the 24 married female respondents 18 say they have an arranged marriage (75%) and only two say they have a love-marriage (8,3%). The other four are a love-arranged marriage (16,7%); where the relationship started out of love and became a marital bonding.

Table 20: Type of marriage

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Love marriage | 2 | 4.8 | 8.3 |
| Arranged marriage | 18 | 42.9 | 75.0 |
| Love-arranged marriage | 4 | 9.5 | 16.7 |
| Total | 24 | 57.1 | 100.0 |
| Missing | Unmarried | 18 | 42.9 |
| Total | | 42 | 100.0 |

There are 18 unmarried respondents, who were asked several questions about what they would like their future partner to be like and if their families want them to get married and how they feel about this themselves. From the 18 respondents there was one non-respons. The results show in table 21 that a partner with a good job is found important by the respondents (52,9 %), even more than a mixture of high level of education, a good job and the same background (35,3%). A good job in India gives financial security and status. Hence one can assume that for women this is important because in marriage they will be more dependent on their husbands.

Table 21: Future husband

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| | High level of education | 1 | 2.4 | 5.9 |
| | Good job | 9 | 21.4 | 52.9 |
| | Same background | 1 | 2.4 | 5.9 |
| | All of the above | 6 | 14.3 | 35.3 |
| | Total | 17 | 40.5 | 100.0 |
| Missing | Non respons | 1 | 2.4 | |
| | Married | 24 | 57.1 | |
| | Total | 25 | 59.5 | |
| Total | | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 22: Will to marry in the coming year

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| | Absolutely yes | 2 | 4.8 | 11.1 |
| | Yes | 1 | 2.4 | 5.6 |
| | Maybe | 10 | 23.8 | 55.6 |
| | No | 5 | 11.9 | 27.8 |
| | Total | 18 | 42.9 | 100.0 |
| Missing | System | 24 | 57.1 | |
| Total | | 42 | 100.0 | |

The question if they want to get married the coming year shows in table 55 that most of the respondents don't know if they want to get married (55,6%). Five were very sure they do not want to get married (27,8%). The reasons for this are listed in the table below. The respondents, who do not want to marry in the coming year, don't want to because they want to complete their education. It could be that these women have the fear once they are married they would not be allowed or be able to complete their education. Time could be a hampering factor, due to workload in the house of their in-laws and the children they would bear. This does not show a high autonomy of the body. Two respondents have not given a reason why they do not want to get married, hence the number of three shows in the cross tabulation.

From the ten respondents who answer that they maybe want to get married, five answer in the corresponding question about the reason (table 23) that their parents want them to get married (27,8%). Two other respondents state that it depends on the permission of their parents, but implies a will of wanting to get married (11,1%). The last respondent from the "maybe" category says that she wants to settle down in life (5,55%). Two of this category did not give a reason. From the two respondents who absolutely wanted to get married, one did not give a reason.

Table 23: Marry in the coming year and reason

| | | Reason | | | | | Total |
|--|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|---|--------------------|-------|
| | | Parents want me to get married | If my parents give me permission | I want a partner to share my life with | I want to settle in my life and age is going on | Complete education | |
| Do you want to marry in the coming year? | Absolutely yes | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Yes | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Maybe | 5 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| | No | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 13 |

If we combine the personal will of the respondents to marry and the will of the family, the following cross tabulation shows in table 24. From here the conclusion can be made that from the ten respondents, who say "maybe", five say that their family does want them to marry, three say maybe and one says no and there is one non-respons. From the five respondents who say they do not want to marry, four say that their family maybe wants them to get married. Only one also says that the family does not want her to marry as yet. The respondents who want to get married say that their parents also want this. Here one can wonder if the will of the parents influences the will of the women. Overall there is hardly free choice in getting married and to whom.

Table 24: Marry in the coming year and family thoughts

| | | Does your family want you to marry in the coming year? | | | | Total |
|--|----------------|--|-----|-------|----|-------|
| | | Absolutely yes | Yes | Maybe | No | |
| Do you want to marry in the coming year? | Absolutely yes | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Yes | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Maybe | 0 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| | No | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Total | | 1 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 17 |

Overall I can conclude that the free choice for a partner or marriage is not common among the women of Mukhtangan. Having a partner (meaning a love relationship without marital ties) in India is not accepted and for a woman it is inappropriate to remain unmarried. This also explains the huge role the family, especially the parents, play in arranging a marriage.

Domestic Violence

I asked permission to the directors of Mukhtangan to ask a question about domestic violence. Even though it is a sensitive topic, they allowed me to include it in the questionnaire, as they told me: "it does happen". The non-responses was low for this question, but the results show that the directors are right: 19,5% from the respondents get abused by their family members. The frequency differs from quite frequently to once a month. This number could even be higher due to social desirable answers, as the stigma around this topic is high.

Domestic violence is definitely an infringement on the autonomy of the body, as it can be described as an adult misusing power over another adult within a relationship involving physical and mental abuse, sexual assaults and threats.

Table 25: domestic violence

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Never | 33 | 78.6 | 80.5 |
| Once a month | 3 | 7.1 | 7.3 |
| Every few weeks | 3 | 7.1 | 7.3 |
| Once a week | 2 | 4.8 | 4.9 |
| Total | 41 | 97.6 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 1 | 2.4 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

If we look at the age group of these women who are physically violated, table 26 shows that this happens through all age groups, but tends towards the younger women. This is in line with international data; the United Nations Populations Fund report (2005) says that younger women and adolescent girls are especially vulnerable to gender based violence.

In the data there seems to be little difference in the amount of time the teachers have been working at Mukhtangan, shown in table 27. There is also no difference between married and unmarried women, from the eight violated women, four are married and four are unmarried. There is one non-respons, explaining the total number of 41.

Table 26: domestic violence and age

| | | Are you ever physically hurt by a family member? | | | | Total |
|-------------------|-------|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|
| | | Never | Once a month | Every few weeks | Once a week | |
| What is your age? | 15-19 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 20-24 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 10 |
| | 25-29 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| | 30-34 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 10 |
| | 35-39 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | 40-44 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 33 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 41 |

Table 27: domestic violence and time working for Muktangan

| | | Are you ever physically hurt by a family member? | | | | Total |
|---|-------------------|--|--------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|
| | | Never | Once a month | Every few weeks | Once a week | |
| How long have been working for Muktangan? | More than 3 years | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 3 to 2 years | 9 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| | 2 to 1 years | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| | Less than 1 year | 15 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 19 |
| Total | | 33 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 41 |

I conclude that domestic violence is happening among the respondents and maybe even more than can be read from the data due to social desirable answers. The numbers from this group are small when compared to data at a national level. Hard data is missing but government officials say that 70% of women in India between the age of 15 and 49 are victims of rape, beating or coerced sex (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6086334.stm).

Knowledge and use of birth control and choice over number of children.

Fourteen female respondents answer in table 28 that they have never heard of birth control (45,2%) and seventeen respondents say they have heard of birth control (54,8). The non-responses for this question is also very high: eleven. One can speculate that the teachers did not fill in the question because they do not know what birth control is or because they did not want to fill it in, as the topic is too sensitive to answer.

If we look specifically at the group of teachers I see no positive correlation between the time they have spent working in the institute and the knowledge about birth control. But if we look at the age of the respondents in table 29 we can see a connection; the older they are the more the women know about contraceptives. This is connected to being married, because the older a woman is the more likely it is that she will be married. From the married

respondents most have heard of birth control and the majority from the unmarried respondents has not heard of birth control.

Table 28: birth control and time working for Muktangan

| | | Have you heard of birth control? | | Total |
|---|-------------------|----------------------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| How long have been working for Muktangan? | More than 3 years | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 3 to 2 years | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| | 2 to 1 years | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| | Less than 1 year | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| Total | | 14 | 17 | 31 |

Table 29: birth control and age

| | | What is your age? | | | | | | Total |
|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | |
| Have you heard of birth control? | No | 1 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| | Yes | 0 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 17 |
| Total | | 1 | 8 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 31 |

Table 30: birth control and usage

| | | Have you ever used birth control in your life? | | Total |
|----------------------------------|-----|--|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| Have you heard of birth control? | Yes | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| Total | | 7 | 10 | 17 |

From the respondents who have children it is shown in table 31 that most have heard of birth control: 70,6% towards 29,4% who have not heard of birth control. From the ones who have children the majority has actually used birth control (58,3%). The ones who have not used birth control (41,7%) at least know of the existence as shown in table 32.

It is interesting that especially the older and married respondents are aware of contraceptives, as it could imply family planning. There can be several reasons for the married women having this knowledge, such as family members sharing their knowledge after marriage. But more likely is the

intensive family planning from the Indian government, who was one of the first governments in Asia to implement family planning. The website of the department of family welfare in India shows the facts and figures of free provided birth control, which includes condoms, pills and CopperT (<http://mohfw.nic.in/dofw%20website/family%20welfare%20programme/contra.htm>). It shows their active propaganda, as described in chapter three.

Table 31: birth control and children

| | | Do you have children? | | Total |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| Have you heard of birth control? | No | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| | Yes | 5 | 12 | 17 |
| Total | | 14 | 17 | 31 |

Table 32: birth control usage and children

| | | Do you have children? | | Total |
|--|-----|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| Have you ever used birth control in your life? | No | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| | Yes | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Total | | 10 | 12 | 22 |

The majority of the respondents who used birth control say in table 33 that it was a joint decision to use birth control (80%). Two did not fill in this question. When asked if more people influenced their decision, three say in table 34 that either their sister in law or the society was involved. This would mean that for a woman it is possible to decide, together with her husband, about the number of children she would like to have. They also state in table 35 that the birth control method was affordable and in some cases, such as the CopperT it was offered for free by the government. Nearly all respondents state that their husband paid for the contraceptives. In the end of this paragraph more about the size of the family and the use of contraceptives will be discussed, as fertility will be addressed.

Table 33: birth control usage and personal choice

| | Was it your personal choice to use birth control methods? | | | Total |
|--|---|----------------|-----------------------|-------|
| | Personal choice | Joint decision | Not a personal choice | |
| Respondents who used birth control in their life | 1 | 8 | 1 | 10 |

Table 34: personal choice and use of birth control

| | | Was it your personal choice to use birth control methods? | | | Total |
|---|------------------------|---|----------------|-----------------------|-------|
| | | Personal choice | Joint decision | Not a personal choice | |
| Who else had influence on the decision to use birth control method? | Both me and my husband | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| | Sister in law | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | No one else | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 |

Table 35: birth control and money

| | | Was the method of birth control you used affordable for you? | | | Total |
|---|-------------|--|------------|-----------|-------|
| | | Cheap | Affordable | Expensive | |
| Where did you get the money to pay for the birth control methods? | Non respons | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | for free | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | husband | 0 | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Total | | 1 | 8 | 1 | 10 |

As for the knowledge and use of birth control methods it can be concluded that the unmarried respondents know less about the use of contraceptives than married respondents. However, as it is uncommon for unmarried women to have a boyfriend or a sexual relationship one can debate whether this knowledge is necessary. Also because the backlog of knowledge seems to be vanished when the women get married, this can be seen by the knowledge of married respondents about birth control. Hence the autonomy of the body on this front seems to be rather good. This is reassured by the joint decision of the use of contraceptives and because of the widely availability of the contraceptives and family planning of the government.

The uneven sex ratio and the desired sex of the first born child.

The sex ratio in India has been uneven for a long time and is even more declining. In societies with a natural biological balance 105 boys are born towards a 100 girls, which evens out after the first five years of the child's life. Within this small research group the natural ratio is disturbed. From the respondents who have children 61,1% first born children are boys, as shown in table 36. Of course it could be by chance, but it would not be unthinkable that some of the families were won over by the illegal advertising of the sex determination test; "spend 500 Indian rupees now and save 50.000 later", referring to the dowry that not has to be paid if there is no daughter. So chances exist that some of the women have done one of the illegal sex determination tests and had the fetus removed if it was girl. The killing of the girl child is rather uncommon in large cities, but the access to clinics for the sex determination test is easy in the city.

Table 36: sex first born child

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Boy | 11 | 26.2 | 61.1 |
| Girl | 7 | 16.7 | 38.9 |
| Total | 18 | 42.9 | 100.0 |
| Missing Childless | 24 | 57.1 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 37: sex first born child and desired sex

| | | What is the desired sex of your first born child? | | | Total |
|---|------|---|------|----------------|-------|
| | | Boy | Girl | Doesn't matter | |
| What is the sex of your first born child? | Boy | 2 | 1 | 8 | 11 |
| | Girl | 0 | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | | 2 | 2 | 14 | 18 |

Fascinating is that most respondents, when asked about the desired sex of the first born child (77,7%) reply in table 37 that it did not matter whether it is a boy or a girl and give as most prominent reason that boys and girls are the same. However, socially desirable answers could play a role here.

In table 38 there are two respondents who say that a boy would fulfill the desire of the mother and father. One respondent says she would have had desired a girl as their first child, even though their first born child is a boy. Three women refer to the cultural barrier which girls face in India. To quote one of these women: "Boy and girl both are the same, but our culture is not giving any opportunity to girls".

Table 38: desired sex and reason

| | | What is the desired sex of your first born child? | | | Total |
|---|---|---|------|----------------|-------|
| | | Boy | Girl | Doesn't matter | |
| Can you explain the reason for the desire you described in the previous question? | Because boy and girl are the same | 0 | 0 | 13 | 13 |
| | To fulfill the desire of father and mother | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | A girl is sensitive and looks after her mother | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| | Both will be mine | 0 | 0 | 6 | 6 |
| | I like boy | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | Culture does not give same opportunity to girls | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| | I want healthy baby | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | | 5 | 5 | 23 | 33 |

Table 39: desired sex and children

| | | What is the desired sex of your first born child? | | | Total |
|-----------------------|-----|---|------|----------------|-------|
| | | Boy | Girl | Doesn't matter | |
| Do you have children? | No | 3 | 4 | 11 | 18 |
| | Yes | 2 | 2 | 14 | 18 |
| Total | | 5 | 6 | 25 | 36 |

There is no proof that the uneven sex ratio from the first born children is unnatural and most respondents say the sex of their first born child does not matter, as also shows table 39. But I do want to express my doubt about the much higher ratio of male first born. This would be in line with an overall trend in India where the sex ratio is uneven; currently 111 boys are born towards a 100 girls (Zwartboek, 2007:39).

Fertility

A woman should be able to control her own fertility, hence control her own birth rate. The Indian state intervenes in the fertility rate of women, such as described in chapter three. It is not as radical as in China where by law a family is only allowed to have one child, but through other ways India tries to control the population growth.

Education is identified by a large number of studies as a key variable in predicting women's fertility (Kabeer,1994: 219). It has shown that access to

education and employment has decreased women's fertility. Overpopulation is strongly connected with poverty and many of India's problems can be directed back towards the rapidly increasing population. "The conditions of poverty frequently engender high fertility" (Kabeer, 1994:203), because having children means having a larger productive force and someone to look after you in your old days.

In this research the respondents were asked about their ideal number of children they would like to have (table 40) and their ideal number of children for their children to have (table 41). This question was added as a control question to bring about their real thoughts about the number of children they would like to have; as parents often want the best for their children. The results differ on the point that for the children of their children 24,2% of the respondents are neutral about the number of children, but in their own circumstances they mention "doesn't matter" twice, which results in 5,7% and the majority wants one boy and one girl (85,7%).

Table 40: ideal number of children

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Doesn't matter | 2 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| 1 boy and 1 girl | 30 | 71.4 | 85.7 |
| 1 girl | 2 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| One boy or one girl | 1 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| Total | 35 | 83.3 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 7 | 16.7 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 41: ideal number of children for children

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Doesn't matter | 8 | 19.0 | 24.2 |
| 1 boy and 1 girl | 22 | 52.4 | 66.7 |
| 2 girls | 1 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| 1 girl | 1 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| One boy or one girl | 1 | 2.4 | 3.0 |
| Total | 33 | 78.6 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 9 | 21.4 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

It demonstrates that the respondents are aware of family planning, as nearly all said they would prefer a boy and a girl (85,7%). The reasons given in table 42 is the Government slogan: "A small family is a happy family" and to be able to offer their children quality time, education and life, which can be explained that when there are less children there is more money for the children they have, hence they can be offered better education, more food; an overall better quality of life. When looked at the 18 respondents who have

children, they have a total of 36 children. This is two children per person, still under the national fertility rate of 2,81 children per women (CIA factbook, 2007). However, the respondents are still in their fertility age and not all of them use birth control methods, so it is likely to go up.

Table 42: reason for ideal number

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|--|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Don't want to increase the population | 2 | 4.8 | 6.3 |
| To offer children quality time, education and life | 10 | 23.8 | 31.3 |
| So girl and boy can learn from each other | 4 | 9.5 | 12.5 |
| Boy and girl are the same | 5 | 11.9 | 15.6 |
| Small family is a happy family | 7 | 16.7 | 21.9 |
| I like a girl, but the family wants a boy | 2 | 4.8 | 6.3 |
| Other | 2 | 4.8 | 6.3 |
| Total | 32 | 76.2 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 10 | 23.8 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

As mentioned earlier in this thesis the older and married respondents often heard of birth control and the unmarried often have not. The respondents who have used birth control say it was a joint decision and that the birth control method was affordable and in some cases, such as the CopperT it was offered for free by the government. Nearly all respondents stated that their husband had paid for the contraceptives if they had used them. The number of children the respondents have is still under the national fertility rate, even though this figure could rise. However, in their desire for number of children the majority states one boy and one girl, all this shows an awareness about family planning. The teachers' access to education and a group of female colleagues will certainly help in this process. When I was searching internet for more information about birth control in India I found dozens of sites where Indian women anonymously exchange knowledge and experiences about the use of contraceptives. This is only accessible for educated women and that is certainly the case for the teachers of Muktangan.

The question: "Do the teachers of Muktangan have autonomy of their body?" can be answered in a slightly more positive than negative way. The free choice of partner is nearly absent for the women of Muktangan and the families play a huge role in finding a marriage partner. Domestic violence does happen but compared to national data on a much smaller scale, even though socially desirable answers should be taken into account. The women of Muktangan are also well aware of birth control methods, but improvement

can be made for the unmarried respondents. It seems that married couples practice family planning and influence the number of children they have and do this in joint decision making with their partner. However, a concern is the sex ratio from the children of the respondents, especially with the overall trend in India where the fertility rate is uneven; currently 111 boys are born towards a 100 girls (Zwartboek, 2007:39).

6.2 Autonomy of the household

This paragraph will try to answer the following sub question:

Do the teachers of Muktangan have autonomy within the household?

Autonomy of the household exists out of the following indicators:

- Paid job and acceptance of the family
 - Decision making on personal income
 - Decision making in the household
 - Decision making on the education of the children
 - Decision making over income
 - Reproductive role of women
 - Productive role of women
 - Leisure time
- } triple role

Paid job and acceptance of the family

Earlier the custom of "purdah" has been explained. From this ancient custom the habit derives that, when financially possible, women are not allowed to have a job. The women who are part of this research all have a job, so it is important to realize that this is not a good sample group to measure the acceptance of a paid job. Interesting to note is that from the 42 teacher respondents only one replied that her family was not happy she is working at Muktangan, another said the family was neutral. But all other respondents say their family is (very) happy that they work at Muktangan (95,3%). This shows a clear acceptance of women having a paid job. Another reason could be their contribution to the family income. In the content analysis different reasons for their happiness came forward. All the reasons can be found in the appendix. Some respondents mentioned several options in one answer; here I have mentioned the majority of their reasons.

In the content analysis came forward that nine respondents say that their family encouraged them to work at Muktangan (21,4%). Six say that they themselves wanted to be a teacher (14,3%). Four respondents specified that they were particularly happy because they are offered education and can teach at the same time (9,5%). And seven respondents said their family is (very) happy because of the opportunity that Muktangan offers to become a teacher (16,6%). Four respondents say that Muktangan is very cooperative and is like a family (9,5%) Three respondents give as a reason that the Muktangan school is close to their home, which makes their family happy (7,1%). Two respondents say their family is happy because their colleagues are female (4,7%). Three respondents also mentioned that their family is happy because by working at Muktangan they gained self confidence (7,1%). Another three mentioned the respect they receive in the community (7,1%). Overall I can conclude that the family has fully accepted their daughter, sister or wife working at Muktangan and even encourages them.

Decision making on personal income

If women have a job, the question arises whether they can keep a part of their personal earned income for themselves. This is connected to the income allocation within the family, as described later in this paragraph. "Rarely are women's and men's income allocated to the same expenditure categories (Moser, 1993:24)." Nearly half of the teachers of Mukhtangan state in table 43 that they can keep part of the income for themselves (48,8%). However, 34,1% say they are not allowed to keep some of their earned money and it is most likely that they will hand over their income to one of the elders in the family, as is custom in India. Unfortunately the question about "where they spend their income on" has not been asked. But other research points out that male income is often spend on personal forms of consumption, such as alcohol, cigarettes, eating out and women's company, while a larger part of women's income is spend on the welfare of their children or goods for the overall household (Kabeer, 1994:104).

Table 43: keep income

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| No | 14 | 33.3 | 34.1 |
| Yes | 20 | 47.6 | 48.8 |
| Trainee | 7 | 16.7 | 17.1 |
| Total | 41 | 97.6 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 1 | 2.4 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 44: keep income and number of family members

| | | Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Mukhtangan for yourself? | | | Total |
|---|----------------------|---|-----|---------|-------|
| | | No | Yes | Trainee | |
| How many family members do you live with? | 0-4 family members | 4 | 6 | 3 | 13 |
| | 5-8 family members | 6 | 9 | 2 | 17 |
| | 9-12 family members | 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| | 13-16 family members | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 13 | 15 | 7 | 35 |

There only seems to be a slight connection in table 44 between the size of the family and the money teachers are allowed to keep for personal use, when examined in absolute figures. Respondents from larger families did not know how much the income of the entire family is. That is the reason why I

wanted to see if there could be a connection, but there does not seem a strong one. The amount that the respondents are allowed to keep varies widely, but the median is 500 Indian rupees, as can be seen in table 45. A fair amount if compared to their wage of 1500- 2000 INR per month. The non- responds for the question if they are allowed to keep part of their income was one. With the above table the non-responds is higher due to the non-responds about their number of family members.

Table 45: keep income and amount

| | | Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Muktangan for yourself | | Total |
|--------------|---------|---|----|-------|
| Amount | 100.00 | | 2 | 2 |
| that you | 200.00 | | 1 | 1 |
| can spend | 300.00 | | 1 | 1 |
| for yourself | 500.00 | | 5 | 5 |
| | 700.00 | | 1 | 1 |
| | 1000.00 | | 1 | 1 |
| | 1500.00 | | 3 | 3 |
| Total | | | 14 | 14 |

Table 46 shows that there is a slight connection between the marital status and being allowed to keep a part of the personal earned money. From the respondents who are not allowed to keep a part of their income 64,3% are married and 35,7% are unmarried. Compared to 55% unmarried respondents who are allowed to keep part of their income and 45% who are not allowed to keep part of their income. Hence it looks like that married women have less decision making over their income.

Table 46: keep income and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|--|---------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Muktangan for yourself? | No | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| | Yes | 11 | 9 | 20 |
| | Trainee | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | | 17 | 24 | 41 |

In table 47 there seems to be a small connection with how long they have been working at Muktangan. The longer they have been working at Muktangan the more often they are allowed to keep part of their own income.

Table 47: keep income and time working at Muktangan

| | | Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Muktangan for yourself? | | | Total |
|---|-------------------|--|-----|---------|-------|
| | | No | Yes | Trainee | |
| How long have been working for Muktangan? | More than 3 years | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 3 to 2 years | 5 | 7 | 0 | 12 |
| | 2 to 1 years | 2 | 7 | 0 | 9 |
| | Less than 1 year | 7 | 4 | 7 | 18 |
| Total | | 14 | 20 | 7 | 41 |

With age and being allowed to keep part of the earned money there does not seem to be a straightforward connection. Table 48 shows that the age group between 20 and 29 are able to keep part of their income more often than others.

Table 48: Age and keep income

| | | Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Muktangan for yourself? | | | Total |
|-------------------|-------|--|-----|---------|-------|
| | | No | Yes | Trainee | |
| What is your age? | 15-19 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 20-24 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 10 |
| | 25-29 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 15 |
| | 30-34 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 10 |
| | 35-39 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| | 40-44 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | 14 | 20 | 7 | 41 |

I did not find national data or comparative data to put aside the results of Muktangan. Hence it is difficult to draw a conclusion whether or not there is a free choice to spend the money the teachers earn. In table 46 it shows that married women are less often allowed to keep the money they earn. But overall nearly half of the women are allowed to spend part of the money according to their wishes, so it is interesting to look if marriage is a defining factor with other indicators.

Decision making in the household

Decision making in the household is described in chapter three and speaks about the fact that intra household decision making is not necessarily equal, but varies with family members having different bargaining positions. "Decision making within the household is thus seen as the resolution of potentially conflicting preference through a process of negotiation between unequals" (Kabeer, 1994:109). In this research questions were asked about purchasing large or small items in order to know more about the bargaining position or influence the respondents have in decision making.

Table 49: purchase large items

| | Statistics | | |
|-----------------------------|------------|---------|---------------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
| Female family members | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Older female family members | 4 | 9.5 | 9.5 |
| Entire family | 15 | 35.7 | 35.7 |
| Male family members | 8 | 19.0 | 19.0 |
| Older male family members | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Mother and father | 7 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| Partner and myself | 5 | 11.9 | 11.9 |
| Myself female | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 49 shows that the decision making about large items, such as a television or a fridge is in most cases made by the entire family (35,7%). The group of respondents who say that their male family members decide on these purchases (21,4%) is larger than the respondents who say that the older female family members decide (11,9%). Hence the decision making seems to balance towards male decision making. Important to note is that the respondents clearly state that it's the older female members and not so much the older men. This could be explained by the custom that when a female ages she rises within the family hierarchy, hence getting an increasing influence on decision making.

The majority (35,7%) say that the entire family decides. While smaller groups say that the mother and the father decide (16,7%) or the partner and themselves (11,9%).

Table 50: purchase large items and type of family

| | | Can you list the people with whom you live in terms of family relationship to you? | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|--|-------|
| | | Nuclear family, father, mother and brother/sister | My partner and children | Mother, father, brother and sister in law | In laws; father in law, mother in law, brother in law, sister in law | |
| In your family who decides on the purchase of large items, such as a television? | Female family members | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Older female family members | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | Entire family | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 11 |
| | Male family members | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 7 |
| | Older male family members | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Mother and father | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| | Partner and myself | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| | Myself female | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 14 | 5 | 2 | 15 | 36 | |

If we cross tabulate this data with the type of family it shows in table 50 that where the male are decision makers they are part of the larger families. In the nuclear family it shows that both the mother and father make the decision or the entire family. Thus it looks like that the larger the family the less is listened to the women within the decision making process, but older female family members and the entire family is also mentioned.

The respondents were asked how much influence they have in this process, as can be seen in table 51. The majority has 50% or more influence in this process, nearly a quarter 25% and 19% of the respondents have zero influence in this process.

Table 51: influence in decision

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| 0 % | 8 | 19.0 | 19.0 |
| 25 % | 10 | 23.8 | 23.8 |
| 50 % | 15 | 35.7 | 35.7 |
| 75 % | 7 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| 100% | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

This data is also compared to their marital status in table 52. Here it shows that there is a difference between the married women and the unmarried women and their influence in decision making. Especially with the ones who state they have 75% influence, this group is 85,7% towards 14,3%. Overall the married respondents have more influence than their unmarried colleagues.

Table 52: influence in decision and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|---|------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| How much influence do you have in this decision-making process? | 0 % | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| | 25 % | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| | 50 % | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| | 75 % | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| | 100% | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Total | | 18 | 24 | 42 |

Table 53: influence in decision and time working at Muktangan

| | | How long have been working for Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|---|------|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| How much influence do you have in this decision-making process? | 0 % | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 8 |
| | 25 % | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 10 |
| | 50 % | 0 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 15 |
| | 75 % | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| | 100% | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Total | | 2 | 12 | 9 | 19 | 42 |

When looked at the time working at Muktangan in table 53 there seems to be a slight connection with how long the women have been working at Muktangan and their influence in the decision making about the purchase of large items. The shorter they are working at Muktangan the less influence they seem to have.

When looked at the age and their influence it shows that the older the respondents are the more influence they have, which would be in line with married respondents having more influence, as the older the women the more often they are married.

Table 54: age and influence in decision making

| | | What is your age? | | | | | Total | |
|---|------|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | | 40-44 |
| How much influence do you have in this decision-making process? | 0 % | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| | 25 % | 0 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 10 |
| | 50 % | 1 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 15 |
| | 75% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| | 100% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Total | | 2 | 10 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 42 |

It is interesting to look at the time working at Muktangnan and the age the women have. In table 55 it shows that there is no connection between how long the teachers have been working at Muktangnan and their age.

Table 55: age and time working on Muktangnan

| | | What is your age? | | | | | | Total |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | |
| How long have you been working at Muktangnan? | More than 3 years | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 3-2 years | 0 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| | 2-1 years | 0 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| | Less than 1 year | 2 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 19 |
| Total | | 2 | 10 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 42 |

So overall one can say that especially married respondents enjoy a say in the decision making of large purchases. There only seems to be a slight correlation with the time working at Muktangnan, but the connection with age is more obvious, which is connected to being married. However, the married women have less to say over their income than the unmarried women. But it does seem to increase their bargaining position and treat point. Overall male seem to have a larger role in the decision making process of buying large items and especially in the larger family their influence seems to be bigger.

The same question was asked about the purchase of small items, such as groceries. In table 56 it clearly shows that the female members of the family decide on these purchases (69,1%), this includes the answer "myself". Only 4,8% say that male family members decide on this and only 11.9 % that the father and the mother decide on buying small items.

The influence the respondents say they have on the decision about purchasing small items is a lot larger in this decision making process, than when buying large items: in table 57 45% say their influence is 75 % or more. This is reinforced by the content analysis, where it shows that most of the female respondents do the cooking. Hence it can be concluded that cooking is done by the female members of the household, which is often linked to buying the food as well.

Table 56: decision small purchase

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Female family members | 18 | 42.9 | 42.9 |
| Older female family members | 4 | 9.5 | 9.5 |
| Entire family | 5 | 11.9 | 11.9 |
| Male family members | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| Mother and father | 5 | 11.9 | 11.9 |
| Partner and myself | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Myself | 7 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Table 57: influence decision small purchases

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| 0 % | 3 | 7.1 | 7.5 |
| 25 % | 9 | 21.4 | 22.5 |
| 50 % | 10 | 23.8 | 25.0 |
| 75 % | 14 | 33.3 | 35.0 |
| 100% | 4 | 9.5 | 10.0 |
| Total | 40 | 95.2 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 2 | 4.8 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

When looked at the size of the family it shows in table 58 that especially in large families the older women and some of the male family members decide on the purchase of small items. When the male family members decide it does not automatically mean that they cook, but more of the opposite; the men decide what is to be bought and the women have to cook accordingly, as is shown in the content analysis where most women do the cooking. When the decision making is done jointly is shows that they are part of nuclear families or only live with the husband and children.

Table 58: decision small purchases and family size

| | | Can you list the people with whom you live in terms of their family relationship to you? | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|--|-------|
| | | Nuclear family, father, mother and brother/sister | My partner and children | Mother, father, brother and sister in law | In laws; father in law, mother in law, brother in law, sister in law | |
| In your household who decides on the purchase of small items, such as groceries? | Female family members | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 16 |
| | Older female family members | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | Entire family | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | Male family members | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | Mother and father | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | Partner and myself | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Myself | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Total | | 14 | 5 | 2 | 15 | 36 |

There is a difference between married respondents and unmarried respondents, as shown in table 59. The former has more influence in this decision making process than the latter. From the married respondents 75% has more than 50% influence in the decision making process about small items, towards 62,5% from the unmarried respondents.

Table 59: influence decision small purchases and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|---|-------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| How much influence do you have in this decision making process? | 0 % | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | 25 % | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| | 50 % | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| | 75 % | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| | 100 % | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Total | | 16 | 24 | 40 |

Table 60: influence decision small purchases and time working at Muktangang

| | | How long have been working for Muktangang? | | | | Total |
|---|------|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| How much influence do you have in this decision making process? | 0 % | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | 25 % | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| | 50 % | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 10 |
| | 75 % | 0 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 14 |
| | 100% | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Total | | 2 | 11 | 9 | 18 | 40 |

Table 61: influence decision small purchases and age

| | | What is your age? | | | | | Total | |
|---|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 35-39 | | 40-44 |
| How much influence do you have in this decision making process? | 0 % | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| | 25 % | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 9 |
| | 50 % | 0 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 10 |
| | 75 % | 0 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | 100 % | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | | 2 | 10 | 15 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 40 |

There does not seem to be a connection between the time working at Muktangang and the influence the respondents have in the decision making about the purchase of small items, as shown in table 60. But with age there seems to be a correlation, as shown in table 61. The older the respondents are the more influence they have in the decision making process. This is in line with the more influence the married respondents have.

Overall the decision making about smaller items lies with women. Married and older respondents have more influence. The time working at Muktangang does not seem to be an important defining factor. It is good that women have decision making power, but as this is most probably linked to the household activity of cooking it would add to the triple role of women. As stated in the theory in chapter three the contribution, such as cleaning or cooking is often not perceived to contribute to the household, hence not be seen as a bargaining power. However, having influence in buying groceries will most likely increase their and their family members' nutritional levels, as will be described in the paragraph about health. Therefore one can debate the positive aspects of the decision making power women have about small items.

Decision making on the education of the children

The decision making about the education of the children is an important aspect of the autonomy within the household due to its importance in the bargaining decision. Table 62 shows that the decision about the education of the children lies in majority with both the mother and father and the partner and “myself” (the respondent) (62,5%). Only a small percentage (7,5%) says that is lies with the male family members, opposite 5% where the women decide.

When looked at the amount of influence the respondents have in this process table 63 shows that more than half of the respondents (54,3%) say they have 50% influence and another 34,3% say they even have 75% influence. Hence one can say that the teachers of Muktangan have clear decision making power about the education of their children. I assume this also has to do with their profession as teachers, hence their expertise in this field.

Table 62: influence decision education children

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Female family members | 2 | 4.8 | 5.0 |
| Entire family | 4 | 9.5 | 10.0 |
| Male family members | 3 | 7.1 | 7.5 |
| Mother and father | 22 | 52.4 | 55.0 |
| Partner and myself | 3 | 7.1 | 7.5 |
| Myself | 1 | 2.4 | 2.5 |
| There are no children | 5 | 11.9 | 12.5 |
| Total | 40 | 95.2 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 2 | 4.8 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 63: influence decision education children

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| 0 % | 1 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| 25 % | 2 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| 50 % | 19 | 45.2 | 54.3 |
| 75 % | 12 | 28.6 | 34.3 |
| 100% | 1 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| Total | 35 | 83.3 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 2 | 4.8 | |
| Childless | 5 | 11.9 | |
| Total | 7 | 16.7 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 64: influence decision education children and time working at Mukatangan

| | | How long have been working for Mukatangan? | | | | Total |
|---|-----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| In your household who decides on the education of the children? | Female family members | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | Entire family | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| | Male family members | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | Mother and father | 2 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 22 |
| | Partner and myself | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | Myself | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | There are no children | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Total | | 2 | 11 | 8 | 19 | 40 |

Table 64 shows that the respondents working at Mukatangan for more than a year have more influence in this decision making process than the ones who have been working there for less than a year. But overall the teachers have a good influence in this decision making process.

Decision making over income

In theory the connection between generating an income and having equality in resource allocation is mentioned, but this connection cannot be taken for granted. A lot has to do with the perception described in chapter three, which Sen refers to. Hence self esteem and the ability to mobilize external strengths, such as wages or community opinion and internal strengths, such as better education and health, are also important to improve their situation (Moser, 1993:27). In the beginning of this paragraph the question about being able to allocate personal income was addressed and concluded that half of the teachers are allowed to keep part of their income and that unmarried women can keep part of their income more than married women. If we look at the external strength, it seems to be very positive as nearly all the family members of the Mukatangan teachers are happy that they work at Mukatangan and even express their proud. The community is also very supportive towards Mukatangan, which can be concluded from the fact that the parents themselves suggested to pay material charges and that Mukatangan had to keep a waiting list until this year, when they got the request and permission from the BMC to start six new schools with the Mukatangan method. The internal strength of the women is shown by the continuing education they receive from Mukatangan and the wish to continue education beyond, as can be read in the last paragraph. The content analysis also shows that the family is happy they work at Mukatangan because of the opportunity they get and the learning they receive. Hence I can conclude that the income allocation viewed from a women's empowerment perspective is positive towards the women working at Mukatangan.

Reproductive role of women

As shown before, 18 respondents have children. When asked who takes care of the children the majority answers in table 65 that the entire family looks after them and that men are surely involved in this activity. An advantage that women working at Mukhtangan have is the fact that they can go for a maternity leave of three months, which is not the case for many other working women in India. For men to take maternity leave is unheard of in India. The "other" in this category refers to aunts and uncles.

Table 65: takes care of the children

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Myself | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| My husband | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Me and my husband | 3 | 7.1 | 7.1 |
| Entire family | 11 | 26.2 | 26.2 |
| Me and my mother | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| There are no children | 21 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Other | 3 | 7.1 | 7.1 |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The reproductive role of women is in theory often referred to as not only caring for the children, but also caring for other family members. As the questionnaire was already rather large I decided to keep this question out, hence no data is available. But one can conclude that the reproductive role of women is very important in India, as a woman only becomes a different woman after becoming a mother, because according to the Hindu Manu law "the ability to give birth and sustain life, to conceive sons and assure the continuity of the lineage is women's supreme virtue" (Mitter, 1991:89). Thus the process of child bearing is very important and to be motherless in India carries a high negative stigma. From the married women the majority have children and the question about who takes care of the children is answered mainly by the entire family takes care of the children: 61,1% , when I leave out the childless respondents. Hence the teachers of Mukhtangan do not need to fulfill this task solely, but detailed data is missing when respondents say "the entire family", as it does not say anything about the division of time among the family members or if they are male or female. When looked at the data in comparison with the time working at Mukhtangan in table 66 it shows no correlation. The conclusion towards the reproductive role of women should be made carefully, but tends towards a lesser burden of the triple role that women often fulfill.

Table 66: takes care of the children and time working Muktangan

| | | How long have been working for Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| Who takes care of the children? | Myself female | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | My husband | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Me and my husband | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | Entire family | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 11 |
| | Me and my mother | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | There are no children | 1 | 9 | 2 | 9 | 21 |
| | Other | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | Total | 2 | 12 | 9 | 19 | 42 |

Productive role of women

The productive role of women consists of paid work, either cash or in kind and is often combined with the reproductive role and community role of women. This combination of roles is often a big pressure to a woman's life, resulting in long working days. There is widespread evidence that women work longer hours on average than men, but this will be addressed in next paragraph about health of the women. All respondents have a paid job. And from the 24 married respondents 20 say that their partner has a job and three say they are jobless. There is also one non-respondent, who belongs to the married respondents. The jobs the partners have vary widely and so does the income. Data is not available about how much the family depends on the income of the female productive role, but at least three of the male partners are jobless. And if we look at the total family income in table 67 and know that Muktangan teachers get paid 1500 - 2000 INR per month, we can say that the families absolutely depend on the income of the women, which would increase their bargaining position. This increases when the income of the entire family is combined with the size of the family, as most families have a total income of 4000 to 8000 INR and vary from zero to twelve family members. Hence the teachers provide half or at least 1/4 of the family income, which would increase their bargaining position and increase their threat point.

Table 67: net monthly income family

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| 0-3000 INR | 8 | 19.0 | 20.5 |
| 4000-8000 INR | 22 | 52.4 | 56.4 |
| 9000-13000 INR | 3 | 7.1 | 7.7 |
| More than 14000 INR | 1 | 2.4 | 2.6 |
| Don't know | 5 | 11.9 | 12.8 |
| Total | 39 | 92.9 | 100.0 |
| Missin Non respons | 3 | 7.1 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is 3800 dollars. (CIA factbook, 2007). Converted this would be 159600 INR. When I would take 6000 INR as a monthly family income this would come to 72000 INR on a yearly basis, less than half of the GDP. Hence the income of these women is of huge importance for these families.

As the respondents all have jobs it is interesting to find out how they combine their productive role with other activities. Hence questions were asked about who does the washing and drying of the clothes and how much time they spend on housework activities. The first question turned out to be confusing as I should not have asked about "the husband, if you have any". However, I was present while the female respondents filled in the questionnaire and therefore was able to direct them through it. But this question would definitely be rephrased if asked again. Gladly the non-respons turned out to be low (3) and we can still read data out of this question in table 68. Here it is clear that the female members of the family do the washing and drying of clothes: 61,5% say they do all the washing and when the other mentioned female members are added this goes up to 92,3%. Hence this does not show a fair division of work on this front and a higher pressure on the triple role women fulfill.

Table 68: washing and drying of clothes

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Myself | 24 | 57.1 | 61.5 |
| Sister in law | 1 | 2.4 | 2.6 |
| Me and my mother in law | 5 | 11.9 | 12.8 |
| Me and my husband | 3 | 7.1 | 7.7 |
| My mother | 2 | 4.8 | 5.1 |
| My sister | 1 | 2.4 | 2.6 |
| Me and my mother | 3 | 7.1 | 7.7 |
| Total | 39 | 92.9 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 3 | 7.1 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 69: washing and drying of clothes and time working Muktangan

| | | How long have been working for Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|---|-------------------------|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| Who does the washing and drying of the clothes of you and your husband? | Myself | 0 | 6 | 7 | 11 | 24 |
| | Sister in law | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Me and my mother in law | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| | Me and my husband | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | My mother | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | My sister | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Me and my mother | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| Total | | 2 | 10 | 9 | 18 | 39 |

When I compare the time working at Muktangan and who does the washing and drying of the clothes in table 69 it shows there is no connection. Many respondents do the washing themselves or with their mother or mother in law. This adds to the workload of the triple role.

If we look at the answers given by the respondents in table 70 about the time they spend on household activities there is a strong division between three groups; one who spends 6-10 hours (25%) and a group which spends more than 21 hours (30%), another large group spends less than five hours on household activities (20%). There is a connection between being married and the amounts of time spend on household activities. Table 71 shows that married respondents spend much more time on household activities (60%) than unmarried respondents (40%). And that the unmarried respondents take up a large part in the group who spends less than five hours a week on household activities (75%). Thus I can say married life increases the time spend on household activities.

Table 70: time spend on household activities

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------|--------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| | Less than 5 hours | 8 | 19.0 | 20.0 |
| | 6-10 hours | 10 | 23.8 | 25.0 |
| | 11-15 hours | 5 | 11.9 | 12.5 |
| | 16-20 hours | 5 | 11.9 | 12.5 |
| | More than 21 hours | 12 | 28.6 | 30.0 |
| | Total | 40 | 95.2 | 100.0 |
| Missing | Non respons | 2 | 4.8 | |
| | Total | 2 | 4.8 | |
| Total | | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 71: time spend on household activities and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|---|--------------------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| How much time do you spend in a week taking care of household activities? | Less than 5 hours | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| | 6-10 hours | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| | 11-15 hours | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| | 16-20 hours | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| | More than 21 hours | 3 | 9 | 12 |
| Total | | 16 | 24 | 40 |

There is also a connection with having children or not. The respondents who have children spend more time on household activities, as shown in table 72. The non-respons for this question was three, which explains the total of 39.

Table 72: time spend on household activities and children

| | | Do you have children? | | Total |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| How much time do you spend in a week taking care of household activities? | Less than 5 hours | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| | 6-10 hours | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| | 11-15 hours | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| | 16-20 hours | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| | More than 21 hours | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Total | | 21 | 18 | 39 |

A correlation with the size of the family only seems to be small in table 73; in smaller families the respondents spend more time working on household activities. This could be explained that in larger families the burden of household activities can be shared. Here there was a non-respons of eight.

Table 73: time spend on household activities and family size

| | | How many family members do you live with? | | | | Total |
|---|--------------------|---|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------|
| | | 0-4 family members | 5-8 family members | 9-12 family members | 13-16 family members | |
| How much time do you spend in a week taking care of household activities? | Less than 5 hours | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| | 6-10 hours | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| | 11-15 hours | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | 16-20 hours | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| | More than 21 hours | 4 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| Total | | 14 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 34 |

Leisure time

Leisure time can be described as what people like to do in their free time; activities they find enjoyable and which they are not obliged to do. Listening to music, reading, watching television and playing with the children are the most popular among the respondents. In table 74 it shows that a big part of them have at least one to three hours of leisure time a week (40,5%) or four to six hours (26,2%). However, one can say that, this is very little time if compared to the Netherlands, where people have the entire weekend off. This can be partly explained by the 6 day working week, common in Mumbai, leaving only the Sunday as a free day, but is mainly due to the long working days and many activities that the respondents fulfill.

Table 74: Leisure and time spend

| | | How much time do you have for leisure during the week? | | | | | Total |
|---|------------------------|--|------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| | | None | Less than 1 hour | 1-3 hours | 4-6 hours | More than 6 hours | |
| What do you do for leisure, if you have time? | Listen to music | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| | Reading | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| | Watching TV | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| | Play with our children | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | All of the above | 0 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 16 |
| | Clean and cook | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Other | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| | Non respons | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 1 | 6 | 17 | 11 | 7 | 42 |

Table 75: Leisure and time working at Muktangan

| | | How long have been working for Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|--|-------------------|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| How much time do you have for leisure during the week? | None | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | Less than 1 hour | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| | 1-3 hours | 1 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 17 |
| | 4-6 hours | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 11 |
| | More than 6 hours | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Total | | 2 | 12 | 9 | 19 | 42 |

When cross tabulated with the time working at Muktangan table 75 shows no real correlation. Only in the group of 4-6 hours the teachers working at Muktangan longer than a year have more leisure time, but in the group of more than six hours leisure time the teachers working for less than a year at Muktangan are in the majority. So there is no direct correlation.

Table 76: Time spend on leisure and money spend

| | | How much time do you have for leisure during the week | | | | Total |
|---|--------|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-------|
| | | Less than 1 hour | 1-3 hours | 4-6 hours | More than 6 hours | |
| How much money did you spend on leisure in the past week, if any? | .00 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 16 |
| | 50.00 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 100.00 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | 150.00 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 200.00 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 250.00 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 275.00 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 300.00 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | 400.00 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | 500.00 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Total | | 5 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 30 |

When looking at the money that is spent on leisure time in table 76 there is no correlation between the time spent and the money that is spent. Most respondents have replied not to have spent money on leisure in the last week (53,3%). But the others (46,7%) have spent an amount that varies from 50 INR to 500 INR. There is no national data available to compare, hence it is difficult to draw a conclusion, but more than half of the respondents have one to six hours of leisure time a week, hence a positive aspect for the autonomy of the household.

To answer the question: "Do the teachers of Mukatangan have autonomy within the household?" is complex. The family has fully accepted the fact that their daughter, wife or sister has a paid job. Nearly half of the respondents say they are allowed to keep part of their income and the amount they can keep is very reasonable when compared to total income. However, married women have less to say about their earnings, but they do have more influence in the decision making about the purchase of large items and even more in the decision making about small items. The backside of this is that there seems to be a clear gender division among household activities, the cooking and cleaning is mainly done by the women. The children are taken care of by the entire family, but a division of time or gender is not available about who spends what amount of time with the children, so it's difficult to draw hard conclusions. With the choice of education for their children the respondents play a large role, this is probable because of their profession as teachers. Married women spend more time on household activities, which adds to their triple role, but as all women, except one, say they have at least one to six hours of free time in a week is quite positive. As when the pressure of the triple role would be too high, leisure would be one of the first things one would skip. Overall there is hardly a connection with the time working at Mukatangan.

6.3 Autonomy outside the household

In this section I will try to answer the following sub research question:

Do the teachers of Muktangan have autonomy outside the household?

The indicators for the variable are:

- Other activities than work
- Community work or role
- Own valuable goods and have a right to property
- Legal protection

Other activities than work

The respondents were asked if they undertake any other activities outside of working for Muktangan. There were two non-respondents and 18 people who do not undertake any other activity outside of working for Muktangan. From the 22 respondents who take up other activities in the week, a large group gives tuition in their neighborhood (40,9%). Three respondents make things in order to get some extra pocket money (13,6%). To make food or cigarettes are common practice among women to ensure an extra income. Other activities than work are only important for empowerment if they provide an income. In 59,1% this is the case. Being able to generate more income increases their threat point and their bargaining position within the household.

Table 77: *Other activities and time*

| | | How much time do these other activities take up in week? | | | | | Total |
|---|---|--|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | Less than 5 hours | 6-10 hours | 11-15 hours | 16-20 hours | More than 21 hours | |
| What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | Study | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (cigarettes) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | Give tuition | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| | Tailor | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | Cook and clean | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Other | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | | 12 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 22 |

If we look at the other activities in combination with the time spent on these we can see that the majority spends less than five hours on other activities (54,5%), but that a large group spends six to ten hours on activities outside Muktangan (27,3%), especially giving tuition takes up time. The category "other" is: meeting with friends or a combination of tailoring and giving

tutions. Another combination is spending time with the family, cooking for them, playing with the children and making glass paintings and candles in the meantime.

Table 78: other activities and payment

| | | Do you get paid for these activities? | | Total |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|-----|-------|
| | | No | Yes | |
| What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | Study | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (cigarettes) | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| | Give tuition | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| | Tailor | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | Cook and clean | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | Other | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Total | | 9 | 13 | 22 |

The majority of the paid activities is giving tuition, which also is the best paid activity. The money the respondents make from their other activities varies from 200 INR to 5000 INR a month. These other activities do add to the triple role, but at the same time increases the bargaining position and most likely also the nutrition levels of their family members, because the amount contributes to the total family income.

Table 79: other activities and time working at Muktangan

| | | How long have been working for Muktangan? | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan? | Study | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | Make things, jewelry, sweets, bedi (cigarettes) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | Give tuition | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 9 |
| | Tailor | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | Cook and clean | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Other | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| | No other activity | 1 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 18 |
| Total | | 2 | 11 | 9 | 18 | 40 |

There does not seem to be a relation between the time working at Muktangan and being active in activities other than working at Muktangan. I can conclude that 13 from the 42 respondents (30,9%) have other activities than working at Muktangan for which they get paid. Even though this adds to their triple role it is a positive aspect of autonomy outside the household as it increases their bargaining position tremendously.

Community work/role

The community role is the third part of the triple role which women frequently fulfill. These are activities taken up at the community level and where gender division often takes place; women are mainly concerned with issues about health and education and men with politics. The question about community work was answered by mass as negative (95,3%). Only two of the respondents do community work; they teach the underprivileged child. It is clear that the teachers of Mukatangan do not take part in any political activity. Their extra activities, such as tuition can be seen as a service to the community, but they get paid for these efforts. As status is often referred to in the content analysis one can speculate that these teachers do not need to fulfill any other unpaid activities for the community as they already play such an important role in the community project Mukatangan and that the community children are educated by them. Overall I can say that the teachers of Mukatangan have autonomy outside the household through their status in the society as being Mukatangan teachers.

Own valuable goods and right to property

Access to private ownership of land and capital is very important for the autonomy of the body. If you have personal property or own valuable goods it can make women economically less dependent on men. In times of crisis valuable goods can ensure a back up. But being the owner of something valuable also gives a person a better bargaining position. The non-respons was high for this question, as can be seen in table 80. As noted before this could be because the answer is "no", they do not own anything and skip the question, or they might not have felt like sharing this information or they were tired after filling in a large amount of questions already. For the ones who did answer, 20% does not own anything. Another 11,4% answered that their family and husband was of value to them and the majority say they own saris and/or jewelry (57,1%).

Table 80: possession

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Sari and/or dress | 5 | 11.9 | 14.3 |
| Jewelry | 2 | 4.8 | 5.7 |
| Sari and jewelry | 13 | 31.0 | 37.1 |
| Family and husband | 4 | 9.5 | 11.4 |
| Nothing | 7 | 16.7 | 20.0 |
| Other | 4 | 9.5 | 11.4 |
| Total | 35 | 83.3 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 7 | 16.7 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 81: possession and time working at Muktanggan

| | | How long have been working for Muktanggan? | | | | Total |
|---|--------------------|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| Can you describe what you as an individual own that is of value to you? | Sari and/or dress | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| | Jewelry | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| | Sari and jewelry | 1 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 13 |
| | Family and husband | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| | Nothing | 0 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| | Other | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Total | | 1 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 35 |

There does not seem to be a connection with the time working at Muktanggan and to own valuable things, as can be seen in table 81.

Table 82: possession and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|---|--------------------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| Can you describe what you as an individual own that is of value to you? | Sari and/or dress | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| | Jewelry | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | Sari and jewelry | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| | Family and husband | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | Nothing | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| | Other | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Total | | 14 | 21 | 35 |

Table 82 shows a difference between married and unmarried respondents, the former tend to own more valuable things. This can be explained by the Indian custom that when a woman marries she is given many saris and jewelry from her family as a back up. It is also interesting to note that the respondents who answer that their family and husband are their most valuable possession are all married.

From a legal perspective women are allowed to inherent property and the divorce law also gives them the right to keep their property. But in reality few women inherent property, to quote Gosh and Roy (1997:912): "The implementation of the inheritance law is seriously hampered by long-established social traditions of a predominantly patriarchal society which tends to discriminate against women generally, and against married women in particular." The divorce rate in India is also amongst the lowest in the world 11 marriages out of 1000 end in divorce

(<http://www.divorcerate.org/divorce-rate-in-india.html>). Overall I can say that married women are better off with having possession, but as it is uncommon to divorce this will not be likely to be of any help.

Legal protection

In India there is a legal protection in case of divorce or domestic violence. But it depends on the religious background, as a uniform civil code is absent. Muslim women still remain without a civil code, which means that matters of marriage, divorce and maintenance after divorce are directly derived from the "Shariat". This gives way to the "Talaq", where a Muslim man needs to say three times out loud that he wants to divorce and then a divorce is accepted by the Muslim community. This obviously leaves the women in a vulnerable position, especially when it is taken into account that a woman cannot do the same. The corruption of the state officials and police also is a matter of concern for the legal protection of women in India. For the Hindu women and other religions there is legal protection, but if a woman does not own anything in her name she is not entitled to this after divorce, but the male is supposed to pay a monthly allowance. As for domestic violence punishment exists up to 20,000 INR (350 euros) and imprisonment. As said before divorce is still uncommon in India and for domestic violence the new law has only been enacted in 2006 and data is unavailable how many women apply to this right.

The answer to the question: "Do the teachers of Mukhtangan have autonomy outside the household" is good for their role and status in the community and for the legal protection the Hindu women have. But their legal rights are hampered by the society and the stigma around divorce. Even though most married women own saris and/or jewelry as a back up for when their marriage fails it will not be accepted by society if they actually part. The positive aspect is that these women have a job and colleagues to rely on and receive respect from the community that they are working for Mukhtangan. This positively influences their self esteem, which would be of great help if they decide to ask for a divorce.

6.4 Health

This paragraph aims to answer the following sub question:

What is the health situation of the teachers at Mukatangan?

The indicators are the following:

- Triple role of women
- Hours of sleep
- Height and weight

Triple role of women

The triple role of women is the combination of a reproductive role, a productive role and a community role. This is already addressed in the previous paragraphs and I can say the following about this: the productive role is practiced by all women and some even practice a double productive role to increase their income. The advantage of Mukatangan is the convenient working hours for the women and the little travel time, as they can leave for home between four and five p.m., which gives them time for their other job or activities. In India the working day is often much longer than in the Netherlands. People often don't leave their office before eight or nine. Due to the competition for jobs a boss can easily demand longer working hours or overwork. At Mukatangan this hardly happens.

The community role of the teachers is small; only two women provide free classes to the children as a community task. The women are not involved in any political process. The reproductive role of the women of Mukatangan is partly taken up by the entire family, but the household activities have a clear gender division and add to the workload of the teachers. The women within the household prepare the food, wash and dry the clothes, this is confirmed by the content analysis, where 22 respondents say they prepare the food (52,3%) and 35 respondents claim to prepare the breakfast for their family (83,3%) and nine specify to take care of their child before the breakfast (21,4) and twelve say they wash the clothes before leaving for Mukatangan (28,6%). Another four respondents say they go and get water before they leave to school (9,5%). As they live in a community they share a community tap, hence getting water is a daily activity. In the content analysis 13 respondents say they clean their house in the evening time (30,1%) and ten who help their children making their homework (23,8%).

Married respondents spend significantly more time at household activities than men. Hence the triple role women fulfill is larger for married women than unmarried women. But as the women still have some time for leisure and an increased bargaining position, especially within the nuclear families the triple role of the respondents is less heavy than described in the theory in chapter three. This is mainly because their community role is very small and the childcare is a combined task, even though this should be said with caution due to socially desirable answers.

Hours of sleep

Researchers across the world agree that women sleep fewer hours than men every night, because of their longer working hours. Sleep is an important factor of good health; because continues shortage of sleep will not only affect the daily functioning of the body and the brain, but also the life span of the person involved. The hours of sleep the respondents get can be seen in the following table. A challenge with examining this data is the personal differences among people about how many hours of sleep one needs. But on average we can say that eight hours per night is a good mean for an average woman. 34,1% of the respondents sleep eight hours or more a night. Another 17,1% sleep seven hours a night, hence one hour less than what is supposed to be needed for a body to get rest and reenergize. But quite a large group (31.7%) sleeps 6 hours a night and another 9,7% less than six hours a night. This can affect the health of the respondents. Content analysis shows that seven respondents take a rest during the day after they return from work; the average time they give is about an hour. This sleep is not added in this table. But when added to the total amount the average sleep of the respondents is seven hours and eight minutes; 52 minutes under the average, hence their health is affected, but not in a disastrous way.

Table 83: hours of sleep

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| 5.0 | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| 5.5 | 3 | 7.1 | 7.3 |
| 6.0 | 13 | 31.0 | 31.7 |
| 6.5 | 2 | 4.8 | 4.9 |
| 7.0 | 7 | 16.7 | 17.1 |
| 7.5 | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| 8.0 | 8 | 19.0 | 19.5 |
| 9.0 | 2 | 4.8 | 4.9 |
| 9.5 | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| 10.0 | 3 | 7.1 | 7.3 |
| Total | 41 | 97.6 | 100.0 |
| Missing | Non respons | 1 | 2.4 |
| Total | | 42 | 100.0 |

Height and weight

The health situation of a body is a very personal situation and depends from person to person. The personal health depends on many factors, such as nutrition level, quantity and quality of food, smoking, drinking, drug use, practicing sports and many other things. But a way to get an average view of the health situation of a person is to combine height and weight through the so called body mass index ($BMI = Kg/ m^2$). Hence the respondents were asked to state their height and weight. A problem I faced is that for Hindustani another BMI counts and there is no agreement over the exact

values as yet. I used a BMI calculator from Hall, hence attention needs to be paid as this could transform the data.

Another aspect that affects the health situation of women is that they make less use of health services than men. Attendance and admission figures from hospitals are significantly lower for women than for men. "Health is a function not only for medical care but also of economic and cultural factors; women have neither the time, mobility, childcare assistance, nor leisure to travel to health centers for medicines or treatment. In addition, an ideology that glorifies self-effacement and suffering for women makes them more inclined to put up with pain and ill-health, rather than demand attention and rest" (Narasimhan, 1999:25). The questionnaire did not ask them about their doctor visits, thus it is impossible to draw a conclusion about that. To get an overall view of the health situation of the women of Muktakan I have used the average height, weight and age, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 84: height and weight

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|----|---------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Can you write down your height in feet | 42 | 4.30 | 6.40 | 5.1262 | .28632 |
| Can you write down your weight in kilograms | 42 | 36 | 69 | 48.60 | 8.352 |
| Birth year | 42 | 1967 | 1989 | 1979.17 | 5.432 |

This data I filled in at BMI calculator at www.halls.md, where the result is that the women are underweight. However, as a Hindustani BMI calculator does not exist this could be a misinterpretation of the data.

What I do know for sure is that the teachers of Muktakan get, together with the children attending the school, a nutritious snack every day. The teachers have learned to prepare those themselves. Hence Muktakan has taught them about the importance of nutrition and which food is appropriate for balanced nutritional levels. As they have a large influence in the decision making about the purchase of small items, this is likely to have a positive affect. Next to that Muktakan has a maternity leave period of three months and a "secret" medical box has been set up by one of the former volunteers. This box contains money to which the women can apply if in need for certain medical treatment or medication and which is annually refilled by this volunteer.

Overall I conclude than the health situation of the women of Muktakan is positive, as their triple role is certainly less than many other women in the country. The average sleep is not too far under the average and we know for sure that they have access to nutritional food, receive education about this and can apply to a fund in case of illness.

6.5 Education

In this paragraph the following sub question will be addressed.

What role does education play for the teachers of Muktangan?

The indicators are the following:

- Level of education
- Voice
- Marriage

Level of education

Education gives women a better chance to compete in the market place and to improve their economic situation because of generating an income. Education also gives a better knowledge about fertility, hygiene, nutrition and child care.

In order to get selected as a trainee for Muktangan one has to have completed school up to the 10th standard. The Indian school system starts with first standard from the age of six up to 12th standard with the age of 18. Hence these women would have left school at the age of 16. Table 85 shows that many women have studied beyond that, as only two of the respondents listed that their level of education is 10th standard (4,2%). It is clear that Muktangan has been hiring women with a higher level of education than 10th standard. The abbreviations stand for the following:

BA: Bachelor of Arts

HSC: Higher Secondary Certificate

SSC: Secondary School Certificate

MA: Master of Arts

BCOM: Bachelor in Commerce

BSC: Bachelor of Science

DED: Diploma in Education

JC: Junior College

Table 85: level of education

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| 10th | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| 11th | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| 12th | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| BA | 13 | 31.0 | 31.0 |
| BCOM | 7 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| BSC | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| HSC | 8 | 19.0 | 19.0 |
| JC | 1 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| MA | 2 | 4.8 | 4.8 |
| SSC | 5 | 11.9 | 11.9 |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

It is important to realize that the Mukatangan teachers are part of the literate women in India, who contain 47.8% of the female population opposite the male literacy which is 73.4% in India.

(<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html>).

A positive trend can be seen at a national level with the girl child's enrolment to primary school. In the United Nations Human Development report from 2006 it says that female as percentage male is 86.9% in primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio. As the respondents are all teachers it is likely to assume that they will send their children and also girl children to school, as they understand profoundly the importance of education.

Muktangan does not only continue to educate the teachers internally with all different kinds of classes, but also encourages women to continue their education outside Mukatangan, as can be seen in table 86, where the majority says they want to continue their education: 60% from the 40 respondents who answered. "I like to study and get more knowledge" and "Like to study and become a good teacher" are their main reasons. In the content analysis two respondents study before leaving for work (4,7%) and five say they do their homework in the afternoon (11,9%) and four respondents follow a course in the evening time (9,5%).

Table 86: will for higher education

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Very much | 22 | 52.4 | 55.0 |
| Much | 2 | 4.8 | 5.0 |
| Maybe | 13 | 31.0 | 32.5 |
| No | 3 | 7.1 | 7.5 |
| Total | 40 | 95.2 | 100.0 |
| Missing Non respons | 2 | 4.8 | |
| Total | 42 | 100.0 | |

Table 87: will for higher education and time working at Mukatangan

| | | How long have been working for Mukatangan? | | | | Total |
|---|-----------|--|--------------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | | More than 3 years | 3 to 2 years | 2 to 1 years | Less than 1 year | |
| Would you get into higher education if you have had the chance? | Very much | 1 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 22 |
| | Much | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Maybe | 1 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 13 |
| | No | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | | 2 | 12 | 8 | 18 | 40 |

In table 87 I have cross tabulated this data with the years they have been working at Mukatangan, but there does not seem to be a connection. A few teachers continue their education throughout their work at Mukatangan. But

as this specific question was not asked in the questionnaire it is difficult to draw conclusions.

Table 88: will for higher education and marital status

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|---|-----------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| Would you get into higher education if you have had the chance? | Very much | 7 | 15 | 22 |
| | Much | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | Maybe | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| | No | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Total | | 17 | 23 | 40 |

There is a correlation between the marital status and the will to continue their education. Table 88 shows that 68,1% from the married respondents would like to continue their education, towards a 31,9% from the unmarried respondents. The reasons for this could vary, their husband could encourage them and as their education will improve they will be able to earn more money and increase their contribution to their family income. Personal development could also play a role.

To enter Mukhtangan a selection has already taken place, meaning that not every woman can participate in this process and that the poorest of the poor will be left out. However, having a community project, which clearly is very positively received by the community, encourages families to educate their daughters up to a certain level, so they can apply for such a job in the future. The teachers themselves will also make sure their daughters receive proper education. It is also important to realize that these women would otherwise never have had a chance to become a teacher and as their education continues and Mukhtangan keeps getting more recognition, their market value as teachers will go up.

Voice

Education also helps to give "voice" to women. When they can read and write and even use the computer and internet a world full of information comes to their display, as in India the press and internet offer a wide range of information. Through knowledge women gain insight in their rights as a citizen and if they are able to combine these forces they will become more powerful, as Indian women (and other women across the world) have shown before. Having "voice" is difficult to measure, but it is clear that the women of Mukhtangan have access to information and that knowledge increases every day. The fact that Mukhtangan has volunteer teachers from abroad helps to broaden the worldview of these community women and among each other they can find support. This in combination with their status within society gives them "voice". One of the respondents said that their family is happy

that they work at Muktangan due to the self confidence they gained: "I got lot's of confidence and can face any situation." Another issue that came forward in the content analysis is the status the women get from being a teacher, to quote a respondent: "It was a dream of my family that I should be someone and today I am a teacher." Another quote: "I am a teacher and all respect me in neighborhood."

Marriage

Educated women marry later in life and have children later. From this group most participants are aged between 20 and 34 years and more than half of them are married, 18 respondents are unmarried. Interesting to note is that from the age of 35 all respondents are married and that the majority of unmarried respondents are in the age group from 20 to 29, even though four respondents are in the age group of 30-34, which is rather high in India.

Table 89: marital status and age

| | | What is your marital status? | | Total |
|-------------------|-------|------------------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Unmarried | Married | |
| What is your age? | 15-19 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| | 20-24 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| | 25-29 | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| | 30-34 | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| | 35-39 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | 40-44 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | 18 | 24 | 42 |

The age of when the respondents got married was not asked in the questionnaire so it's impossible to draw conclusions about that. However, the average age of the unmarried respondents is 25, as can be seen in talbe 90. Compared to the census of 2001 by the United Nations and reported in the UNSTATS; *India at the world; age at marriage* the mean is 18.8 for females and 23.5 for male. The Muktangan women are far ahead this figure, which can be explained by their higher educational level and the fact they live in the city Mumbai. The marriageable age is higher in cities than rural areas.

Table 90: birth year unmarried respondents

| | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---------------|----|---------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Year of birth | 18 | 1974 | 1989 | 1982.22 | 4.989 |

This chapter can be closed with positively answering the question what role education plays for the teachers of Mukhtangan. Their access to knowledge gives them voice and will surely help their daughters to develop more. The continual education which Mukhtangan provides also increases their market value as teachers, broadens their world vision and educates them about hygiene and nutrition. The data also shows that the unmarried teachers are far above the average marriage age in India. If education is the direct cause is hard to say, most probable is a combination of factors, from which education is an underlying one.

7 CONCLUSIONS

In order to come to a conclusion I will use the overview table to summarize the status of empowerment for the women of Muktangan. I have used five options: very positive, positive, neutral, negative and very negative as measurement. The measurement is based on the conclusions drawn per paragraph.

Table 91: Conclusion

| Concept | Variable | Indicators | Measurement |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|---------------|
| Women empowerment | Autonomy of the body | Choice for own partner | Very negative |
| | | Choice of marriage | Very negative |
| | | Choice of number of children | Positive |
| | | Desired sex of the children | Neutral |
| | | Use of birth control methods | Positive |
| | | Domestic Violence | Neutral |
| | | Fertility | Positive |
| | Autonomy in the household | Paid job and the acceptance of the family | Very positive |
| | | Decision making on personal income | Neutral |
| | | Decision making on income | Positive |
| | | Decision making on the education of children | Very positive |
| | | Division of work; triple role | Neutral |
| | | Leisure time | Positive |
| | Autonomy outside the household | Other activities than work | Positive |
| | | Community work | Very positive |
| | | Own valuable goods | Neutral |
| | Health of the women | Triple role | Neutral |
| | | Hours of sleep | Neutral |
| | | Height and weight | Negative |
| | Education | Level of education | Very positive |
| Voice | | Positive | |
| Marriage | | Positive | |

The research question stated in the beginning of this research is the following:

To what extent are the teachers from Muktangan empowered in their gender role by their profession as teachers?

The answer to this question will be addressed at the level of practical gender needs and the strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs can be described as: "the needs women identify in their socially acceptable roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labor or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision,

health care, and employment (Moser, 1993:40).” Strategic gender needs are described as follows: “the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to a particular context. They relate to gender divisions of labor, power and control and may include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women’s control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women’s subordinate position (Moser, 1993: 39).”

There are little practical gender needs that the teachers of Mukhtangan face. They have a secure job and income, receive ongoing education and have access to daily necessities.

The strategic gender needs represent true empowerment as they go beyond the daily necessities and aim to achieve greater equality between men and women. Throughout this research the sub research questions were answered and conclusions were drawn whether a certain strategic gender need is met, as can be read in the following part.

The free choice of partner is nearly absent for the women of Mukhtangan and the families play a huge role in finding a marriage partner. This is part of the Indian culture, but affects the free choice of women and the autonomy of the body. A good thing is that the family is very happy with their family member working at Mukhtangan and that it is likely they would try to find a husband who accepts the fact that he has a working spouse. This still is judged very negative as it does not show autonomy of the body.

The teachers of Mukhtangan seem to have freedom over the number of children they would like to have. It looks like the married couples practice family planning and influence the number of children they have and do this in joint decision making with their partner, thus this is measured positive.

A concern is the sex ratio from the first born children of the respondents, especially with the overall trend in India where the fertility rate is uneven. The teachers of Mukhtangan have more male first born children than girls, which could be coincidence, but seems unlikely. However, they state that the desired sex of their first born child does not matter. But socially acceptable answers could play a role; therefore this is concluded as neutral.

The women of Mukhtangan are well aware of birth control methods, even though improvement can be made for the unmarried respondents. But as unmarried women are unlikely to have sex and this backlog of knowledge is taken away when in marriage it is not a real concern. The government also plays an important role in educating its population and even offers certain treatments for free. Caution should be paid about how this happens, as not all women are aware of the effects. It is obvious that education plays an important role. The knowledge of birth control is measured as positive.

Domestic violence does happen among the respondents but compared to national data on a much smaller scale. Obviously this should be reduced to zero, as a man has no right to violate any women. However, this goes hand in hand with the perception that women have about being violated. They should not think this to be normal and Muktangan can play an educational role in this process. In this research socially desirable answers should be taken into account, hence domestic violence is measured as neutral.

The number of children the respondents have is still under the national fertility rate, even though this figure could rise. However, in their desire for numbers of children the majority states one boy and one girl; all this shows awareness about family planning. The teachers' access to education and a group of female colleagues will certainly help in this process. Hence this is judged as positive.

Families have fully accepted their daughter, sister or wife working at Muktangan and even encourage them. Hence an acceptance of a paid job is seen as very positive.

Nearly half of the women are allowed to spend part of the money according to their wishes, but for married women this seems to be less. Therefore this can be measured as neutral.

Decision making on income in general can be seen as positive, this is because the respondents do have influence in this process. With the purchase of large items male family members seem to tip the balance, especially in larger families. But women in smaller families have answered to have a say in decision making. For the purchase of smaller items women are in control, with the exception of a few larger families where male family members seem to decide. The influence women have in this process is not necessarily positive as it is directly linked to the cooking they do. Overall married women and older women have more influence in the decision making process than unmarried women. But as women have influence it is measured as positive.

Decision making over the education of the children is measured as very positive. It shows that the respondents working at Muktangan for more than one year have more influence in this decision making process than the ones who have been working there for less than a year. But overall the teachers have a good influence in this decision making process.

There is a clear gender division among household activities, the cooking and cleaning is mainly done by women. The children are taken care of by the entire family, but a division of time or gender is not available about who spends what amount of time with the children, so it's difficult to draw hard conclusions. Married women spend more time on household activities, which adds to their triple role. Nearly all women say they have at least one to six hours of free time in a week, this is quite positive. Because when the

pressure of the triple role would be too high, leisure would be one of the first things one would skip. But as a gender division exists the division of work is judged neutral. Also in combination with the time the respondents spend on other activities. Unfortunately there is not enough data to compare the leisure time of men and women, because it would be interesting to see if this would be equal for both men and women.

Nearly one third of the respondents have activities outside Mukhtangan for which they get paid. Even though this adds to their triple role it is a positive aspect of autonomy outside the household as it increases their bargaining position tremendously, hence is positive.

The community role of the teachers of Mukhtangan is measured very positive, because they do not have extra tasks in the community, for example distributing food or other roles that women often fulfill as part of their triple role. They also have status in the society thanks to their job at Mukhtangan.

Married women are better off with their possessions than unmarried respondents, but as it is uncommon to divorce this will not be likely to be of any help, therefore neutral.

The triple role in terms of health of the women can be seen as positive. The triple role for married women is larger than for unmarried women. But as the women still have some time for leisure and influence in the decision making, especially within the nuclear families, the triple role of the respondents is less heavy than described in the theory in chapter three. This is mainly because their community role is very small and the childcare is a combined task, even though this should be said with caution due to socially desirable answers.

The average sleep of the respondents is seven hours and eight minutes; 52 minutes under the average, hence their health is affected, but not in a disastrous way, therefore measured as neutral.

The height and weight of the women is under the average, therefore judged negative.

The level of education is very positive due to their ongoing education and will to continue in education. It is also important to realize that these women would otherwise never have had a chance to become a teacher and as their education continues and Mukhtangan keeps getting more recognition, their market value as teachers will go up.

Having "voice" is difficult to measure, but it is clear that the women of Mukhtangan have access to information and that knowledge increases every day. The fact that Mukhtangan has volunteer teachers from abroad helps to broaden the worldview of these community women and among each other they can find support. This in combination with their status within society gives them "voice". Therefore voice is seen as positive.

The data shows that the unmarried teachers are far above the average marriage age in India and therefore positive. That education is the direct cause is hard to say, most probable is a combination of factors, from which education is an underlying one.

Through the empowerment approach I have not only looked at the domestic domain of families and households, but also looked outside the household. I have systematically compared the women working at Mukhtangan for less than a year and the ones who worked there for more than a year, in order to see how Mukhtangan has played a causal role in the empowerment of these women. This question has to be answered negative as there is no significant difference between these groups. Where it shows a difference is with the decision making on the education of the children, where the teachers who have been working at Mukhtangan longer have more influence in this process than their "younger" colleagues. With the decision making about the purchase of large items the influence of women working longer at Mukhtangan is slightly higher than the ones who are working at Mukhtangan for less than a year.

A factor that does play a big role is the marital status. Their influence seems to increase when they are married. The only topic where it decreased was if they are allowed to keep part of their income for personal use. That marriage plays such an important role in the empowerment process of women can be explained by the importance of marriage in the Hindu culture. Being unmarried is unheard of and marriage is the sacred bond between man and women according to the Hindu law. A married woman receives much more respect and apparently also more influence than an unmarried woman.

When data is compared on a national level the women are far better off than many fellow country women. This is definitely for a large part due to Mukhtangan, because they provide them with work, education and status. One of the reasons why this might not come forward clearly in this research is because the research group exists only out of women of Mukhtangan and the difference of time working at Mukhtangan is not very large, only less than one year compared to maximum more than three years, as Mukhtangan was only established three years ago. If it would have been possible to compare data with a group outside of Mukhtangan a different conclusion might have appeared. However, this will be left for future research.

8 RECOMMENDATIONS

Muktangan does seem to influence empowerment in certain areas. But it can also use improvement on certain areas.

The first recommendation would be to make gender a part of their main planning process. If they think of women empowerment as another main goal, next to the education of the children, they can incorporate more strategic needs within their work. For example education about their rights and duties through the teacher classes, but also during the parents meetings. They could educate their teachers about domestic violence and have a person within the organization as a contact point, who women can turn to and speak to confidentially. This person can seek liaison with existing organizations working in this field.

An educational class can be given about the use of contraceptives for mainly the unmarried respondents who don't know about these items. Here they could also address a larger issue in India, such as the population growth and the vasectomy camps organized by the government. One could start questioning that if the operation is physically less difficult and painful for a male, why the women are the ones being sterilized.

Within their teacher classes the women can address division of work within their household. The foreign teachers can play a role in this process by giving them other examples of how it can be done otherwise.

With their increasing "voice" the women can become active in a political role or local government, through which they can share a female perspective; slowly breaking down the subordination of women in India. But they would have to receive reimbursement for the time they spend on this.

For a practical gender need they can improve the small health fund, which has been created by one of the former volunteers and managed by one of the teachers. It should become more institutionalized, as a service offered to their teachers.

These recommendations should be placed in the context of centuries old traditions, where it will be difficult to break certain stigmas and as Muktangan is clearly a community project it is important to treasure this relationship and bring about change slowly and in a controlled way in order to keep support from the community. I have full confidence Muktangan will achieve these goals.

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- <http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/index.htm>
- <http://jurist.law.pitt.edu/paperchase/2006/10/india-domestic-violence-law-takes.php>
- <http://mohfw.nic.in/dofw%20website/family%20welfare%20program/contra.htm>
- www.muktanganedu.org
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6086334.stm
- www.nrc.nl
- http://www.unicef.org/india/AGE_AT_MARRIAGE.pdf
- www.wikipedia.org

Questionnaire for Erasmus University, Rotterdam - Female

Information gathered through this questionnaire will be handled confidentially and your anonymity will be preserved. Please read the questions carefully and answer according to your ability. Please mark the box that indicates your answer or write it down in the space provided. If anything is unclear do not hesitate to ask.

- 1) Are you male or female?
 Female
 Male

2) What is your year of birth? *For example 07/03/ 1980*

3) What is the education you received in your life?

- 4) How long have you been working for Muktangan?
 More than 3 Years
 3 – 2 Years
 2 – 1 Years
 Less than 1 Year

- 5) Is Muktangan your first paid job?
 Yes
 No; what job(s) did you do before:

6) Who decides where the money you earn at Muktangan is spent on?

| <i>You</i> | <i>Mainly you</i> | <i>Both you and your family</i> | <i>Mainly your family</i> | <i>Your family</i> |
|------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | |

- 7) Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn at Muktangan for yourself?
 No
 Yes; amount:

8) Is your family happy that you work at Muktangan?

| <i>Very happy</i> | <i>Happy</i> | <i>Neutral</i> | <i>Not happy</i> | <i>Absolutely not happy</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:

9) What is your marital status?

- Unmarried → *please continue with question 16*
 - Engaged
 - Divorced
 - Widowed
 - Married
- } *please continue with question 17*

10) How long have you been married?

- 0 - 2 years
- 3 - 5 years
- 6 - 8 years
- 9 - 11 years
- More than 11 years

11) Can you define your marriage?

- Love marriage
- Arranged marriage
- Love-arranged marriage
- Other:.....

12) Did your husband have a paid job for the last two months?

- No → *please continue with question 17*
- Yes

13) What is his current job? *(if he has more than one job, please list the jobs)*

.....
.....

14) Do you know how much money your husband earns? *(choose one option)*

- Per day; amount:.....
- Per week; amount:.....
- Per month; amount:.....

15) Do you know how much money your husband takes from his income for personal use?

- No
- Yes; amount:.....

→ *Please continue with question 19*

16) What do you find important for your future husband to have? *(choose one or more)*

- High level of Education
- Good job
- Same background
- All of the above
- None of the above
- Other:.....

17) Do you want to marry in the coming year?

| <i>Absolutely yes</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Absolutely no</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....

18) Does your family want you to marry in the coming year?

| <i>Absolutely yes</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Absolutely no</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....

19) Do you have children?

- No → *please continue with question 22*
- Yes

20) Please list the number of children you have:

- Girls
- Boys

21) What is the sex (boy/girl) of your first born child?

.....

22) What is/was the desired sex (boy/girl) of your first born child?

.....

23) Can you explain the reason for the desire you described in the previous question?

.....
.....

24) What would be your ideal number of children?

- girls (*write down total number of daughters you would like to have*)
- boys (*write down total number of sons you would like to have*)
- Doesn't matter

25) Can you explain the reason for the ideal numbers you gave in the previous question?

.....
.....

26) What would be the ideal number of children to have for your own children?

- Girls
- Boys
- Doesn't matter

27) Have you heard of birth control?

- No → *continue to question 34*
- Yes; can you name the methods you have heard of:

.....
.....

28) Have you ever used birth control in your life?

- No → *please continue to question 34*
- Yes

29) Was it your personal choice to use birth control methods?

| <i>Personal choice</i> | <i>Mainly personal choice</i> | <i>Joint decision</i> | <i>Mainly not a personal choice</i> | <i>Not a personal choice</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | | |

30) Who else had influence on the decision to use birth control methods?

.....

31) Where did you obtain these birth control methods?

.....

32) Was the method of birth control you used affordable for you?

| <i>Very cheap</i> | <i>Cheap</i> | <i>Affordable</i> | <i>Expensive</i> | <i>Very expensive</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | | |

33) Where did you get the money to pay for the birth control methods?

.....

34) Can you list the people with whom you live in terms of their family relationship to you? **Not their good names, but for example; father in law, mother in law, 2 sister in laws, 3 children etc.**

.....

35) What is the nett income (after taxes) of your entire household for last month?

- 0 - 3000 Indian Rupee
- 4000 - 8000 Indian Rupee
- 9000 - 13000 Indian Rupee
- > 14000 Indian Rupee

36) In your household, who decides on the purchase of large items, such as a television?

- Female family members
- Older female family members
- Entire family
- Male family members
- Older male family
- Mother and Father
- Other:

.....

37) How much influence do you have in this decision-making process?

| <i>0 %</i> | <i>25 %</i> | <i>50%</i> | <i>75%</i> | <i>100%</i> |
|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| | | | | |

38) In your household, who decides on the purchase of small items, such as groceries?

- Female family members
- Older female family members
- Entire family
- Male family members
- Older male family
- Mother and Father
- Other:

39) How much influence do you have in this decision making process?

| 0 % | 25 % | 50% | 75% | 100% |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | |

40) In your household, who decides on the education of the children, if any?

- Female family members
- Older female family members
- Entire family
- Male family members
- Older male family
- Mother and Father
- Other:

41) How much influence do you have in this decision making process?

| 0 % | 25 % | 50% | 75% | 100% |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | |

42) Can you describe what a typical working day looks like, starting at the time you get up until you go asleep? *For example I get up at 05:00 take a bath, 05:15 preparing the breakfast for my family etc.*

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

43) What do you do for leisure, if you have time? *For example listen to music etc.*

.....

.....

44) How much time do you have for leisure during the week?

- None
- Less than 1 hour
- 1 - 3 hours
- 4 - 6 hours
- More than 6 hours

45) How much money did you spent on leisure in the past week, if any?

46) How often do you prepare the meals (breakfast, lunch and diner) in a week?

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Every day</i> | <i>5-6 days</i> | <i>3-4 days</i> | <i>2-1 days</i> | <i>Not once</i> |
| | | | | |

47) Who does the washing and drying of the clothes of you and your husband, if any?

48) Who takes care of the children, if any?

49) How much time do you spend in a week taking care of household activities, such as, preparing meals, washing clothes, cleaning the house, taking care of family members, doing the shopping?

- Less than 5 hours
- 6 - 10 hours
- 11 - 15 hours
- 16 - 20 hours
- More than 21 hours

50) Are you ever physically hurt by a family member?

| | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| <i>Never</i> | <i>Once a month</i> | <i>Every few weeks</i> | <i>Once a week</i> | <i>Daily</i> |
| | | | | |

51) What other activities do you undertake in a week other than working at Muktangan?

52) How much time do these other activities take up in a week?

- Less than 5 hours
- 6 - 10 hours
- 11 - 15 hours
- 16 - 20 hours
- More than 21 hours

53) Do you get paid for these activities?

- No
- Yes, amount:.....

54) Are you involved in community work?

- No → *continue with question 58*
- Yes

55) What type of work do you do for the community?

.....
.....

56) How much time do you spend on community work in a week?

- Less than 5 hours
- 6 - 10 hours
- 11 - 15 hours
- More than 15 hours

57) Do you get paid for the work you do for the community in a week?

- No
- Yes, amount:.....

58) Can you describe what you as an individual own that is of value to you? *For example jewelry, sari etc.*

.....
.....
.....

59) Would you like to get into higher education if you have had the chance?

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>Very much</i> | <i>much</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>Not really</i> | <i>No</i> |
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....
.....

60) Can you write down your height in feet?

.....

61) Can you write down your weight in kilograms?

.....

62) How many hours do you have for sleeping on an average night?

.....

Thank you very much for participating in this research. I very much appreciate the time and effort you took to fill out this questionnaire. The information will be handled strict confidentially and I will assure your anonymity.

Questionnaire for Erasmus University, Rotterdam - male

Information gathered through this questionnaire will be handled confidentially and your anonymity will be preserved. Please read the questions carefully and answer according to your ability. Please mark the box that indicates your answer or write it down in the space provided. If anything is unclear do not hesitate to ask.

1) Are you male or female?

Female

Male

2) What is your year of birth? *For example 07/03/ 1980*

.....

3) What is the education you received in your life?

.....

.....

4) Did you have a paid job for the last two months?

No → *please continue with question 9*

Yes

5) What is your current job? *(if you have more than one job, please list the jobs)*

.....

.....

6) How much do you get paid for your job? *(choose one option)*

Per day; amount:.....

Per week; amount:.....

Per month; amount:.....

7) Who decides where the money you earn is spent on?

| <i>You</i> | <i>Mainly you</i> | <i>Both you and your family</i> | <i>Mainly your family</i> | <i>Your family</i> |
|------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| | | | | |

8) Can you keep/spend a part of the money you earn for yourself?

No

Yes; amount:

9) Are you happy that your family member works at Muktangan?

| <i>Very happy</i> | <i>Happy</i> | <i>Neutral</i> | <i>Not happy</i> | <i>Absolutely not happy</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:.....

.....

.....

- 10) What is your marital status?
- Unmarried → *please continue with question 17*
 - Engaged
 - Divorced
 - Widowed
 - Married
- } *please continue with question 18*

- 11) How long have you been married?
- 0 - 2 years
 - 3 - 5 years
 - 6 - 8 years
 - 9 - 11 years
 - More than 11 years

- 12) Can you define your marriage?
- Love marriage
 - Arranged marriage
 - Love-arranged marriage
 - Other:.....

- 13) Did your wife have a paid job for the last two months?
- No → *please continue with question 18*
 - Yes

- 14) What is her current job? *(if she has more than one job, please list the jobs)*
-
-

- 15) Do you know how much money your wife earns? *(choose one option)*
- Per day; amount:.....
 - Per week; amount:.....
 - Per month; amount:.....

- 16) Do you know how much money your wife takes from her income for personal use?
- No
 - Yes; amount:.....

→ *Please continue with question 20*

- 17) What do you find important for your future wife to have? *(choose one or more)*
- High level of Education
 - Good job
 - Same background
 - All of the above
 - None of the above
 - Other:.....

18) Do you want to marry in the coming year?

| <i>Absolutely yes</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Absolutely no</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....

19) Does your family want you to marry in the coming year?

| <i>Absolutely yes</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Absolutely no</i> |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....

20) Do you have children?

- No → *please continue with question 23*
- Yes

21) Please list the number of children you have:

- Girls
- Boys

22) What is the sex (boy/girl) of your first born child?

.....

23) What is/was the desired sex (boy/girl) of your first born child?

.....

24) Can you explain the reason for the desire you described in the previous question?

.....
.....

25) What would be your ideal number of children?

- girls (*write down total number of daughters you would like to have*)
- boys (*write down total number of sons you would like to have*)
- Doesn't matter

26) Can you explain the reason for the ideal numbers you gave in the previous question?

.....
.....

27) What would be the ideal number of children to have for your own children?

- Girls
- Boys
- Doesn't matter

28) Have you heard of birth control?

No → *continue to question 35*

Yes; can you name the methods you have heard of:

.....
.....

29) Have you ever used birth control in your life?

No → *please continue to question 35*

Yes

30) Was it your personal choice to use birth control methods?

| <i>Personal choice</i> | <i>Mainly personal choice</i> | <i>Joint decision</i> | <i>Mainly not a personal choice</i> | <i>Not a personal choice</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | | |

31) Who else had influence on the decision to use birth control methods?

.....

32) Where did you obtain these birth control methods?

.....

33) Was the method of birth control you used affordable for you?

| <i>Very cheap</i> | <i>Cheap</i> | <i>Affordable</i> | <i>Expensive</i> | <i>Very expensive</i> |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | | |

34) Where did you get the money to pay for the birth control methods?

.....

35) Can you list the people with whom you live in terms of their family relationship to you? ***Not their good names, but for example; father in law, mother in law, 2 sister in laws, 3 children etc.***

.....
.....
.....

36) What is the nett income (after taxes) of your entire household for last month?

0 - 3000 Indian Rupee

4000 - 8000 Indian Rupee

9000 - 13000 Indian Rupee

> 14000 Indian Rupee

37) In your household, who decides on the purchase of large items, such as a television?

Female family members

Older female family members

Entire family

Male family members

Older male family

Mother and Father

Other:

38) How much influence do you have in this decision-making process?

| 0 % | 25 % | 50% | 75% | 100% |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | |

39) In your household, who decides on the purchase of small items, such as groceries?

- Female family members
- Older female family members
- Entire family
- Male family members
- Older male family
- Mother and Father
- Other:

40) How much influence do you have in this decision making process?

| 0 % | 25 % | 50% | 75% | 100% |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | |

41) In your household, who decides on the education of the children, if any?

- Female family members
- Older female family members
- Entire family
- Male family members
- Older male family
- Mother and Father
- Other:

42) How much influence do you have in this decision making process?

| 0 % | 25 % | 50% | 75% | 100% |
|-----|------|-----|-----|------|
| | | | | |

43) Can you describe what a typical working day looks like, starting at the time you get up until you go asleep? *For example I get up at 05:00 take a bath, 05:15 eat my breakfast etc.*

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

44) What do you do for leisure, if you have time? *For example listen to music etc.*

.....

.....

45) How much time do you have for leisure during the week?

- None
- Less than 1 hour
- 1 - 3 hours
- 4 - 6 hours
- More than 6 hours

46) How much money did you spent on leisure in the past week, if any?

.....

47) How often do you prepare the meals (breakfast, lunch and diner) in a week?

| <i>Every day</i> | <i>5-6 days</i> | <i>3-4 days</i> | <i>2-1 days</i> | <i>Not once</i> |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | |

48) Who does the washing and drying of the clothes of you and your wife, if any?

.....
.....

49) Who takes care of the children, if any?

.....
.....

50) How much time do you spend in a week taking care of household activities, such as, preparing meals, washing clothes, cleaning the house, taking care of family members, doing the shopping?

- Less than 5 hours
- 6 - 10 hours
- 11 - 15 hours
- 16 - 20 hours
- More than 21 hours

51) Did you ever physically hurt a family member?

| <i>Never</i> | <i>Once a month</i> | <i>Every few weeks</i> | <i>Once a week</i> | <i>Daily</i> |
|--------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | | | | |

52) What other activities do you undertake in a week other than your job?

.....
.....
.....

53) How much time do these other activities take up in a week?

- Less than 5 hours
- 6 - 10 hours
- 11 - 15 hours
- 16 - 20 hours
- More than 21 hours

54) Do you get paid for these activities?

No

Yes, amount:.....

55) Are you involved in community work?

No → *continue with question 59*

Yes

56) What type of work do you do for the community?

.....
.....

57) How much time do you spend on community work in a week?

Less than 5 hours

6 - 10 hours

11 - 15 hours

More than 15 hours

58) Do you get paid for the work you do for the community in a week?

No

Yes, amount:.....

59) Can you describe what you as an individual own that is of value to you? *For example golden chain, land etc.*

.....
.....
.....

60) Would you like to get into higher education if you have had the chance?

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------|
| <i>Very much</i> | <i>much</i> | <i>Maybe</i> | <i>Not really</i> | <i>No</i> |
| | | | | |

Because:.....
.....
.....

61) Can you write down your height in feet?

.....

62) Can you write down your weight in kilograms?

.....

63) How many hours do you have for sleeping on an average night?

.....

Thank you very much for participating in this research. I very much appreciate the time and effort you took to fill out this questionnaire. The information will be handled strict confidentially and I will assure your anonymity.

Question eight (female) and nine (male) from the questionnaire for content analysis

“Is your family happy that you work at Muktangan? Because;”

1. Husband happy, mother is not happy
2. My home member told me you want to learn them to go to school
3. it was a dream of my family that I should be someone and today I am a teacher
4. I like teaching I got favourite job
5. I like teaching and have confidence now I like also Muktangan teaching method
6. I want to be a teacher. They and I also think that I have that qualities and I got that opportunities
7. I want to become a teacher, because I thought this profession only I could go and I got opportunity.
8. I want to become a teacher because I thought this profession only I could go and I got that opportunity.
9. When I was working in the office I am not able to look after my family. But when I join to Muktangan, I am able to fulfil their needs and able to look after them.
10. I like teaching. I like also Muktangan teaching method.
11. I got a particular track of my life.
12. My first work in Muktangan accepted by my family.
13. I learned many things after joining Muktangan. I am happy because I can help Muktangan and while helping I can care my son at Muktangan.
14. I every time talk about Muktangan
15. They like me to be a teacher.
16. I got confidence in my life. I increased my interest in education. Muktangan make interest about education and I happy about myself and feel good about it.
17. In Muktangan's teachers female and Muktangan nearby my home and Muktangan family very cooperative.
18. Next year I could teach my child.
19. I got a job of a teacher and this job is challenged and new method of teaching and active learning.
20. They think I will learn something.
21. They think it is a good job.
22. I got a job of a teacher and this job is suitable according to my education and I am able to earn money for my children's education and I get more knowledge & experience for my children and life.
23. I get more knowledge and experience.
24. They like that job this place is near our home.
25. I do something.
26. I am teacher and all respect me in neighbourhood.
27. I got lots of confidence and I can face any situation.
28. They seen.

29. In my community women do not going for a job.
30. Muktangan is a family. Everyone in Muktangan is like a family member.
31. Teachers job is respectful and it's nearby our home.
32. Muktangan is a family everyone in Muktangan is like a family members.
33. I got the job, that's why they are very happy.
34. I like the teacher. Mostly my parents want to be me in profession.
35. They want to see me in a professional job.
36. One thing doing teaching ob. I love to teach children.
37. Yes they are happy because before joining Muktangan I used to sit at home; no talking with friends.
38. Non respons.
39. Non respons
40. I earn some money for my family.
41. Because I'm going to teacher I'm learning more from Muktangan about children and myself.
42. I am doing job.
43. The school members are female.
44. Good environment.
45. I'm not educated more but my wife passed in HSC, so I decided to sent to any job for own responsibility. That's why opportunity come from Muktangan to learn as teacher so we are very happy she is a trainee at Muktangan.
46. They learn many things. Got opportunity to work in good institution.

Question 42 (female) and 43 (male) for the content analysis
"Can you describe what a typical working day looks like?"

1. I get up at 06.00 take a bath, 6.05 to 7.30 I preparing the breakfast & lunch for my husband and my daughter. My daughter get up at 7.45, take a bath, then at 8.00 o'clock I give her breakfast. 8.15 I l.....
2. I get up at 4.00 take a bath and do my study. After that I take my breakfast at 8.00 and I come to school at 8.45. After that I go to my class and do my study a hole day.
3. I get up at 06.00 o'clock in the morning. I take a bath. I cook food for my husband, wash utensils . Then at 7.30 I leave my house for school. In school I am till 4.45 pm. In evening at 6.00 o'clock I arrive at home. I wash my cloths, cook food, do some clean up, then dinner at 11.00 o' clock. 11.45 I go to sleep
4. I get up at 7.00 take a bath, 7.15 preparing the breakfast of my family. 8.25 I come in school. Then I go to home at 2.30. Then I watch TV in 1 ½ hour (4.00). 4.00 I help cook the dinner. At 9.00 I take my dinner and at 10.30 I am sleeping.
5. I get up at 6.00, take a bath then I 6.20 prepare food for my family. I come to school at 8.25. Then I go to home at 2.30. I eat my lunch. I feed my children. I looks after my children. I prepare food for diner. I bathe my child also. I also do chorse.
6. I get up at 6.30 take a bath, 7.00 preparing the lunch for those who go for work and the children for school. 7.50 I make ready for my child and 8.15 I leave for my school I reached to school at 8.30 am and leave at 4.30 pm. I go home at 4.45 pm and do my household work. I eat my dinner at 9.30 pm or 10.00 pm. I sleep at night 12.30 am or 1.00 am
7. I get up at 5.30, than 5.30 to 6.30 I featch the water and do some cleaning work than at 6.30 I take a bath, than at 7.00 I help my mother in preparing brakfast , at 7.30 I take my breakfast and 8.15 I come to school. 5.00 I reache at home than take rest after that 5.30 to 6.30 take homework to my sister than 6.30 to 8.00 to again help my mother than 8.30 I take my dinner and at 11.00 I go to bed.
8. I get up at 6.30 take a bath, 7.00 preparing the breakfast for my family, after that I have my breakfast. Come to school, leave school 4.30 and went home. 5.30 preparing tea. 7.00 start preparing dinner/ 9.30 I take dinner, 10.00 wash all the utensils. 10.45 go to bed.
9. I get up at 6.30 take a bath. 7.00 preparing the lunch and breakfast for my family. 8.20 get ready and let off to school. From 8.30 to 4.30

- pm I am at school. 4.45 go home back, till 6.30 pm household chores. 6.30 to 7.30 play with my child and take tutions, at 8.00 cookoing 9.30 take dinner and at 11.00 go to bed.
- 10.I get up at 6.00 take a bath. Then I prepare food for my family. I come to school at 8.30. Then I go to home at 2.30. I eat my lunch. Then I food day niet. (Then I feed their need) I eat food 9.30 & I am sleeping 11.00
 - 11.I get up 5.30 take a bath sit for meditation for 10 minutes. Preparing the tiffin for lunch and come to Mukatangan .On 5.30 pm I again go for my tutions and comes on 9.30 pm at home and then I have my dinner, do some household chores and go to sleep on 11.30 p.m.
 - 12.I get up at 6.00 take a bath and I send my daughter to school at 7.00 after that I made breakfast for my family, lunch after that I come to Mukatangan, when I back my home I do my work like washing clothes, cleaning vessels etc. after that I took my children's work after that I do my (bedi) work. After that I made dinner for my family and we both are taking together dinner. After dinner we are also sit sometime and toking each other.
 - 13.I get up at 5.00, brush my teeth, have bath, make lunch box. 6.30 wash clothes and vessels, give bath to my son at 7.00 , give him breakfast, dress him up and dress myself. Then we leave the house at 7.30 to come to school. 4.15 I leave from school, reach home at 6.00. Have tea etc. cleaning at house start cooking at 7.00, finish at 9.00.Have dinner at 10.00 to 10.30 goes to sleep at 11.30
 - 14.I get up 5.30 preparing food for family after go home again I help make food for my family.
 - 15.I get up at 6.30 take a bath, from 7.00 to 8.00 prepare lunch for me and my husband, leave home at 8.30 am go to school and arrive at 5.00, from 5.00 to 6.00 take rest, from 6.30 make tea and from 7.30 to 9.30 make dinner and 10,00 am we have dinner and 11.30 go to sleep
 - 16.I preparing the lunch for my family then I went to school in Mukatangan 8.45 to 12.30 then I went to College then 4.30 I went to classes 4 o'clock I went to home, then I am doing my home work whatever is given my class teachers. At 10.30 I was having my dinner, at 11.30 I go to sleep.
 - 17.I get up at 06.00 take bruss bath, wash cloth's etc. 06.45 preparing the breakfast etc. for my family. 8.50 I reach Mukatangan. 4.40 I leave Mukatangan. At 5.00 I reach my home. At 7.00 t0 8.30 I preparing

- dinner. 11.30 I take my dinner then clean home, vessels, kitchen etc.
1.00 o'clock I go to sleep.
18. I get up at 6.00 take bruss bath, wash my cloths and preparing breakfast for my family. At 8.30 I redy and come to Mukatangan. I leave Mukatangan from 4.30
 19. I get up at 5.30, 7.00 preparing the breakfast for my family etc. and preparing the tiffin box, than 8.30 leave for Mukatangan. After going to Mukatangan I do all over housework I do, I wash over cloth I cook a meal, I take a homework my children.
 20. I wake up 5.30 then bath, then do breakfast, then wash all family cloths. Then I come in Mukatangan, up to 5 o'clock, after that I go home and do whatever housework, then sleep. Often I read book.
 21. I get up 6.00 take a bath, and preparing the breakfast and lunch for my family, then I leave home at 7.45 and come at 8.45 in Mukatangan. 5.00 pm I leave Mukatangan and go home and wash my clothes and preparing the dinner for my family and we have dinner at 9.30 and sleep at 11.30
 22. I get up at 4.30, take a bath, 5.15 preparing the breakfast & lunch for my family, 6.30 to get ready my son for school. 7.45 I have to wash clothes, utensils, clean the floor and keep the house tidy and clean, 8.30 filled tiffin of husband, daughter & myself. At 8.55 leave for Mukatangan – 5.00 – filled water in tank, 6.00 to pick up my daughter from school, tan preparing dinner for family and take study of my children at 9.30
 23. I get up at 7.30 than bruss after bath, 8 o'clock. Then 8.15 my breakfast for my mother etc. Than come Mukatangan
 24. I get up at 7.30 am that a bath and after I help my mothert to do breakfast I ready go to job at 8.30 and I reach to job at 9. o clock and I come at home at 5.30.
 25. 6 am to 7.30 bath, brush, puja 7.30-8.30 prepaire chapatibhagi than I get ready for school. 9.15 to 5.00 Mukatangan.
 26. I get up at 8.00 take a bath, 8:15 preparing breakfast and lunch for my family. 9.00 o clock I go to school and I com back at 5.30 and at 5.30 I give tutition to other children. 8.30 I prepare food for dinner. 10.00 clock we have our dinner together and 10.30 helping mother in washing utensils and till 11.30 watching T.V. and sleep at 11.45.
 27. I get up at 6.00 take a bath, I go to school at 9.00 and I come back at 5.00, I drink a cup of tea. 6.00 clock I cook food. I take my child's

- study 7.30 to 9.00 after we take together dinner. I clean my kitchen I go to bed at 11.30.
- 28.I get up at 7.30 am take a bath. Then I take my breakfast. I am ready to go to school. At 8.35 a.m. then I reach 8.45 am. I spend time with my school children at 9.00 am to 11.05 am. Then I am go to planning mitting. We clean the class. I am taking my lunch. I am preparing the language class. Then I come to home at 2.30.
- 29.I get up at 5.30 preparing lunch & breakfast from 6.30 to 8.00. I come to school at 8.30 I live school at 4.15. I reach home at 5.00 in the evening. 6.00 to 8.00 I cook food for my family. 8.00 to 9.00 we have dinner with my family. 9.00 to 9.30 I clean house. 9.30 to 10.30 I take my daughter's study & at 11.00 I go to bed.
- 30.I get up early in the morning at 6 clock. I take a bath. I drink a cup of tea. Then I go to school at 8.50 to 5.00
- 31.I get up at 6.40. I prepare lunch, take a bath, take a breakfast at 8.30 I come to school. 4.30 I reach my home. I rest have a tea at 6.10 I go to pick my son from school. 6.30 I wash my clothes, utensils, clean house. 7.30_8.30 I give tutions & I take studies at my son. 8.30 I prepare food. 9.30 we have dinner. 10.00 I wash utensils. 10.30 we watch T.V., we talk, go for walk. 11.00 go to bed.
- 32.I get up early in the morning at 7 clock.I take a bath. I drink a cup of tea. Then I go to school at 8.50 till 5.
- 33.I get up early in the morning. I take a bath. Then I drink a cup of tea. I make a chapatti and bhaji for tiffon. Then I walk to school at 9.00 o clock. In the school I take language at 10.45 to 11.45. Maths 11 to 12. I have my lunch at 1 o clock. Then 3.45-4.45 I have planning meeting. Then I go to home, I watch television. I have a dinner at 9: pm. Then go to sleep at 11. pm.
- 34.I get up at 7.30 am, take a bath. I take tea, than after washing the family clothes. I will take my breakfast. Than I come to school at 8.45 a.m. & go to home at 2.30 p.m. In evening I helping my mother cooking food. Than I eating food at 9.30 with my family.
- 35.I get up 6.30 take a bath. 7 to 8 I study 8- 8.30 I take my breakfast. 8.30 I go to school. 3.00 I come home & I sleep 3 to 4.30. 4.30 to 4.45 I take my tea. 5 to 6.35 to I give my tutions. 7 to 10 I go my class. 10-10.30 I have my dinner. 11 to 11.30 I help my mother. 11.30 I sleep.

36. I get up 6.00 take a bath 6.30 I preparing food & washing clothes. 8.00 read to come washier Then 8.45 I start my work. 3.00 pm I went home take short sleep then 4.00 tea time. 6.00 started to cooking for my family evening food. 9.00 having my dinner, then 10.00 cleaning. I go to bed. In between where I get time use this time to study.
37. I get up at 07:00 take a bath, 7:30 having my breakfast. 7.45 I iron my cloths. I come to Mukatangan 9:15 / 5:00 I leave from Mukatangan. 5:30 I have my tea. 5:00 I clean my house. 6:30 I help my mother to prepare food. 7:30 I sit for my study. 8:30 I go for a walk. 8:30 I have my meal. 10:30 I go to bed.'
38. I get up at 7.00 take a bath. 7.45 preparing the breakfast for my son and myself. I send to school my son at 9.00 and I am in Mukatangan at 9.15. I left school at 5.00. I went to pick up my son at 5.30. I reach home at 6.00 I take tea at 6.15 after that I fill the water. I cooked food and have my dinner at 9.30. I go to sleep at 10.30
39. I get up at 08:00 take a bath, 08:30 preparing the breakfast for my family, 9:00 my house work, washing cloth and cooking food. 11.30 I going to my English speaking class by train and 3.30 I come back my home. 4.00 my lunch. 5.00 I was sliping. 6.00 I was my home work. 9.00 I was dinner. 10.00 I was sleeping.
40. I get up a 5.00 take a bath. 05.15 preparing the breakfast for my family, 6.45 sending my son to the school, 7.00 filling up drinking water, washing clothes and that get ready for my job to go. In the evening 5.10 I make tea for my family, 5.30 filling up drinking water, 5.45 to 6.15 washing rest clothes then 6.15 to 7.00 o'clock preparing food for my family. 7.15 giving tution, 8.45 having dinner, 10.00 cleaning utensils, 10.30 sending time to my children and 11.00 preparing for next morning, 12.00 sleeping
41. I get up at 6.45 take a bath, 7.30 preparing the breakfast for my family. After water will come 8.00 fill the water & washing the clothes. 8.30 I take my milk and snack. I will go at 8.30 to Mukatangan. There at 9.00 class will start – till 4.30. I come back at 4.30 on foot. I reach at 5.15. Then I fresh up. After I play with my child + feeding, his fresh up at evening then washing clothes. 8.00 I preparing dinner + had my dinner.
After washing vessels. Then I give to my son supper, at 12 I'm on the bed.
42. I get up at 5.30 take a bath, 6.00 preparing the breakfast for my family with my mummy.
43. Non respons

44. I get up at 6.00 a.m. then take a bath. 6.30 a.m. eat my breakfast, 6.45 read newspapers, 7.30 a.m. Left to office, 7.00 p.m. left to office. 8.00 p.m. to gymnasium. 9. pm eating dinner. 9.30 p.m. watch moovies. Then 10.30 go to sleep.
45. I get up at 7:00, take a bath, then while my wife preparing breakfast I take care of my child. After I eat my breakfast, then I go to the office at 9-30 from till 7-00 I will come back. Then I fresh up. After some time reading paper, watching tele vision I take my dinner at 9-30. I play with my child, while my wife washing the vessels. Then I go to bed at 11-30.
46. I get up at 6.30, goes to latrine, then brush bath. Help to my wife in kitchen. Sometimes I give bath to my son. Makes him ready by school. Give him breakfast. I take my breakfast, leive house by 8.55. I reach office by 10.00 leave office by 6.15, reach home by 8.00. We go to sleep at 12.00 pm/12.30 pm.