Stimulating the Engagement of Women in a Muslim Community

in Ahmedabad, India

Preface

My last few months have been dedicated to the research in Juhapura, which has been an unforgettable experience. Not only have I been fascinated by India since my childhood, the research in itself was also very attractive and became more interesting day by day. Many people have been very supportive during the research period and I cannot thank them enough for that. First of all I want to thank Nafisa, Nazmi, Jabin, Vahida and Tabassum for the time they have spent with us in Juhapura during the fieldwork. They have been an enormous source of information, and their hospitality motivated me every day again to go into the field. I also want to thank everybody at the SAATH office for the warm welcome and support throughout the research period. Besides the more formal moments of work, there have been many amusing events that colored the days even more. I want to thank my supervisor Mr. van Lindert as well. The support that he provided before, during and after the fieldwork has been extremely valuable and his views and opinions stimulated me to look further. Finally, I want to thank everybody that has participated in the research. In the first place the women from Juhapura that have been willing to make time for us. Their stories, experiences and suggestions have been very valuable for the research. Secondly, I want to thank all the key informants that have provided new and different insights on particular issues. The information gathered throughout the interviews have been of great support to the research.

Warm regards,

Ilse ter Linden

Index

Chapter 1. Introduction

India could be thought of as a continent in itself, it is so large that the population is very diverse from one area to another. There are not only geographical and physical differences between people, India is also a colorful country marked by an enormous diversity of cultures, religions and traditions. This diversity is reflected in the constitution that supports the population to practice their own beliefs, people seem to be free in deciding who and what they want to be. However, India is also a country of contrasts. Differences in wealth are huge. On the one hand, some people are very rich, they live in big houses with a garden and employ people such as housemaids, drivers, security and so on. On the other hand, people can be so poor that they live day and night on the streets, sometimes with their complete family. They live there the whole year, throughout all seasons, but they have no roof above their heads, no water, no kitchen and no toilet. Small children grow up in these places without ever going to school. People have to work hard by sweeping streets or by performing other heavy activities such as carrying building stones for the construction of a bus lane in order to feed their families. Every morning, they pack up all their belongings and leave them on the sidewalk while they go to work.

The caste system has divided the population and although it is not allowed anymore, it is still practiced. Inequality between castes remain in different degrees, not all poor and lower castes live on the street and not all higher castes live in villas with servants. Nevertheless, poor people often live in slums, which are growing both in number and in size, and they try to make themselves a livelihood with everything they possess. Gender inequality is also a widely present issue in India, women and children remain among the most vulnerable and many efforts have to be made to improve their position. As poverty remains an important issue in India, many NGOs are active throughout the country to support poor people in a broad array of fields.

Besides poverty resulting from gender inequality and the caste system, there are other issues in India that lead to inequality and division among its population, namely religious conflicts. Among the most recurring conflicts are those between Hindus and Muslims. This research has taken place in Ahmedabad, which is in the top ten of the biggest Indian cities. There are many slums in this city and one has been of particular interest for the research, namely Juhapura. The slum is inhabited by Muslims and it has been growing in size at a fast rate, especially since the 2002 riots between Hindus and Muslims, where many Muslims moved to the area. Some people were forced to move, others moved voluntarily for safety reasons.

Several organizations are active in Juhapura to support the Muslim community that has been structurally ignored by development initiatives from the government. The conditions in this area are lamentable, education and health services are very limited and infrastructure and roads are rare in most of the newer parts of the area. Muslim women in India can be even more vulnerable than other women because they are a minority and because of the religious context. Although the Islam in itself does not necessarily put women in a vulnerable position, the interpretations of patriarchic religious institutions can influence women in their possibilities of participation, engagement and choices.

As such, women in Juhapura are considered as a vulnerable group and different organizations implement programs aimed at their empowerment. One of these organizations is SAATH, which has been the host organization of the research. It has experience in Juhapura and development work since more than 20 years and the organization now decided to set up a vocational training program

intended for women in this area. The goal of the research was to determine whether women are interested in trainings aimed at being placed in a company or organization, and the type of trainings in which they are most interested.

SAATH implements a grassroots approach to development and this has also been adopted for the research. Grassroots development emphasizes on the needs and wants of the population that is most affected by the development intervention, and the context in which the people are situated plays a very important role. According to this, the research question has been defined as such: *How can the engagement of women be stimulated in the Muslim community Juhapura?* The term engagement leaves space for interpretation, it can be in the form of vocational trainings but also in other activities that increase women participation in general. The research question has enabled a much broader qualitative research that focused on the position of women in the area and on the opportunities and constraints on engagement that concern women. Different sub-questions have been defined to support the research question and each will be answered in the following chapters of the thesis.

The second chapter is however not aimed at answering a sub-question, it will provide an overview of the theoretical approaches used in the research, namely grassroots approach, participatory development and empowerment. After the theoretical part, the chapter will illustrate the methodology, the conceptual framework and the limitations of the research.

The third chapter illustrates the context at different levels, from the more global to the more local. It is aimed at answering the following sub-question: *To what extent does the environment stimulate engagement and participation of Muslim women?* It starts with the context in India by describing shortly the geographical, political and economical situation. The social and cultural situation have received more attention and in particular the position of women and Muslims in India, as this is the focus of the research. The context of Gujarat has been illustrated in the second part of the chapter. Several events have marked the state, such as the earthquake in 2001 and the riots between Hindus and Muslims in 2002. The situation in Gujarat with respect to development is compared to India in general and to other states, and the focus will also be on Muslims and women. The third part of the chapter discusses the city of Ahmedabad, which is the most populated city in Gujarat. Ahmedabad is characterized by two very distinct places that are separated by the Sabarmati river, namely the western part or the new city and the eastern part or the old city. The role of the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), the local government of Ahmedabad, has also been discussed in this part. The fourth part discusses Juhapura, the area where the research has been conducted. This chapter describes the situation in general with respect to housing, infrastructure, services, education and health. The fifth part provides some ideas on the legal situation of Muslim women in India, whereby personal laws, or family laws, have been discussed. The last part of this chapter elaborates on SAATH, the host organization of the research. Its history, vision and objectives are mentioned, and the programs implemented by SAATH will be explained in some detail.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the position of women in Juhapura. The sub-question that corresponds to this chapter is as follows: *What are the main factors influencing socio-economic engagement and participation of Muslim women in society?* A broad analysis has been conducted to define these factors. The first part has been focused upon the environment of Juhapura, and in particular on the livelihood of women and on how it influences them. The second part discusses the main social relations of women with their environment. The importance of age has been underlined

and this has been used to define the position of women with respect to others. Girls and young women are mainly influenced by their direct family members because they still live at home. After marriage, women move to live with their husband and sometimes with their family in-law, which leads to new relations and power structures that can affect women in several ways. Furthermore, relations with the neighborhood have also been discussed. Women are in contact with their neighbors and friends and these relations influence their position to some extent. The role of teachers can also be influential, especially for girls that are still in school. The third part of the chapter has elaborated on the human capital that women possess. Literacy and formal education have been analyzed among women in Juhapura and comparisons between men and women have been made. Religious education is also discussed in this part, as it is considered very important by Muslims in Juhapura. Furthermore, skills are an important type of human capital, women in Juhapura have different skills that they use for different purposes, as will be illustrated. Lastly, the economic situation of households and women in Juhapura has been described by focusing on the main occupations performed by men and women to make a living.

The fifth chapter elaborates on the opportunities and constraints that can be defined for women in Juhapura, the sub-question it aims to answer is: *What opportunities can be defined for Muslim women?* It starts by describing the institutional landscape in Juhapura by defining the NGOs that are active in Juhapura, and mainly those that undertake activities aimed at women in general. Furthermore, organizations that provide trainings to women as a way to empower them are also included. The analysis of the institutional landscape has been used to define the opportunities that already exist in the area of interest. Opportunities are however accompanied by constraints. General constraints, such as a lack of awareness and low access to information, and more personal constraints to the participation of women in activities have been elaborated thereafter. The chapter ends with a discussion on women's dreams and aspirations to illustrate what women really want themselves.

The sixth chapter focuses on the vocational training center that SAATH is willing to start up. The aim of the chapter is to answer this question: *How can the capabilities of Muslim women be strengthened?* After an elaboration on the context, the position of women and the opportunities and constraints in participation encountered by them, it is possible to define the capabilities of women. It is important that it suits to women from Juhapura in order to stimulate their engagement and the vocational training center should be organized accordingly. Women have shown their interest in trainings in general and in particular courses that already exist in other vocational training centers run by SAATH. Furthermore, they have suggested other courses that they would be interested in. As SAATH is experienced in vocational trainings, the organizational setting of other centers has been used as a reference for the future center in Juhapura, with respect to fees and duration for example. However, the constraints on engagement mentioned by women receive particular attention because these should clearly be taken into account.

The last chapter of the thesis is aimed at answering the last sub-question: *What role can SAATH play in addressing the issues influencing engagement an participation of Muslim women, both on the individual level and on the larger society level?* It will therefore start by drawing conclusions of the research. A summary of the main findings will be provided and the research questions will be answered. The last part will elaborate on recommendations for SAATH with respect to the vocational training center for women in Juhapura. As vocational trainings are only one way to empower women, other activities that could support women engagement will also be mentioned.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Chapter

2.1. Introduction

Before starting the analysis of the fieldwork, an overview of existing and relevant theories that have been used for the research will be provided. This chapter is aimed at defining the approaches used during the research and by explaining why these approaches are so important. It will first start by elaborating on the grassroots approach, which is a widely accepted practice and the main approach used by SAATH in its development programs. The second approach that will be explained is participatory development, which has been related to other approaches such as positive development and the capabilities approach. A framework for adolescent participation has been adapted to young women in Juhapura, and three main focus areas to stimulate participation will be illustrated in more detail, namely the environment, the capabilities and the opportunities. The third approach discussed is empowerment and women empowerment in particular. Besides providing an overview of the main thinking on development, an overview of feminism and the position of women in the Islam has also been included.

The theoretical part is followed by the methodology of the research. A summary of the main research methods has been provided to illustrate how data has been collected. Several types of interviews have been conducted, each with a different sampling method, purpose and type of questions. All interviews have been mainly qualitative but there are differences in the formats. Some interviews have been quite structured and prepared in advance, while other interviews were almost not structured and most questions came up during the interview itself. The methodology is followed by the conceptual framework that attempts to bring together both the theory and the methods used in the research. It depicts the main actors, the environment and the three main focus areas to stimulate participation as mentioned above. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the research that should be taken into account throughout the thesis.

2.2. Grassroots Approach

One of the approaches used in this research is the grassroots or bottom-up approach, which is also the main approach used by SAATH in its development programs. The grassroots approach has become more used and discussed since the 1970s. It has been a reaction upon the dominant top-down and mainly western development approaches, which have been criticized by some as not working and by others even as detrimental to the poor people that are most affected by development interventions. Bottom-up approaches to development are characterized by a shift in decision making to the people that are closest to the development program and most influenced by it. In other words, it is important that the people intern to the development process make the decisions that affect their lives instead of those that are extern to it (Potter et al., 2008). Grassroots development needs to be related to the specific conditions that people encounter, such as the socio-cultural, the historical and the institutional situation. (Bess et al., 2011; Parnwell, 2008).

As the position and living environment of women in Juhapura is of important influence on their possibilities to participate and engage in activities of their choice, the grassroots approach is most suited. The local conditions should therefore be carefully analyzed and taken into account for development initiatives. Furthermore, grassroots development focuses on what the local population wants and needs, which is also important especially when an initiative is aimed at increasing participation (Parnwell, 2008). It is useless to design a program for people that does not correspond to their own demands and expectations because people will not see the benefits and will not make use of it accordingly. Besides the fact that people might not make use of a development intervention that suits their needs, they may also be adversely affected or harmed by programs that do not correspond to their particular situation.

With respect to the research, the particular situation of the women has been put in the center of attention. The context and the position of women from Juhapura have been analyzed in depth in the first part of the thesis and the findings can serve other programs aimed at women from Juhapura. The second part of the thesis focuses on the vocational training center for women in Juhapura and this is also guided by the grassroots approach. In order to define how women can be stimulated to increase engagement and to participate in trainings that will eventually enable them to make a livelihood, it is important that the program corresponds to the needs and demands of the women from Juhapura. Furthermore, it is important that decisions remain with those influenced by the program instead of leaving it to people that are situated higher in the organizational hierarchy and are not aware of the particularities of the local community.

2.3. Participatory Development

Closely related to grassroots development is participatory development. Although there is no unanimous definition of this term, it is generally accepted that local populations should participate in development initiatives. Desai (2008), has defined three concepts in participatory development, also called community participation. These are taking part, influence and power. Furthermore, there are two processes in participatory development, namely a decision making process and an action process (Desai, 2008). The research has been based upon this approach in the sense that women were central to the research, their wants and needs are important in order to set up a program that will benefit them. According to Mohan (2008), participation in a development program should yield benefits to the people, there should be incentives for them to participate. Furthermore, it should be possible for them to participate, issues that constrain their participation should be defined and addressed (Mohan, 2008). These ideas are reflected in the notion of positive development, that will be explained hereafter. In short, people should thus be able and supported to participate in decision making on programs that influence them. (Mosedale, 2005).

Women's participation in setting up a vocational training center is therefore important, but it should be noticed that age, living area and position greatly influences the possibilities for participation (Kirmani, 2009). Furthermore, the motivations for participation can be very different for girls in comparison with elder women. According to Larson (2006), positive development requires a combination of intrinsic motivation, support for it to be activated and support for it remaining activated. Throughout the literature on participatory and positive development, it is emphasized that human beings are agents of their own future and actions, so they should be stimulated to exercise this agency (Larson, 2006; UNESCO, 2002; Roger, 2008).

In 2001, UNICEF published a strategic approach to the participation rights of adolescents, aimed at young people aged between 10 and 19. It has provided an overview of different meanings of participation and it stressed the importance of focusing on the strengths and capabilities of people instead of the problems that they encounter. Although the definition of adolescents in terms of age is restrictive, the definition of participation is not and could be applied to a much broader age group. There is a symmetry between women from Juhapura and their younger counterparts in the sense that both groups are dependent on others to make decisions that affect their life, their future and their participation level. Girls are dependent on their family and especially on their parents, women are dependent on their husband and sometimes family in-law. As will be shown in chapter 4, the position of women from Juhapura is influenced by several factors that should be taken into account in processes aimed at stimulating their participation.

Positive or developmental approaches are characterized by a focus on enabling people to do what they can do and what they are good at instead of a focus on changing what they cannot do, or problem-based development. In the case of adolescents for example, Positive Youth Development (PYD) consists of focusing on what young people can become in the future instead of focusing on them as problem-makers in combination with issues such as violence and drugs (Jarvis et al. 1997; Lerner et al., 2005). In the case of women from Juhapura, this could be described by focusing on what women can do in their current position, what would be possible for them and what they are good at. It would be more beneficial for them than trying to change the patriarchic structures that dominate in the household and in the religious institutions. This would eventually increase participation of women and it will also contribute to their development. It is almost impossible to

change the patriarchic structure because it has been in place and maintained for so long. The focus on what women are able to do will therefore be more fruitful because this affects them directly, but indirect effects of participation can evolve into challenged structures.

The strategic approach to participation of adolescents has provided three focus areas to achieve adolescent well-being, namely by strengthening their capabilities, enlarging their access to opportunities and providing them with safe and supportive environments. These guidelines are very general and therefore also applicable for the achievement of well-being of any group of persons. The framework below depicts the three focus areas for women (Figure 2.1.). They have been central to the research and each focus area has been analyzed with women in order to define whether and how it influences their participation and well-being.
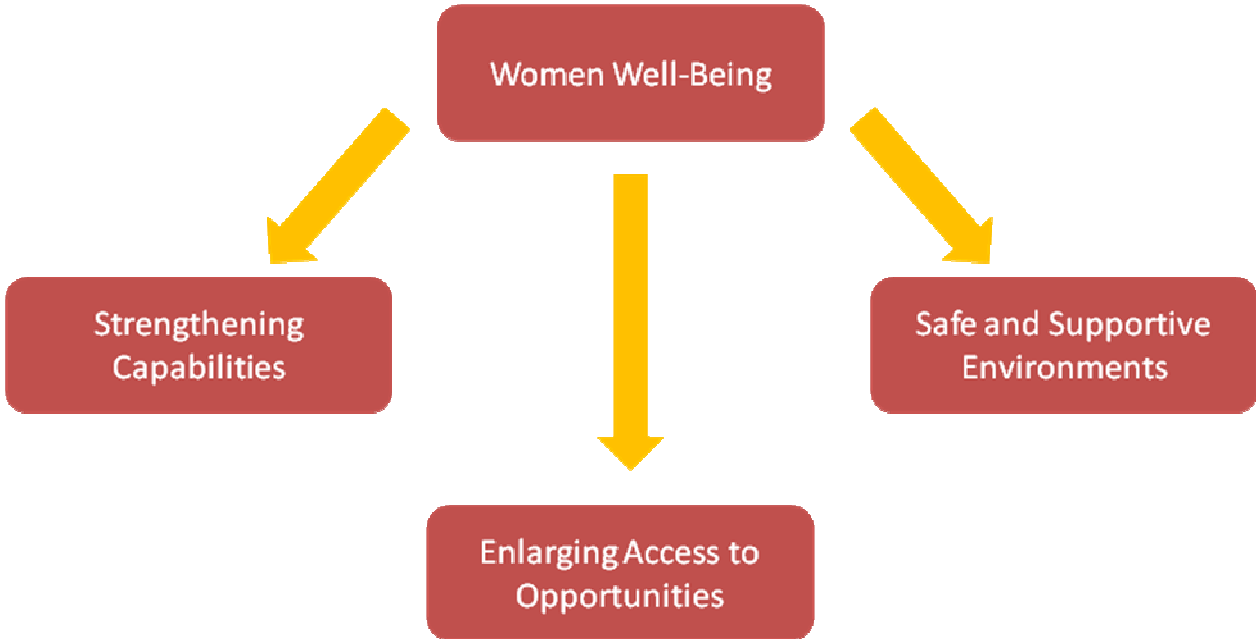
Figure 2.1. Focus areas of women well-being (adopted from UNICEF, 2002).

The environment or the context in which women are positioned has been considered as an important factor in several development approaches aimed at increasing participation, also in grassroots development. Strengthening capabilities is closely related to the positive approaches to development mentioned before and it is also the focus of the capabilities approach, that has been initiated by Sen in the 1980s. In the case of women in Juhapura, it is important to define what their capabilities are, such as their skills and human capital, and how they can strengthen these capabilities. The term capabilities is however related to what is actually possible, so the context or environment and opportunities should also be taken into account. Similarly, it is difficult to focus only on the opportunities that women have access to, because it is again influenced by the environment and the capabilities. The three focus areas are included in the conceptual framework that will be described later in this chapter because they have been a red thread during the research. However, it is not possible to clearly separate the three focus areas from each other because they

are interrelated, the necessity of a holistic view on development has been stressed by many authors (Christens et al., 2010; Jarvis, 1997; Lerner et al., 2005; Keller, 2005; Pryce, 2010; Roger, 2008).

2.4. Empowerment

Empowerment is such a widely used and discussed term that it is difficult to define. Literally, it means giving power to, but there are no clear guidelines on what it means for development. Throughout the literature on empowerment, there are some recurring subjects such as power structures, gaining control over resources, decision making and possibilities. In some definitions, empowerment is perceived as a goal towards which development should be aimed, in others it is defined as a process that should be used to reach development. Empowerment can be either personal or more collective, and it is aimed at increasing the possibilities to make choices about one's own welfare (Gupta et al., 2006). (Parpart, 2008).

Although empowerment can be aimed at any person or group of people, women empowerment is among the most discussed and utilized form of development. The fact that women have been considered as inferior to men almost everywhere around the world and the difficulties women had and still have in occupying the same positions as men, reflects that women are in a subordinated position to men. Patriarchal relations can be very dominant in some areas, this is especially the case in India. Gender roles are clearly defined and it is extremely difficult for women to change them.

Gupta et al. (2006) define three components of women empowerment, namely resources, agency and achievements. The resources are enabling factors that stimulate empowerment, such as education, information and income; agency reflects women's capability to make choices that concern their own life; achievements are the development outcomes that positively affect women. According to several authors, the process of empowerment should start in women themselves, in their conscience. The position that women have in society, the gender relations, the beliefs and traditions all affect the image women have of themselves. This image should first be changed for themselves in order to challenge the dominant situations and to enable them to overcome issues with respect to education, work, autonomy and mobility. (Gupta et al., 2006).

In the case of Muslim women, empowerment is an often discussed subject. The idea that women are submissive in the Islamic religion has been supported by some, but many studies on the position of women in the Islam have shown the opposite. Throughout the literature on the Islam and the Shariah, which is the Islamic law, it became clear that the interpretations of the law are dependent on several factors, which give rise to different interpretations. The Islamic laws originate from four sources, namely the Quran, the Sunnah (examples of prophet Muhammad), the Ijma (consensus of the community) and Qiyas (analogical reasoning) (Mejia, 2007). Personal law, or family law, is an important part of the Shariah and diverse understandings are noticed with respect to veiling, education, going out of the house, working outside. As personal laws are not excluded from the definition of law in India, they continue to have acceptable influence (Rautenbach, 1999). More information on personal laws will be provided in the next chapter that describes the context of the research. Mejia (2007) has illustrated three other problems that affect Muslim women, namely gender equality, polygamy and divorce.

The description of these three problems provide some insights on the position of women in Juhapura, who are also Muslim. It is important to understand the problems because it can be applicable to the position of women in education and work, which is related to the vocational training center for women. With respect to gender equality and the position of women, a man can only be said to be the leader of or superior to a woman if he knows more than she, and if he is her

provider. The term used for leader in Arabic is subject to different meanings, which again leaves space for interpretation. In the Quran it is stated that both men and women have the right to education, but if men refuse this right to women, they ensure the first condition to be a leader because he would know more than her. Furthermore, if men deny women the possibility to work, they also ensure her financial dependency. Polygamy is the second problem described. According to the Quran, a man can have up to four wives only in the case that he will treat them all equally and that he is able to provide for all of them. It is difficult to ensure these conditions because women are unlikely to be treated equally, and men need to be very wealthy to provide for all wives. In India, polygamy between Hindus has been prohibited in 1952, but not between Muslims (Rautenbach, 1999). The last problem concerns divorce and this puts women in a vulnerable position. In short, only men can initiate the divorce, and after the divorce the women are left without any financial support. (Meija, 2007).

Feminism is often associated with women empowerment, it denotes the social movements that are aimed at ensuring the rights for women in general. Writings about feminism can be divided in two streams of movements, namely Northern feminism and Southern feminism (Trotz, 2008). These streams are related to the division often made in development studies, the developed and the underdeveloped, the rich and the poor. With respect to Islamic feminism, these two streams are reflected in two main networks that both aim at redefining the rights of women. One network is based upon the patriarchal interpretations of the Islam that undermine women's rights. The idea behind this network is to stimulate women to learn about the religion themselves in order to react against the misinterpretations by men, which is particularly relevant in personal laws. The other network is based upon a more secular perspective on human rights, in which women are supported to turn to the universal human rights in case the religion does not grant them particular rights. (Arnez, 2010; Kirmani, 2011; Kirmani et al., 2011).

Feminism is more related to social movements while women empowerment is more related to development projects, although the combination of both could be even more fruitful to women and lead to more empowerment. The research is particularly based upon women empowerment as a process to development because the vocational training center is one way to empower women. By stimulating their access to knowledge and work, women can become more independent. Empowerment as such eventually stimulates the engagement in feminist movements to address the rights of Muslim women at a higher level than the household.

2.5. Methodology

The main goal of the research is to define how the engagement of young women can be stimulated in the Muslim community Juhapura. To answer this question, several supporting sub-questions have been created. Each of the questions is aimed at providing insights in women's position and ideas on engagement to start up a vocational training program suited for women from Juhapura. Before starting the fieldwork, an initial research has taken place to define the general characteristics of India and Ahmedabad, and especially gender differences and the position of Muslims. This has been used to prepare the interviews for the fieldwork, which are illustrated below.

The first step in the field was aimed at understanding how livelihood programs at SAATH, or vocational trainings, function to determine what kind of training would be proposed to women. This was used to create the last part of the questionnaire used during the interviews with women. Numerous programs aimed at increasing young people's economic and social skills to foster their ability to exercise agency have been set up in India (Acharya et al., 2010). SAATH provides two types of vocational training, UMEED and Yuva MAST, each providing a range of courses with the difference that the first lasted for three months and was granted a certificate from the government, the second lasted for one month and was granted a certificate from the institution itself. This type of trainings are aimed at people aged from 18 to 35. The detailed functioning of these centers will be explained in chapter 6.

The second step consisted of 106 interviews with women from Juhapura, of all ages. The sample size has been based upon 100 different households and as there were six pairs of sisters in the interviews, 6 other women have been interviewed. The sampling method used in this part of the fieldwork was snowballing. As it can be quite difficult to reach the women for interviews directly, one woman of the Urban Resource Center (URC), which is the community center supported by SAATH in Juhapura, accompanied us every day to one of the areas of Juhapura to visit a woman she knew. From there, a number of other women was called to do an interview. There was no age limit for the interviews because the training center should be accessible to all women, but people need to be 18 years or older in order to work by law. The interviews with women were semi-structured, meaning that questions had been prepared in advance and this format has been used in every interview (see Appendix 1). There was however no limit to these questions, and especially because most questions were open there was space to ask follow-up questions and add other questions.

One part of the questionnaire was concentrated on the personal situation of the woman, such as the family situation, occupations, general environment and education level. This information has been used to describe the position of women within their families and environment. The household situations of the women have been used to create a household database that consists of 470 persons from different households (213 male and 257 female) and that contains information on the household composition, gender, literacy, type of school and education levels, occupations and marital status. The second part consisted of questions on vocational training and reflected the trainings as given by SAATH to define what characteristics would be needed in a vocational training center for women in Juhapura. Examples of this kind of questions concern their interest in training and the types of courses they are interested in, the duration and costs.

The third step consisted of interviews with education centers, both formal schools and religious schools or madrasas. In total, two schools and one madrasa have been interviewed. Another format

has been created in advance for these interviews to take into account the main questions that would support the research (Appendix 2). Questions were therefore asked around the functioning of the school and general topics, but also more specific questions on the position of girls and women in the school. The questions defined in advance were used as a guideline but changes have been made with respect to the order of questions for example. Follow-up questions were also added and in some cases questions have been left out if these were considered inapplicable.

Community centers and vocational training centers in Juhapura have been interviewed in the fourth step of the fieldwork. The centers have been defined after the interviews with women and throughout discussions with women working at the URC. A list has been defined and six organizations have been selected for interviews, mainly those that were often mentioned and those that were located in Juhapura. A questionnaire has also been created beforehand to define the main activities and the place of women within the organizations but there was also space for deviations (Appendix 3).

Furthermore, seven women from the initial sample were interviewed in-depth. Questions concerned their life histories, their family situation and living area, their daily life and main activities, their position in the household and their participation in decision making, the importance of education and work and future dreams and aspirations (Appendix 4). Questions were semi-structured and the selection of women was based upon one question in the initial interview asking whether they would allow us to map one day of their life. Accessibility of the women has also played a role in the selection of women, several women of the URC have been willing to spent time for this.

The sixth step involved focus groups with women who also had been selected based upon a question in the initial interview. Only one official focus group has taken place due to organizational difficulties. About 12 women were present, but only 8 were really participating in discussions. Furthermore, some women walked in and out during the discussion which made it difficult to define the exact number of women that participated. Several other discussions with a group of women have taken place during the research. Although these discussions were not planned in advance, neither organized, they have proved to be valuable for the research. During the planned session, different discussion topics had been introduced to a group of women aimed at providing more insights on issues that have often been mentioned during the research, such as education, work and marriage (Appendix 5).

Although the focus of the research has been on women, the points of view of men (especially of husbands) have been very important. The seventh step therefore consisted of six semi-structured interviews with men from Juhapura (Appendix 6). The fact that the men's viewpoints on women and vocational training are so important has emerged from ideas on the position of women in a Muslim society in general, as has been illustrated in the paragraph on women empowerment of this chapter, but also during the interviews with women.

Lastly, a field inventory has been created throughout the fieldwork based on my own observations and on discussions with women (Appendix 7). Furthermore, informal and more formal interviews have been conducted with key informants. First of all, the daily informal talks with the women from the URC about all different topics have proven to be very valuable. As they are from the community, they are well situated to discuss the issues that people from Juhapura encounter every day. Secondly, other people from the SAATH head office in Satelite, Ahmedabad, have also been useful to

understand how Juhapura came into place, how SAATH has been involved in the construction of the area and other general information about the community. Third, an interview with Mr. Rafi from the Center for Development in Khanpur, Ahmedabad, has taken place at the end of the fieldwork, because he was recommended by SAATH as being a specialist in Juhapura and the position of Muslims in India as a minority and the place of women within that minority. The discussion touched different topics that were still somewhat unclear on the history and current situation of Juhapura and his knowledge has been of enormous value to the research.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework depicts the different development approaches illustrated above. The environment is considered in the upper part of the framework, it represents the factors that are important in determining how it influences women and their engagement. As has been underlined throughout the grassroots and participatory approaches, it is crucial to understand the context in which women are situated. The five factors mentioned in environment have all been addressed in the research. Young women are central to the research, which is also reflected in the framework, and their participation is influenced by both the environment and the opportunities that can be defined for them. The dark arrows depict the links that should be determined between the capabilities of women and the corresponding opportunities that can be defined in society in general. The interaction between the public sector, private sector and civil society is reflected by the yellow arrows in the lower part of the framework. Some organizations are involved in development projects through public-private partnerships, which is also the case for SAATH. Finally, the link between young women and SAATH is the vocational training center that will be started in Juhapura. There should be mutual support between both. On the one hand, women should actively participate in the functioning of the center by providing input on courses and constraints. On the other hand, SAATH should use the experience and connections to support women with the center.
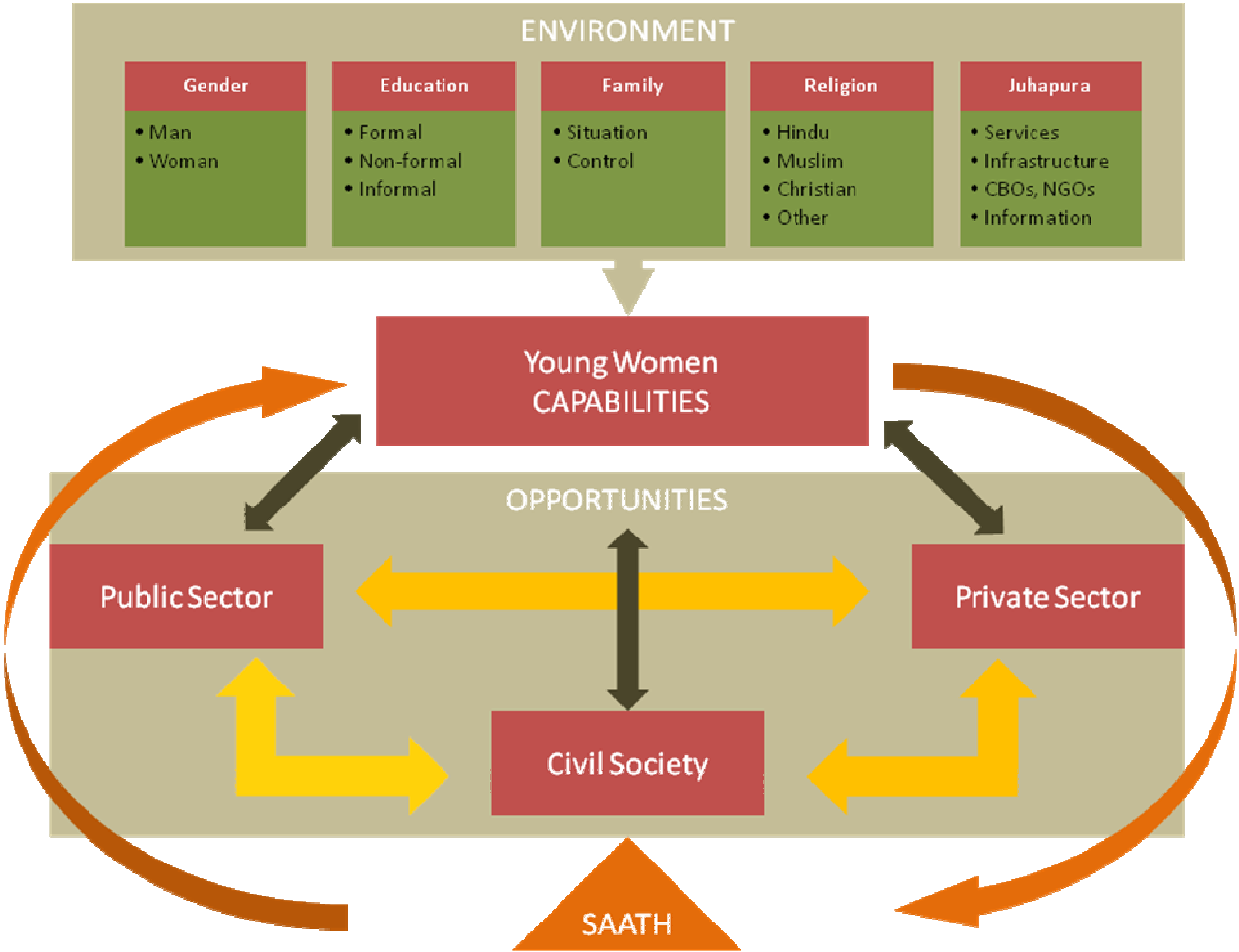

Figure 2.2. Conceptual Framework

2.7. Limitations

During the research, several limitations have been encountered that affected the quality of the research and influenced the answers of the women during the interview to a certain extent. These limitations should be taken into account throughout the thesis because it clearly influenced the results.

First, the sample is not representative of all women from Juhapura. The sample was created by using the snowballing technique because it was said that it might be difficult to reach the women without knowing them, especially due to the fact that we were outsides to the community. One of the women from the URC in Sanklitnagar therefore took us every day to a different area in Juhapura to meet someone she knew, and from there some women were brought into the house to do the interview. Furthermore, there are some sisters or cousins in the sample, which made it sometimes very difficult to let them say their own ideas. Other times the mothers or mothers in-law were listening and this also influenced the answers of the women interviewed.

Second, the use of a translator has let to limitations in several aspects. First of all, information given by women has not always been completely translated. More than once, a story of a woman has been translated in a few words while it seemed to be much more detailed. Secondly, there have been some misunderstandings due to the indirect communication with the women. For example, there were many open questions in the research which were aimed at giving the women the occasion to talk freely about some issue, while the translator did not always give women ample time to express themselves. Third, some questions were asked in a subjective manner that did not motivate women with to answer freely. This happened several times in the question concerning the duration of the training, where one month was without government certificate and three months was with government certificate. The translator sometimes asked this question by emphasizing on the government certificate which could have pushed women to answer three months. Finally, the translator was a student and had an exam period during the fieldwork, which reduced the time planned for interviews. During this period, no interviews with women took place but it served to create the databases on women and household members and the preparation of the second part of the research.

Third, the low number of men interviewed was due to difficulties recognized during the research. There are only women working at the URC and they have hardly contact with men so it was quite difficult to encounter men willing to help us for the research. Any time we tried to introduce the research to a man and explained him that the research was about setting up a vocational training program for women in Juhapura, they became suspicious and were unwilling to help us. As Juhapura is such a patriarchal society, it is however important to include the viewpoints of men in stimulating women engagement.

The fourth limitation concerned the interviews with schools, which had been planned around the period that the school holidays started. This led to a certain number of interviews that could not take place because the teachers were not in the schools anymore. Private primary schools and another high school (NK Girls High School) were among the schools that were excluded from the research due to the holidays.

Another limitation was the daily life in Ahmedabad which made it difficult to plan the research and to work a complete day in the field. First of all, the morning was devoted to the household work and

other tasks at home and this led to a general start of activities around 10.30 across the whole city. Commercial spaces and administrative units such as the URC did not start before 10.30, which implied that we could also only start from 10.30 onwards. Furthermore, the research took place partly during the summer in Ahmedabad whereby temperatures reach up to 50 degrees Celsius during the daytime. Many women were therefore resting in the afternoon and this made it also difficult to talk to them after 14.00 or 15.00.

2.8. Conclusion

The first part of this chapter was aimed at illustrating the theoretical approaches that have been used for the research. Three approaches have been discussed, but they have been related to several other theories that also contribute to a general understanding of the theoretical background. The second part of this chapter has described the more practical side of the research, namely the methodology, the conceptual framework and the limitations.

The first approach discussed in this chapter is the grassroots or bottom-up approach. It is relevant for the research because SAATH, the host organization, has based all its development initiatives on this approach. Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of local conditions and this is also the starting point of the research. The context in which women from Juhapura are located should be understood in the broadest sense in order to define how processes can be more likely to contribute to their overall development.

The second approach that has been described is participatory development, which emphasizes participation of the people that are closest to development initiatives. This approach has been fundamental to the research and women from Juhapura have been put at the center of attention. Their ideas and opinions receive much weight in the organization of a vocational training center because it should correspond to their needs and demands in order to stimulate engagement. Three focus areas have been defined to stimulate participation and overall well-being, namely the environment, the opportunities and the capabilities of women. These areas are central in the research and in-depth analyses are provided in the following chapters that relate to each.

Empowerment has been discussed as the third and last approach to development. Although empowerment can refer to any group, women empowerment is of particular importance for the research. Muslim women are situated in patriarchic structures that impact their possibilities to gain power. Three factors are aimed at stimulating empowerment among women, namely resources, agency and achievements. With respect to women in Juhapura, all three factors should be addressed to define how their empowerment is influenced. Again, the cultural context of women in Juhapura and the patriarchic structures can be very dominant and constrain empowerment. More importantly, the idea of empowerment should start with changing the perception women have of themselves. As long as the Islam leaves space for interpretations by men, it will lead to situations in which Muslim women are oppressed. Gender equality, polygamy and divorce have been provided as examples in which different interpretations can lead to a submissive position of women. A such, men can be considered superior to women if they know more and if women depend on them financially. Men can fulfill these conditions by denying women the right to education and the possibility to work.

Besides the theoretical approaches, this chapter has also discussed the methodology of the research. Although the focus of the research has been on women, other parties have also been interviewed such as education centers, community centers, training centers and men. For each type of interview, the sampling methods used and the type of questions have been explained in detail. The conceptual framework has been included to explain how the theoretical and practical parts of the research have been used together to answer the research question and sub-questions. Finally, limitations of the research have been described and these should be carefully taken into account when assessing the research.

Chapter 3. Context, from India to Juhapura

3.1. Introduction

In order to fully understand the local context of the research, Juhapura, it is important to define which other forces in the bigger contexts influence the situation. As India is a vast country with an enormous population with different histories, cultures, religions and languages, it is even more important to well situate the research in its complete context. This chapter will describe first the situation in India at large. The geographical location of the country and its population, the political system and the economy, and the socio-cultural situation will all be described hereafter. For India as a whole, these are mainly general facts because there can be large differences amongst the states that shape India. Secondly, the context of Gujarat State will be depicted, by illustrating the geographical location, the population, the political system, the economy and social and cultural situation of the state. Historical events that have shaped Gujarat will also be explained as it provides additional insights on the position of different religious communities. Thirdly, the city of Ahmedabad will be described, this is the most populated city of Gujarat and the city where the research has taken place. The same themes as for India and Gujarat will be described third for this smaller context. Fourth, the smallest context will be described, which is Juhapura. Juhapura is a slum area located on the western side of the city and it is home today for about 300 to 400 thousand Muslims. Fifth, a separate paragraph has focused upon the legal position of Muslim women in India because it provides some insights on the position of women. An illustration of personal law is provided to understand how it influences women from this minority group. Finally, the host organization SAATH will be discussed. A short historical background, the main programs and the approaches used by SAATH sre included in this paragraph.

As the research has been focused on women from Juhapura, the position of women and the position of Muslims as a minority have received particular attention in each of the scales. The sub-question that this chapter aims to answer is: *To what extent does the environment stimulate engagement and participation of Muslim women?* Information to describe each context has been gathered by using data from the 2011 National Census of India whenever the information was already available and by using the 2001 census data when the 2011 data was unavailable. Furthermore, scientific papers, interviews with women, the field inventory and an interview with Mr. Rafi from the Center for Development, a NGO in Ahmedabad, have been used to complement the description of the situation at each scale.

3.2. India

India is located in the southern part of Asia and its neighbor countries are Pakistan in the west, Nepal, Bhutan and China in the north, Bangladesh and Myanmar in the north-east (Figure 3.1). The borders are not clearly defined everywhere, there are still disputes about some borders with Pakistan and China. Furthermore, it is surrounded by the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, making India an attractive place for overseas trade and tourism. India is one of the biggest countries in the world with respect to population. The population is increasing at an enormous rate, the total number of inhabitants is now more than 1.2 billion and will soon surmount the population of China. The rural population amounts to more than 833 million but urban areas are becoming bigger, there are now more than 377 million urban residents. Overall there are more men than women: about 623 million are men and less than 586 million are women. Population density in India as a whole is 382 persons per square kilometer. (Census of India, 2011).

Figure 3.1. Map of India (Google Maps, 2012).

The Indian constitution came into force in 1950, and since then India is a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic with a parliamentary system of central government. The current president is Pratibha Devisingh Patil, she is the first women who has been elected for this office. The president is elected by members of both Houses of Parliament and members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. The current president is in office since July 2007, and stays for a term of five years so new elections are taking place in this year, 2012. She has been striving for gender equality and she has set

up several institutions for women and children. There are 28 states in India which are governed by a governor and 7 union territories which are administered by an administrator, they are all appointed by the president and stay in office for a term of five years. There are two main political parties in India, the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). (Government of India, 2012).

In the past years, the Indian economy has been liberalized, which has triggered urbanization and the need for decentralization. In 1992, the 74th Amendment Act has increased the responsibilities of municipalities and local governments. Today, the country's states are divided in 640 districts and 5924 sub-districts. In the past ten years, several new districts have been created throughout the country. Besides local governments' social responsibilities, the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) was initiated to stimulate entrepreneurship in 63 cities across India by emphasizing on the implementation of neoliberal policies as a priority (Chatterjee, 2011). Decentralization has several consequences on society as a whole. For example, the incentives that local governments have adopted to attract investors have led to an increase in private initiatives. Furthermore, the number of NGOs has grown to support people in sectors that might not be a priority for the public and the private sector. (Census of India, 2011).

India's economy is among the fastest growing economies in the world, although the worldwide economic crisis has not left the country unaffected. The economy in India can be characterized as follows. Agriculture remains important in India, the main agricultural products are rice and wheat. The industrial and infrastructure sectors remain significant. The main industries are mining, manufacturing and electricity and the core infrastructure activities are coal production, electricity generation, crude oil production, petroleum refinery production, finished steel production and cement production. Furthermore, the telecom sector is growing and India has today one of the biggest telecommunications networks of the world. However, formal employment in India is limited, a large number of the population is therefore active in informal employment (Jeffrey et al., 2004). (Census of India, 2011).

India is a very diverse country. Besides geographical differences, it is a melting pot of many languages, cultures, traditions and rituals. The official languages are Hindu and English but the constitution of India has recognized 22 other languages that are spoken around the country. Furthermore, there is a large number of religions in India. The majority of people is Hindu (80,5%), followed by Muslims (13,4%) and Christians (2,3%). Among the many other religious communities are Sikh, Buddhist, Jain. (Census of India, 2001).

It is written in the Indian constitution that there should be equality for all. More information will be provided on the legal situation further in this chapter, but in general, minority groups do officially have the same rights as everybody else. Special programs and schemes are in place to enhance their welfare and ensure their rights to establish for example their own institutions of religion and education. Differences have however led to frictions between different cultures or communities. Communal riots, especially between Muslims and Hindus, have taken place numerous times across different states. In 1969, there have been riots that left thousands of deads, followed by another big riot in 1992 whereby the Babri Masjid mosque had been destroyed in Uttar Pradesh (Kausar,2006). This mosque had been destroyed by Hindus supporting the Babri Masjid Movement, which had been initiated by the BJP party. The party claimed that the mosque was built on a Hindu place of worship and that a temple had been destroyed in order to build the mosque (Mistry, 2005). More than a

thousand people have been killed, especially in Mumbai but also in other parts of the country. In 2002 there have again been riots in the state of Gujarat, after the Godhra train burning where mainly Hindu women and children died. This has been followed by violence in other places around the state killing another thousand people. More about this will be discussed in the part about the state of Gujarat. (Kausar, 2006; Mistry, 2005).

Culturally, India is characterized by a complex caste system which determines the hierarchical status of a certain person. There are three main groups of caste, the Higher Caste group, the Other Backward Caste group and the Scheduled Caste group. The system is complicated and has many implications on the everyday life of Indians. The identities that are maintained through this system are important and often resist social changes (Jaspal, 2011). Even though the caste system is officially not allowed anymore, it is still practiced in everyday life. A documentary from Stalin (2007) on the caste system across India shows how the caste system works across different religions and the numerous issues that are still present. The Muslims do originally not have a practice of caste system in the Islam, but in India there remains a heritage from the past so it is still practiced to some extent. The caste system practically decides the position in society and the occupation of people, this has led to many differences among the population and it can be very difficult for people from lower castes to change to occupations that are considered to be for other castes. Furthermore, people often identify themselves with a particular group of people and this makes it even more difficult to challenge the structures (Jeffrey et al., 2004). After discussions on the caste system and Muslims, it has been decided to leave it out of consideration because it is less relevant for the research. The fact that people identify themselves with a particular group is relevant in the case of Muslim women and will be considered in the next chapter.

Gender differences are also still widely present in India, even though several policies have been implemented to decrease women inequality (George, 2007). Labor force participation and wages are lower for women than for men (Kingdon et al., 2001). Chattopadhyay et al. (2010) have also shown that gender differences persist in India through their calculations on literate life expectancy (LLE) across several Indian states. The LLE is a measure derived from the Human Development Index (HDI), it is solely based on the social components (life expectancy and literacy rate) and leaves out the economic measure. Differences in gender have also been described through empowerment of women, but it remains difficult to define a measure for women empowerment and many different indicators have been used for this such as education, employment or access to media.

One study by Gupta et al. (2006) used four other indices to describe the empowerment of women. The indices used for this study were the household autonomy index and the mobility index, describing women's ability to make decisions concerning the household and her own mobility, and the attitude towards gender index and attitude towards domestic violence index, describing women's attitudes towards education of boys and girls and preference for sons or daughters, and their attitude towards domestic violence. The study has shown great differences in women empowerment based on these indices from one state to another and between religions. Gujarat has shown a quite high empowerment for women in household autonomy, high mobility and in not justifying domestic violence, in comparison to other states. On gender preference there seemed to be less empowerment, which is also reflected in the high amount of female feticide in India, due to the traditional preference for sons in general. For example, sons are usually the ones who take care of their parents when they become older, and sons play an important role in the last farewell at funeral and cremation ceremonies. With respect to religion, Muslim women have shown the lowest

household autonomy index, the lowest freedom of movement index, one of the highest preferences for a son but no substantial differences in domestic violence in comparison to Christians and Hindus. (Gupta et al., 2006).

According to the UNDP (2011), India is ranked 134 out of 187 in terms of HDI with a value of 0.547, it is therefore classified as a medium human development country. The HDI has increased over time since 1980 as a consequence of an increase of 10 years in life expectancy, an increase of about 4 years in expected years of schooling, the means years of schooling has doubled and the GNI per capita (in 2005 PPP$) has increased from 896 in 1980 to 3,468 in 2011 (UNDP, 2011). However, these measures do not take inequalities into account. The Inequality Adjusted HDI of 0.392 shows that inequality is an important concern in India. Gender inequalities measured by the Gender Inequality Index (GII) show that this is also an issue in India. For example, female participation in the labor market is 32.8% while it is 81.8% for men (UNDP, 2011), literacy rates above the age of 7 are 74,04% for India as a whole, 82,14% for men and 65,46% for women (Census of India, 2011).

3.3. Gujarat

Gujarat is a state situated at the western coast of India, located next to the Arabian Sea and Pakistan is in the north-west (Figure 3.2). The state of Rajasthan is located in the north of Gujarat, the state of Madhya Pradesh in the east and Maharastra in the south. It was defined as a state in 1960, when it was separated from the state of Bombay, which does not exist anymore. The state of Gujarat is now composed of 26 districts, more than 60 million habitants and population density is 308 persons per square kilometer, which is lower than India as a whole. The capital of Gujarat is Gandhinagar, and the most populated city is Ahmedabad, which is also one of the major cities of India and it is in this city that the research was conducted. There are many differences in landscapes and cultures across Gujarat and it is a very urbanized and lively state. (Census of India, 2011).
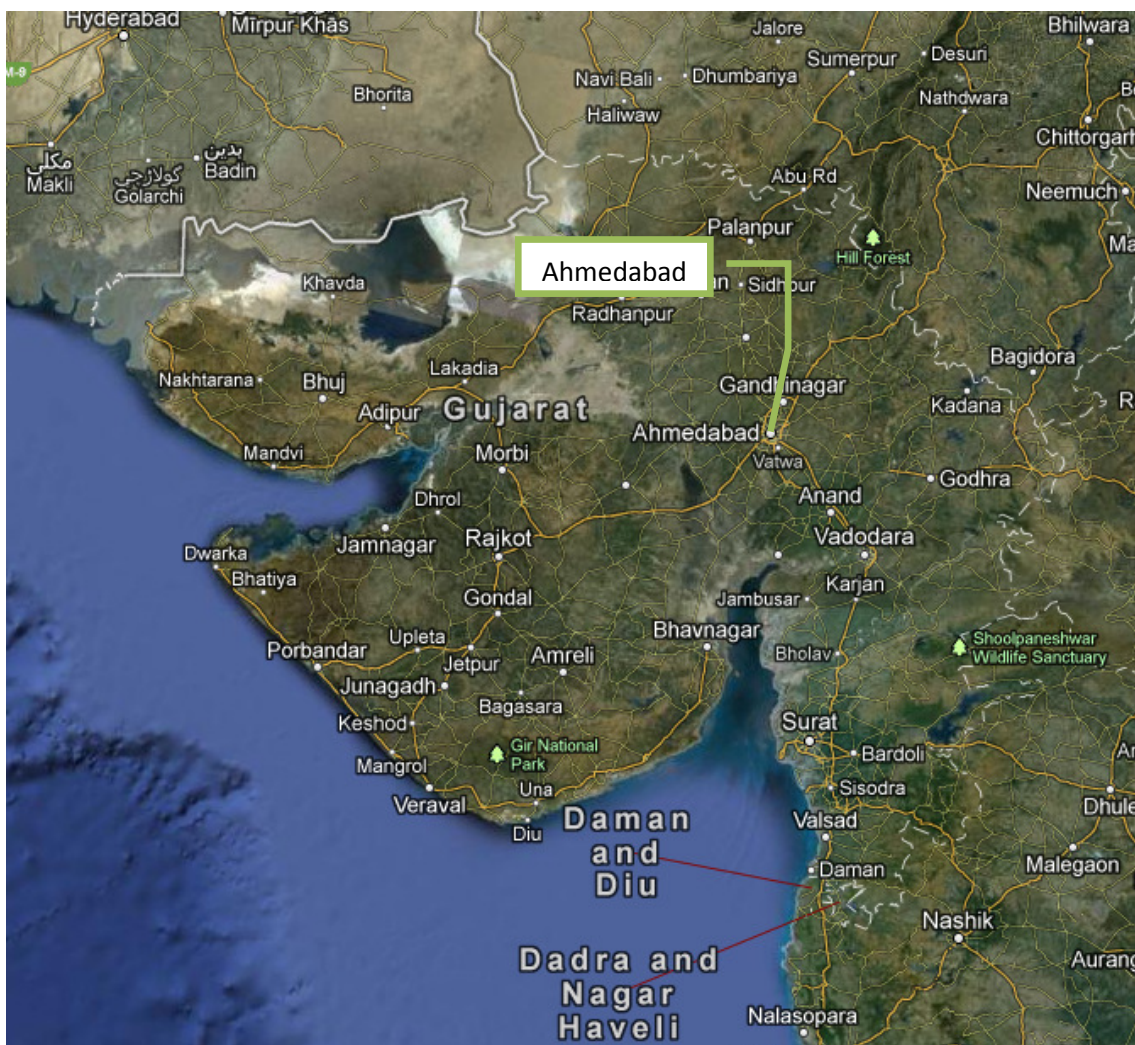
Figure 3.2. Map of Gujarat (Google Maps, 2012).

Gujarat has been witness of several events in the past that have shaped its identity today. Natural disasters such as floods have destroyed the livelihoods of many people. The earthquake has devastated the lives of hundred thousands of people in January 2001. In 2002, there has been an incident in Godhra whereby a train burned down and about sixty people died. As the victims were mainly Hindu pilgrims and some radical Islamists have been convicted for this crime, it led to huge

communal riots in many parts of Gujarat between Hindus and Muslims. For several months, people were killed, houses were burned down and many places of worship have been destroyed.

In spite of these disasters, Gujarat is a vibrant state with respect to economy, it has policies to attract investors and to create jobs. The main economic sectors in Gujarat are production of castor and cumin, iron production, the procession of diamonds, cotton and textile industries. Furthermore, industries continue to develop in areas such as chemicals and pharmaceuticals. The governor of Gujarat is a women, Dr. Kamla Beniwal, and the chief minister is Shri Narendra Modi, from the BJP party. (Gujarat State, 2011).

India's diversity is reflected in the state of Gujarat but there are two main religious communities. Out of the total population in Gujarat, more than 50 million people identify themselves with a religious community. The majority is Hindu, accounting for more than 45 million. Muslims are the second biggest community and account for 4,5 million people. (Census of India, 2011).

The gender differences that are observed all over India also exist in Gujarat. The total population of the state has grown by 10 million in the period from 2001 to 2011, but there is less growth in the number of women than men. Overall, there are less women than men in urban and rural areas and the child sex ratio also shows that the number of female births is lower than that of males. This is more accentuated in cities, and might be due to the increase in male workers in cities. The percentage of urban population with respect to total population has increased from 37 to 42,5 percent, which might be partly due to labor migration of men who move to cities to work and leave their wife and children behind in the rural area. It should be noticed however that the preference for sons is a national and traditional phenomenon in India and can lead to female feticide and diminishing numbers of girls.

This gender gap is also partly reflected in the literacy rates, women always have lower literacy rates than men. Out of the total population of Gujarat aged 7 years and older, almost 42 million or about 70 percent are literate, but this is lower in rural areas where it is 63 percent, and higher in urban areas, namely 78 percent. Women literacy rates are much lower in rural areas (54%) than in urban areas (73%), for men this is much higher, although there remains also a difference between areas, it is 82 percent in urban areas and 72 in rural areas. With respect to the Literate Life Expectancy (LLE), women have a lower LLE then men in every state and this is also reflected in Gujarat even though no extreme differences have been found between male and female LLE (Chattopadhyay et al., 2010). (Census of India, 2011).

In 2001, the literacy rate was highest in Ahmedabad district, Surat and Gandhinagar, and lowest in Dohad district which is situated in the east of Gujarat next to the border with the states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Literacy rates were higher than the state average for Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and other religions and lower for Hindus and those that did not state a religion. With respect to castes, the Scheduled Castes showed a higher literacy rate than the state average, while the Scheduled Tribes showed a substantial lower literacy rate than the state (Gujarat State, 2011).

3.4. Ahmedabad

The city Ahmedabad is situated about 30 kilometers in southern direction of Gandhinagar, the capital of Gujarat. It is located on the banks of the Sabarmati river, which flows from close to Udaipur in Rajasthan to the Gulf of Khambhat in the Arabian Sea. It is the most populated city in Gujarat, and one of the biggest cities of India. The district of Ahmedabad has a population size of more than 7 million and more than 6 million live in the urban area (Census of India, 2011).

Ahmedabad is a very lively city, but the river divides the city in two very different places, which are characteristic in their own ways (Figure 3.3). The western side of the city is quite modern and is commonly called the new city. Urban development has been concentrated in this location and a major part of the annual town planning budget is devoted to it. The west of Ahmedabad has been developed around some big roads and many businesses and commercial areas can be found. Around these areas, large societies have been built either consisting of tall buildings with apartments, but also societies with houses and gardens. Societies are often fenced or enclosed neighborhoods that contain a number of houses or apartments with different households. The new city is mainly inhabited by Hindu people but there are a few Muslim areas such as Juhapura, Vejalpur and Sarkhej, which are all located in the south-west of Ahmedabad. Since 1993-1994, after the riots of 1992, the living areas of Hindus and Muslims have been clearly defined and this led to a division between them in the new city (Chatterjee, 2009). Hindus are not allowed to purchase any land allocated to Muslims, and Muslims are not allowed to live in Hindu areas. The eastern side of the city characterized by much older buildings and houses and is therefore called the old city, it is a dynamic commercial area with different markets in and around the walled city. It is inhabited by people from different background and religions but the demarcations between different communities are less clear than in the new city. This place is marked by many different pols which are comparable to little villages where people from the same caste or religion lived together in the past. A pol had its own entrance gate and was build around a little square with a bird feeding tower and at least one temple or other place of worship (Figure 3.4). There are more than 100 pols in the old city of Ahmedabad.
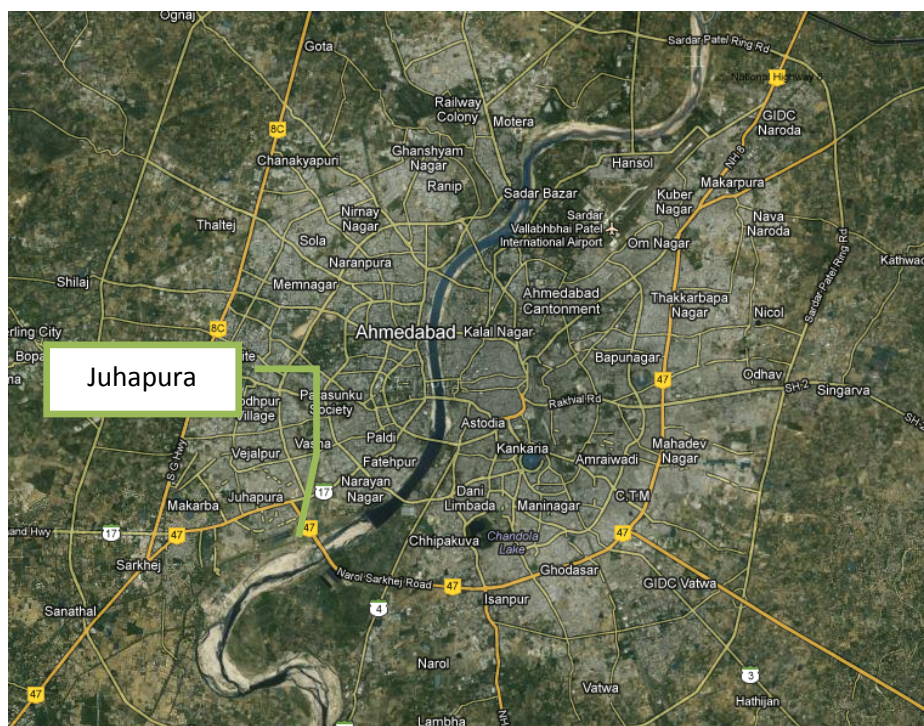

Figure 3.3. Map of Ahmedabad (Google Maps, 2012).

Figure 3.4. Entrance gate pol Ramji Mandir.

Decentralization has increased the responsibilities of cities and other local governments and this has led to particular policies that have been implemented in certain places by local governments. The city of Ahmedabad is governed by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) which is in place since 1992 and has been elected from the BJP. The main functions of the AMC in Ahmedabad are water supply, sewerage and storm water drainage, construction and maintenance of roads, street lightning, primary education, medical services, conservancy, fire services, public transport and parks and gardens (AMC, 2012). Ahmedabad has been a textile hub during several decades and is now becoming a global city, leading in ICT activities. The AMC stimulates entrepreneurship and FDI, following JNNURM but most investments take place in the west of the city.

Besides globalization, decentralization, demographic and socio-economic changes, there are other processes that influence people's life in Ahmedabad. Chatterjee (2011) describes how cities' path dependencies have been important in determining local governance of the AMC. Ahmedabad has been witness of riots that devastated the city in 2002 due to tensions between the Muslim and Hindu communities. In the aftermath of this conflict, tensions persist due to segregation practices in the livelihoods of both groups (Chatterjee, 2011). The fact that the AMC is from the BJP which is mainly a Hindu nationalist party with no Muslim members, does have consequences on the situation in Ahmedabad today and the enduring tensions between Hindus and Muslims.

A large number of the population of Ahmedabad lives in slums, and although it may differ from one slum to another, many people lack basic services, education, resources, skills and infrastructure to improve their livelihoods. Under decentralization, several sectors have been transferred to the private domain, but poverty alleviation, slum upgrading and the provision of basic infrastructure remained a public responsibility (Chatterjee, 2011). As the conditions in slums remain problematic, a number of NGOs has become active in these fields. There is however a difference in the conditions of slums, some slums have been quite neglected by the local government and the main responsibilities of the government have not been fulfilled. Juhapura is one example of this, it is a Muslim community in the western side of the city and it is clear that some of the main functions of the AMC have not been carried out, such as the sewerage which is problematic during the monsoon, the roads are often not constructed and the provision of primary education and medical services are also debatable. The situation in Juhapura will be discussed hereafter.

3.5. Juhapura

One of India's biggest Muslim communities is located in Ahmedabad and it is called Juhapura. It is one of the few places on the west side of the city where non-Hindus live. This neighborhood already exists since 1985 when Sanklitnagar was constructed to house the victims of the riots of 1985. It was by then an area for both Hindus and non-Hindus. In the years after 1985, there have been several conflicts between Hindus and Muslims and the Hindu population gradually moved out of Sanklitnagar. After the riots of 2002, the number of Muslims in Juhapura has increased and today it is home to about 300.000 to 400.000 Muslims, which is due to both the segregation practices of the AMC and for safety reasons that pushed Muslims to live surrounded by people from their own religious community.

The oldest neighborhood in Juhapura is thus Sanklitnagar, but in the past years many societies have been constructed in other parts of Juhapura. Sanklitnagar consists of 10 wards that are connected by a few bigger roads where a market takes place every morning until about 14.00 o'clock, and separated by small lanes. In other areas in Juhapura, newer societies have been built by mainly private construction companies and are not always recognized by the local government. On government maps of the city, almost no society has been marked for Juhapura whereas other societies in western Ahmedabad are clearly reported. Juhapura now stretches in the north up to Vejalpur and in the east to Vasna. In the south, Fatawadi has been connected to Juhapura and Sarkhej in the south-west. Juhapura is surrounded by bigger roads such as Sarkhej road, Vejalpur road, Jivraj bridge and ring roads. (Figure 3.5).
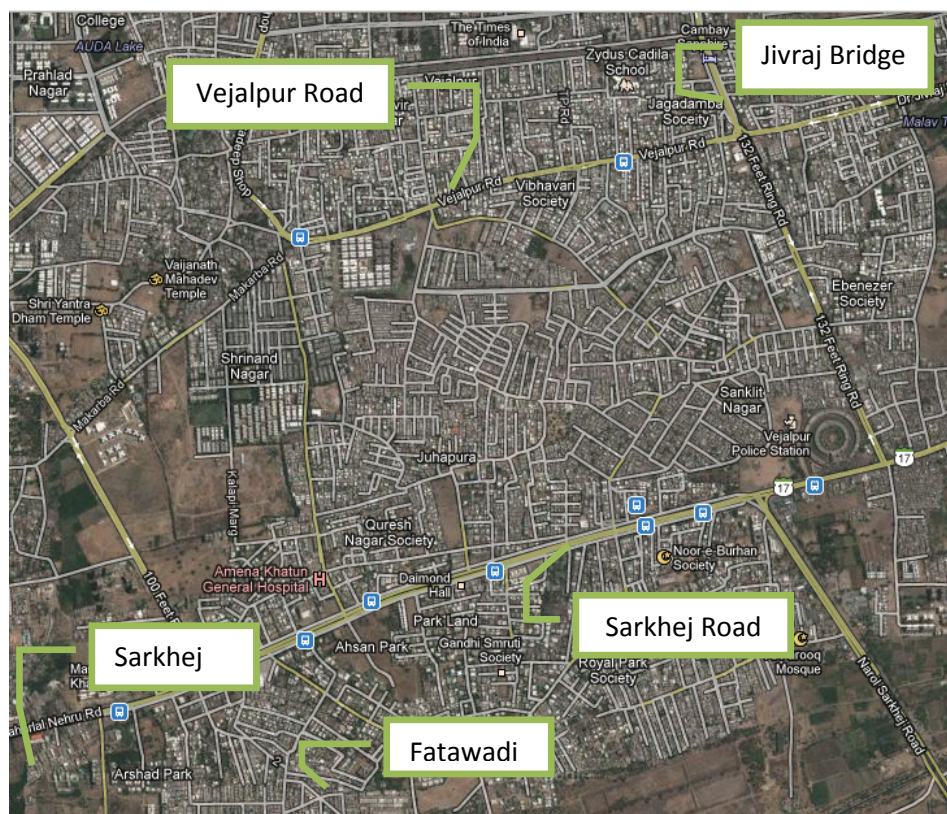

Figure 3.5. Juhapura (Google Maps, 2012).

Based on the many discussions with women from the area and on my own experience and field inventory, life in Juhapura can be described as follows. The roads that connect the societies are often made out of sand, even though some have an asphalted layer under it. The many narrow lanes in Sanklitnagar are made out of stones and only serve for walking as motorized traffic is almost impossible. In the newer areas of Juhapura there are only sand lanes with stones and holes making it quite difficult for any vehicle to drive. Many people live clustered together in small houses consisting of one room and a separated kitchen. To buy such a house would cost about 500.000 rupees (or around 7500 euro based upon the convention that 1 rupee is about 0,015 euro) which is quite expensive. Most people therefore rent a house and pay about 1500 to 2000 rupees (20 to 30 euro) per month. To rent a bigger house would cost about 4000 to 6000 rupees (60 to 90 euro) per month. People often rent an apartment for a period of 11 months, but most people do not have an official contract and can be compelled to leave the house whenever it suits the owner of the house.

Water in the houses is available through public taps in all the wards of Sanklitnagar and in the No Objection Certificate (NOC) societies, which are recognized societies that have been allowed by the government. There are mainly public taps outside the houses although some household have a private municipal water tap at home. Water is available two times per day for about 30 to 40 minutes, in the morning after 11 and in the afternoon after 17 o'clock. In the newer and mostly private and unrecognized societies in other parts of Juhapura, water is provided by private companies. It is available for about one hour per day through taps inside the societies or houses and costs about 150 to 200 rupees (which is around 2 to 3 euro) per month, but the time at which the water is available can be quite irregular. In general, it is said that the quality of public water is much better than that of private companies. Water from private companies is said to be less refined and contains a lot of salt, it flows through tube wells which can lead to problems, especially during the monsoon. A toilet and sewerage are present in most of the houses in Juhapura, but not in commercial places such as the market in Sanklitnagar. Juhapura is situated near the Sabarmati river and the fact that the water level can become very high during the monsoon leads to many problems with the sewerage system. The water level in the soil rises so much that the sewerage clogs. Many women have said that the monsoon really makes it hard to walk or drive outside due to the amount of mud and water in the streets and water coming out of the sewerage. Besides obstacles to transport, this also leads to hygienic issues and health problems. Additionally, although waste is collected from the houses one time per day, people keep throwing their waste in public spaces such as the middle of the road or open fields which also contributes to water pollution. Many houses have high thresholds at the entrance to keep water and mud outside during the monsoon (Figure 3.6). Electricity is provided by the government in most houses in Sanklitnagar but in other societies it is often private whereby the electricity cables have been connected to provide electricity to more households. In general, there is always electricity but sometimes it is unavailable for a few hours like in other parts of the city. Most of the households in Juhapura use gas to cook, either through cylinders which are subsidized by the government, either through a gas connection network in the society. In order to get a gas connection in the society, an investment of 5000 rupees (around 75 euro) is needed and about 40 to 50 houses have to agree on the construction of it. Cooking on small fire outside is also still practiced by households.

Figure 3. 6. High thresholds to keep water out during the monsoon.

With respect to services and facilities, there are some big issues in Juhapura. First, there are only four public schools in the whole area of Juhapura and neighboring areas. There is one public primary school in Sanklitnagar, which has to serve the whole population up to the newer societies of Juhapura. There are no government high schools in the area, but the government supports F.D. High School for example through grants and it pays some of the high school teachers. Besides the public schools, the number of private primary schools in Juhapura amounts to about 15 to 20 and there are 6 to 7 private high schools in Juhapura and surrounding areas, but there is no college. The number of students is quite high in the high schools due to a limited number of teachers and no other alternatives as most other schools are too far. The colleges in Ahmedabad are mostly mixed with respect to gender and religion although the majority of students is Hindu. There is a college only for girls in another area of Ahmedabad, Jamalpur, but this might be too far for girls from Juhapura and travel costs may be too expensive.

According to the Urban Resource Center (URC) in Juhapura, there is a government rule stating that for each 20.000 people, there should be a health clinic. In Juhapura this is not the case however, more importantly, there is no public health center in Juhapura at all although the population is about 300 to 400 thousand. The only health centers to be found in or near Juhapura are the Iqraa hospital, which is a private hospital and mainly Muslim, and some small dispensaries that often only provide medicines. Other private and public hospitals are situated much further from Juhapura.

The commercial activities in Juhapura are clustered around the main roads in Sanklitnagar and around the large roads connecting Juhapura to the rest of the city. There is a market every day in Sanklitnagar, selling vegetables and other products such as pots and pans, bracelets, fabrics and other goods (Figure 3. 7). There are also markets in other areas such as Fatawadi, Sarkhej, Ronak Park and near Jivraj. Among the other economic activities in Juhapura are butchery, bakery, metal working, bike repairing and textile shops. Small pan parlors selling various products ranging from little sweets, mouth refreshers, fresh drinks and sodas to pan and cigarettes, are located all over Juhapura and sometimes consist of a bed frame where the products are exposed in front of someone's house. Other people sell products such as vegetables on their cart and go from one society to another to sell their products instead of staying at the market.

Figure 3.7. Daily market in Sanklitnagar, Juhapura.

Places of worship can be found everywhere in Juhapura, there are about 30 to 40 mosques in Juhapura and no temples. Every ward has about one or two mosques and there is a madrasa or religious school connected to almost every mosque. Besides the URC, there are several other community centers in Juhapura, although most are clustered around Sanklitnagar such as AMWA and Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. There are also several training centers in Juhapura where young people and women can follow courses such as tailoring and stitching and computer classes. Green places are hard to find, Juhapura is not a very green area. Actually there are only a few trees and streets and squares mainly consist of sand. There are almost no recreational areas or spaces where kids can play, except for a large cricket field which is located in Sanklitnagar close to Sarkhej Road (Figure 3. 8).

Transport in Juhapura can be quite problematic. Most people living inside the area have to walk substantially before arriving at some place to catch a public bus or a shared or private rickshaw. Public busses are only driving on the bigger roads surrounding Juhapura such as Sarkhej Road and Vejalpur road. Shared rickshaws can also be found mainly on the big roads, but there are loads of private rickshaws around the main streets of Sanklitnagar. In the middle of the societies in Juhapura itself it can take some time to find a rickshaw and it may be impossible to drive through some roads. Furthermore, it can sometimes be difficult to catch a rickshaw driver in other parts of the city willing to drive to Juhapura due to many different reasons which will be elaborated in the next chapter.

Figure 3.8. Cricket field in Sanklitnagar.

3.6. Legal Situation

As has been mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the legal situation in India takes into account minorities and it sets out how these minorities are allowed to deal with issues such as education, traditions and religious practices. The following paragraph will describe the legal situation to a certain extent to illustrate how minorities and women are recognized in the constitution. As the women from Juhapura are both women and from a minority, there are some particularities in their legal situation that are important to consider in the description of the context.

In the constitution it is written that there should be equality among all citizens of India, thus among people from all backgrounds. Article 15 of the constitution states that it is prohibited to discriminate on grounds of religions, race, caste, sex or place of birth. In order to support this, clause (5) of article 15 allows the state to make any special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Furthermore, article 25 states the freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion and article 30 states that all minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer institutions of their choice.

India's constitution recognizes the differences between people and it has included privileges to minorities and women to stimulate equality among different groups. This is different than other countries where equality among peoples and especially among men and women has been promoted on the grounds that they are equal. Different communities, whether based on language, customs or religion, thus have the right and are stimulated to practice and conserve their respective cultures. Furthermore, the differences that exist everywhere between men and women are also recognized by the constitution, clause (2) of article 15 allows the state to make any special provision for women and children and India has signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). This also shows that the differences are recognized which is very reasonable because men and women are clearly not equal. Hierarchical relations are widely present in India, and although the state has done some effort in ensuring seats for women in all public institutions, the relationships between men and women remain patriarchic. More importantly, religious institutions in India are all patriarchic to some extent and can have great influences on women's position. Additionally, these institutions are recognized and protected by the government and it becomes therefore quite difficult when religious actions are keeping women subordinated. (MacKinnon, 2006).

Women from Juhapura are all Muslim, which is the biggest minority group in India, but they are also women and can be considered subordinated in several ways. Personal laws, or the laws concerning the family, are existing in almost all religions and are widely used as the most important legislature for settling problems in the household (Rautenbach, 1999). The fact that the Indian constitution is not clear about what is denoted by 'the law in force' has led to different interpretations in High Court Decisions, in some it recognized personal law and in others not (Rautenbach, 1999). Marriage, dowry, divorce, children, alimony and domestic violence are all considered personal and are therefore resolved by the religious institution. Among Deobandi Muslims in India and Pakistan, it has been popular to give the Bahishti Zewar (which means Heavenly Ornaments) to new brides (Islamic Bulletin, 2012). This book describes the rites, rituals and tradition of Islam in the household so that the young women can learn to become a good wife and mother. It has been written around 1900 by

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and has since then been republished many times (Ansari, 2010). Personal laws have almost solely been written by men and as the religious community in Juhapura also only consist of men and women are not allowed to enter a mosque or madrasa, they will be left out of influential decisions concerning the household.

Although the research has not been focused upon the legal position of women in the house, some general issues on Muslim personal law are important to consider because it reflects on how the position of some women can be. With respect to marriage for example, some women are not allowed to choose their own husband and dowry is still a tradition in some families. The money paid by the bride or the parents of the bride to the husband does not always remain in the women's hands. Another Muslim tradition is polygamy, whereby a man can marry up to four wives. This has however not been noticed during the research based upon the household sample. Furthermore, divorce is regarded as something undoable in Juhapura, only 0,9 percent of the women interviewed divorced from her husband. Divorce in Muslim personal law can only be initiated by the husband, only he can decide that he wants to divorce his wife. The wife has to accept this and she cannot decide herself to divorce. In order to divorce his wife, a man has to pronounce 'talaq' three times. Several variations of this formula can be used, a man can for example directly say that he wants to divorce his wife but in other cases he can leave the choice by the woman. After it is pronounced, the woman has to leave the house of her husband during the 'iddat', which is a time of at least three menstrual periods before the divorce is completed. After divorce, it is very unusual that a man has to pay alimony to his wife, a legendary case in history was the Shah Bano case (Batra, 2010; MacKinnon, 2006). (Mejia, 2007).

Box 3.1. The Shah Bano Case

Shah Bano was a Muslim women who separated from her husband after 30 years of marriage because he divorced her. She went to court to seek financial maintenance from her husband after the divorce, which led to legal proceedings that took about 10 years. She was eventually granted the maintenance just as any other woman from other religious background would have. This led to reactions mainly from Muslim institutions upon which 'The Muslim Women's (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Bill' was enacted in 1986. This bill specified that Muslim women would not fall under the same code as other Indian women, and that they were entitled to receive maintenance during the iddat, but that it would be the responsibility of her own family thereafter. (Batra, 2010).

The Hindu, 2003.

In India, there are many women groups that try to raise awareness about women rights through grassroots approaches (Kirmani et al., 2011). Some organizations of women in Juhapura also promote knowledge about personal laws and civil law among women. One of these organizations is Parwaaj, whose main objective is to empower women and to raise awareness on their rights that influence their life and future. They also help women that are victims of domestic violence and

provide self-defense trainings. Furthermore, trainings focused on Muslim personal law are organized one time per year where women discuss and learn about the laws that are often misused by men. Most information is spread by dominant religious leaders and this reaches women faster than if they have to find it out by themselves. In these trainings, they learn for example that there are no Muslim laws stating that women should stay in the house during the four months after her husband died, neither about women not allowed to go out or not allowed to work. The talaq is another thing discussed during these trainings and women are learned what their rights are in case of divorce. Adolescent gender trainings are also given with the aim of learning girls to make their own decisions and making them aware of gender discrimination. Article 44 of the Indian constitution sets out that a uniform civil code should be secured by the state for the citizens, so this suggests that women can resort to the civil code instead of personal law, just as Shah Bano did. This could however be a difficult option for women because it will probably be looked down upon by the family and community members. Furthermore, the All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB), which has been established in 1973, aims at protection and continued application of Muslim personal law (AIMPLB, 2012). (MacKinnon, 2006).

Clearly, the position of women at home is influenced by Muslim Personal law which is allowed in India and which continues to be patriarchal and leaves out women from decision making in religious institutions. However, the level of decision making at home does not always have to be so patriarchal. Throughout the interviews with women it became clear that many women were free to decide what they wanted to do with respect to vocational trainings for example, although some said that they had to ask the husband first. In-depth interviews with women and organizations in Juhapura also provided some insights on decision making at home, for example that women were often more free to do and decide things on their own when there was trust among the husband and wife, and that the level of education often influenced the position of a woman within the house. Higher levels of education were often considered to give a woman more say in household decisions because she would be able to know her rights and to use her knowledge when considering religious and personal issues.

3.7. SAATH, the Host Organization

The host organization of the research is SAATH, an Indian NGO that has been founded in 1989 by Rajendra Joshi. The meaning of the Gujarati term SAATH is 'Together, Co-operation, a Collective or Support' (SAATH, 2012). The main goal of SAATH is to create inclusive societies. Its first initiative was the Integrated Slum Development Program, which was aimed at improving infrastructure and organizing residents to improve the quality of life of the poor. This program was undertaken in Juhapura and SAATH committed itself to continue in this area for a long time, which is reflected in the number of programs aimed at this community. Important is that this program was partly funded by the government and other funding agencies, but the community itself also contributed financially. Since that date, SAATH has facilitated participatory processes that improve the quality of life for the urban and rural poor. This grassroots approach that stimulates participation and ownership of decision making among the local population and communities is reflected in all programs implemented by SAATH. Its mission is to utilize market-based strategies to create inclusive societies by empowering India's urban and rural poor.

The organization has now expanded its activities to more than 17 other cities, 40 villages and 8 districts in the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Today, SAATH reaches over 22.000 slum and rural households. SAATH's activities are funded by several partners, such as the American India Foundation (AIF), the British Asian Trust, the Bosch India Foundation, USAID, Care India, Cordaid and many others. Besides this, some programs receive funding from the government, particularly the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC), and big companies such as Coca-Cola, Microsoft and Ikea.

Among programs that SAATH has undertaken in the past is the Slum Networking Project (SNP) that consisted of upgrading slums by providing basic infrastructure such as electricity, water and toilets. This was a public-private partnership, meaning that the AMC worked together with SAATH and the communities. The communities had to participate both financially and by providing maintenance to the new infrastructure, as is also the case for the existing SAATH programs. The aim of this was to shift ownership and responsibility to the communities, but an analysis by Das et al. (2009) has shown that the planning and design stages did not involve community members. After the earthquake in 2001, SAATH expanded its operations to rural areas, especially in the fields of education and health. SAATH has also been active in the refugee camps for the victims of the 2002 riots, whereby it was mainly responsible for food security. It started up small pre-schools for children and it worked with women. In 2005, after the SNP had been closed, the Slum Electrification Project (SEP) was undertaken by Sankalp, the former name of the URC in Juhapura, whereby hundreds of meters of electicity connection have been provided to residents of the area. Again, the people themselves had to invest in it, although it was subsidized. In Juhapura, there were also Azaad Youth Groups, aimed at overall development of youth from the area through discussions, workshops and visits. Today, there are many other programs undertaken by SAATH.

Several programs are aimed at helping people to make a livelihood by training them in a certain field and placing them to generate income. These programs are commonly called livelihood programs. Urmila Home-managers is aimed at poor women from urban areas. The main idea is to train women to work as a housemaid in an urban family, and to make them aware of their rights and working conditions. Furthermore, trainings in child-care and bed side patient assistance are also offered. RWeaves is another livelihood program, it is aimed at artisans from rural areas. Different villages in Gujarat make traditional art, weaving with silk and cotton for example, and RWeaves provides them

with good material for their works and ensures that a fair price is paid for the products. There are also livelihood programs aimed decreasing unemployment among youth, UMEED and Yuva MAST. The prCenters are located in Gujarat and Rajasthan and provide trainings to young people in a broad array of fields and place them thereafter in Indian companies. The last programs have served as a base for the research and will be explained in more detail in chapter 6 which will concentrate on vocational trainings for (young) women from Juhapura.

In the field of health and education, SAATH also implemented several programs. Balghars are schools for poor children aged between 3 and 6, before they go to primary school. These schools are located in areas where there is no public pre-school or Anganwadi. Besides education, children are also provided with nutritious food and health support. SAATH also runs child-friendly spaces, aimed at stimulating children that dropped out of school or never went, to enroll in formal education. In Paldi and Vasna, two areas in Ahmedabad, there are programs in reproductive and child health and tuberculosis. In other places, it is the Urban Resource Center (URC) that guides people for health services.

The URC is a CBO aimed at people from slum areas, it can be seen as a center of information where anyone can come with questions about documentation such as Below Poverty Line cards, election cards, PAN cards (needed for the Income Tax Department) and birth certificates. Furthermore, the URC is an important connection between the slum inhabitants and government services. There are three URCs in Ahmedabad, the first was started in Juhapura in 1989 after the riots of 1986, under the name Sankalp. The URCs are run by people from the community in which they are located and the aim is to make these centers self-sufficient, a fee is therefore asked from people for the services provided. As more and more people know about the services and how to approach the government, awareness is raised among other people and this empowers them. The URC in Juhapura has been of great support during the fieldwork, the women running the center helped us to get in contact with the women for interviews and each of them was an enormous source of information concerning the community, the people, the religion, the customs and more.

In the field of human rights, SAATH has implemented a program in 120 villages across Gujarat to protect children from child labor, which is still common in rural areas. The program is called Child Rights for Change and it is mainly aimed at children that work in cotton farms, to help their parents and do not go to school.

Griha Pravesh is an affordable housing program that supports people that want to buy a house but do not have the documents needed for it, or to take out a loan. In micro finance, SAATH runs Micro Finance Institutes (MFIs) for the poor in urban and rural areas. The MFIs offer financial services to people, such as savings and loans for various purposes. There are two MFIs in Juhapura, one in Sanklitnagar and one in Fatawadi. More details on the functioning of the MFIs will be provided in chapter 5. Finally, SAATH continuously monitors and evaluate the current programs in the Research, Documentation and Communication Cell, which is also responsible for communication and marketing.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has described the situation at the different scales that should be understood in order to answer the sub question related to this chapter, namely *To what extent does the environment stimulate engagement and participation of Muslim women?* It has provided a picture of the situation in Juhapura, and especially on the position of Muslim women within each of the contexts. By considering the position of Muslims across India, Gujarat and Ahmedabad in particular, it becomes clear that this minority group does not always have the same possibilities to engage in society as other minorities and Hindus do. In comparison to other states in India, the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims are more pronounced in Gujarat and continue to influence the lives of both communities. The most important influence is the persisting housing segregation between the two communities, which has been emphasized in Ahmedabad and Juhapura. In Juhapura it is clear that the government did not spend much efforts in upgrading the slums, and many of the AMC's basic functions have been neglected here for some years, leaving the Muslims without basic facilities such as education, health and infrastructure. Some NGOs have been working in Juhapura since years to support the community in fields where development is lacking. Amongst them, SAATH is an important player and its activities in the area have supported the population in different ways. SAATH continues its focus on Juhapura, which is reflected by the URC in Sanklitnagar and the plan to implement a vocational training center for women there.

Women in general do not receive the same benefits as men, as there are severe gender differences across India and in the states. Cultural and traditional practices in society as a whole have led to a general preference for boys, and this is reflected both in the sex ratio and the child sex ratio, and in the literacy rates and education levels of boys with respect to girls. This influences to some extent the position of women in general and across communities, although the position of women is subject to much more influences than described in the context at different scales. The position of Muslim women in Juhapura will be described in the next chapter whereby the focus will be on the living environment of the women, the relations that influence women at different times in their life, the human capital of women and the economic situation of Juhapura and the place of women therein.

Chapter 4. The Position of Women in Juhapura.

4.1. Introduction

The position of women in Juhapura cannot be described in a few words as it is influenced by so many different factors that all have different effects on the position of women and their ability to participate in those things that they find important. In order to understand how their position is influenced, it is important to answer this sub-question: *What are the main factors influencing socio-economic engagement and participation of Muslim women in society?* Women's position in the direct environment, the relationships with other people and their human capital can all have potential influences on women, but each has to be thoroughly analyzed in order to determine how these affect them, the choices they make and their future.

The environment of Juhapura is therefore described first, it illustrates how women live in their respective societies and how the location of their house is influenced by the existing or non-existing infrastructure. It also elaborates on the facilities available in and near Juhapura and some recent and less recent events that happened in Juhapura will be discussed.

The position of women within relationships of all kinds will be described hereafter. This is heavily influenced by the age of the women, a woman has to deal with influences from different parties at different stages in life. Through childhood and before marriage, the parents and siblings of a girl are very influential but they are replaced by the husband and family in-law after a girl got married. Other influential relations can exist between women and their friends, their neighbors and with teachers. Each of these parties will be discussed in detail by mentioning how they influence women's position.

The third part will illustrate how human capital is distributed among men and women in Juhapura. It starts by elaborating on the importance of literacy, which is followed by a discussion on education and an analysis of the distribution of formal education among men and women and among different age levels. Hereafter, the importance and practice of religion has been described. Juhapura is a Muslim community and as the institution of religion is very patriarchic and has a lot of influence, this affects the position of women in different ways, as will be illustrated. Furthermore, women possess a certain number of skills which are also part of their human capital. These skills and how they have been used are described at the end of this part.

In order to make the picture of women in Juhapura more complete, the last part will elaborate on the economic situation in Juhapura, and the position of women therein. The economic situation will describe what the main occupations are among women and men in Juhapura, and how people perform different activities to make a living.

4.2. Environment

The environment of Juhapura has been partly described in the previous chapter, but this was mainly focused on the physical and functional characteristics of the neighborhood. This part will elaborate on the position of women in Juhapura and on how the situation influences their ability to increase engagement. There are many different living areas and societies in Juhapura and the total population of 300.000 to 400.000 Muslims makes it difficult to frame the position of women in general. Several aspects should be considered because women living in this area have different livelihoods which are influenced by different facets of the environment such as living area and society, neighborhood, access to transport, facilities and infrastructure.

As mentioned before, most societies consist of a number of houses with one room and a separate kitchen where families live. Household sizes from 3 to 7 members are quite normal in the sample. Although there are some bigger families, most of the interviewed women stated that the total number of household members amounted to four or five, meaning that they shared the only room all together. Only a few societies in Juhapura are recognized by the local government and these households can make use of public water (Figure 4.1), electricity and sewerage. Other societies have been built by private constructors and water and electricity are provided by private companies. As the construction of the societies has been increased in the past ten years since the riots, the government has difficulties to keep up with the construction of roads and sewerage networks which can lead to increased problems in specific areas during the monsoon. According to the interviews with women, the quality of public water is better than that of private companies, private water may become contaminated during the monsoon leading to health and skin problems. Furthermore, the newer societies such as Anusha Park, Uwais Park and Nazre Illahi are situated at the other end of Juhapura from Sanklinagar and therefore quite far from the commercial center, the big market, the public school and the community centers. In addition, basic infrastructure such as roads is often lacking in the newer areas. Most roads are irregular and sandy and access can be difficult for motorized vehicles, especially during the monsoon when most of these roads consist of mud and water. Women from these societies therefore face more problems with respect to their freedom of movement and possibilities to engage in those activities they would like to than women from societies such as Sanklitnagar and women living close to one of the big roads surrounding Juhapura.

Figure 4.1. Public water well, Sanklitnagar.

Besides the issues concerning traffic inside Juhapura, there are also issues concerning the accessibility of the area with respect to other parts of the city. Public transport is unavailable in Juhapura itself so people first have to walk to the main roads in order to catch a public bus or a shared rickshaw, which can be a substantial distance depending on the society. There are some private rickshaws driving in Juhapura but these can almost only be found on the market in Sanklitnagar and sometimes on little squares in between the societies (Figure 4.2). Women usually prefer to take the bus or a shared rickshaw because the private rickshaw is often too expensive. There may also be problems concerning the destination of Juhapura from other places in the city, which is illustrated by the fact that it is unlikely to find a rickshaw driver willing to drive to Juhapura directly.

Figure 4.2. Rickshaw stand place in Sanklitnagar, Juhapura.

Out of the total number of women interviewed, 10,4 percent lived in one of the wards in Sanklitnagar. Most of the women lived in societies at the other side of Juhapura, such as Anusha Park where 19,8% of the respondents are living and Uwais park, where 9,4% of the women are living (Figure 4.3). The rest of the women are living in many other societies where between 0,9% and 7,6% have been interviewed. Besides the differences in services such as water and electricity, and the connectivity to other parts of Juhapura, there is also another major difference between the households and women. The number of years that women are living in a certain area influences their position because women that are accustomed to their neighborhood know where they can find most of the facilities, such as markets and schools for example. Among all women, 15% have born in their living area and never moved. Although most of these girls were quite young, there were also some women who moved in the same neighborhood after marriage. Other women (19,8%) said that they were living in the area since 10 or 12 years, which also suggests that they know their neighborhood quite well. About 13,2% of the women lived in the same area for longer periods ranging from 13 to 30 years, which is heavily dependent on their age. In contrast, 9,4% of the women said that they lived in the area since 1 to 11 months. Women that came from small villages to Ahmedabad after marriage may need some time to become familiar with city life, which is very different from the rural life. Some women moved after marriage into the house of their husband and his parents, but other women have moved to the new area to live only with their husband. Many new societies are

inhabited by young families with children and they do not live in joint families. The composition of the household situation influences the position of women, as will be shown in the next part by describing the relationships of women with their own family, their husband, their children and their family in-law.

Figure 4.3. Map of Juhapura depicting different societies (Google Maps, 2012).

One event that has scourged the population of Juhapura are the riots of 2002. Many young and older women still remember very well how it was by then, and this has left a mark on them in different ways. Some of the interviewed women were still in school at that time, out of which 3,8% had to quit education due to the riots and another 5,7% said that they had to quit school because it was too dangerous outside. Some women continue to be afraid and therefore do not like to go out. This is partly due to the atmosphere in Juhapura itself, but also to the continuous frictions that take place between Hindus and Muslims.

After the riots of 2002, there are still tensions between Muslims and Hindus in the sense that Juhapura continues to be depicted as a dangerous area which makes Hindus hesitating to go there. This is also reflected in the unwillingness of some rickshaw drivers to go to Juhapura, and in the number of young people that never have been to Juhapura. Furthermore, the area was often in the newspapers with incidents such as kidnappings, rapes and other crimes during the research period. In February 2012 alone, 26 young people aged between 5 and 20 have been reported as missing in

Ahmedabad, out of which 12 were girls (Ahmedabad Mirror, 2012a). Some of the kidnappings took place in Juhapura. This stimulates the fear of some Hindus to go to this area, but is also influences the people living in Juhapura itself. As many people in Juhapura do not have direct access to news, the main events happening in the neighborhood are passed on from one person to another. This can lead to situations where people react as a group towards persons that they perceive as having done something punishable due to rumors. People can be easily motivated to react even though they do not always have sufficient knowledge to really judge on the issue. For example, a man was caught in March 2012 by residents in Danilimda, another neighborhood in Ahmedabad, because they thought that he was a kidnapper (Ahmedabad Mirror, 2012b). Similarly, a woman was caught by residents in the same week because she was said to be lifting a child (Ahmedabad Mirror, 2012c). Other news articles have been published about young girls that have been raped by relatives or neighbors, and women who have been raped at work or at the university (The Times of India, 2012a; The Times of India, 2012b; Times of India, 2012c). However, according to interviews with the principals of Sanklitnagar Primary School 2 and F. D. High School, these events did not restrain women from letting their children going to school. In both schools, there was no difference in the number of kids in class during the period where these events happened. Besides these local incidents, the global discourses of Islamophobia may also contribute to the formation of identities among Hindus and Muslims (Chatterjee, 2012). Frictions between these identities may be translated into violence.

4.3. Social Relations

The position of women in Juhapura cannot be described without discussing the different relationships that influence their lives, their views, their opinions, and their possibilities to participation. The age of a woman greatly impacts the relationships she has with her entourage. During different stages in life, some persons become more or less important and influential than others. Women are in contact with people from different age groups and have different relationships with each of them. The family members are initially the most important ones, as they live closely together from birth onwards in most cases. Young persons have to behave according to the family and their ideas, activities and dreams about the future are all influenced by the family. At the time a woman gets married, the husband and family in-law become more influential. During life, different friends can be influential as well. Girls that are in school have probably more friends from school than girls that never went to school, who will more likely have friends from their own living area. Neighbors and people living in the same society can also be close to each other and share ideas and discussions about many things. Additionally, age influences other issues such as where people live, since when they live in a certain place, the literacy rate and education level, marital status, number of children and a woman's ability to work inside or outside the house.

It is important to mention that young girls that grow up to become a woman, have to deal with different power relations at different stages in life. The life-cycle should be taken into account to define women's position and possibilities (Afshar, 1997). Through all these stages, it becomes clear that what women do and can do at each stage is heavily influenced by their first their family, then their husband and family in-law. Friends, neighbors and acquaintances have different influences throughout all stages. Clearly, many women do not have a complete say about their own future.
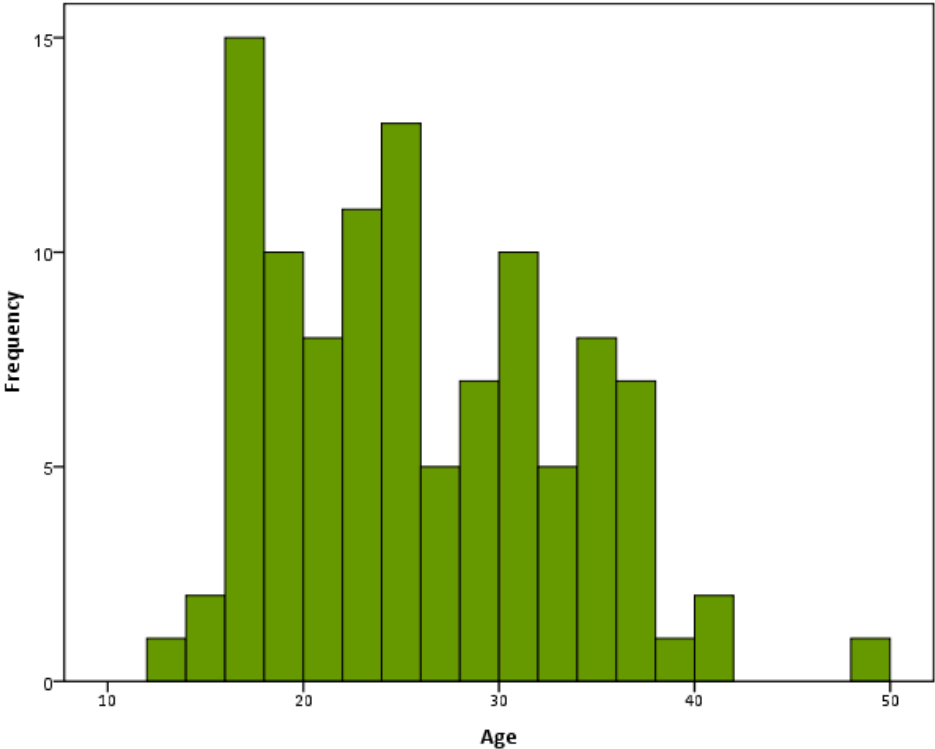

Figure 4.4. Histogram depicting the ages of interviewed women.

In the sample of women, the age ranged from 13 to 48 but most of the women were aged between 17 and 18. Furthermore, a large group was aged around the mid-twenties and another substantial number was aged around 30. Ages are useful for analysis, especially in this case where the age of a woman has such great influences on her position in the household, her relations with family members and in-laws, and her education and position in society. Figure 4. 4 shows how the ages are distributed among the women interviewed during the research. It should be noticed however that the ages mentioned by women during the interview do not necessarily reflect reality. Several women, especially the older women, do not know what their age exactly is and have therefore given approximations which almost only take round numbers such as 25, 30, 35 or 40.

In order to understand the position of women within a larger context, their household members have been included in another sample. Figure 4.5 depicts the age pyramid containing all household members aged from 0 to 75 and reflects the gender differences. Although this sample does not provide a representative sample of the situation in Juhapura due to the focus on women and especially on young women, it offers a useful description for some factors that have been analyzed hereafter, mainly for education levels and the economic situation.
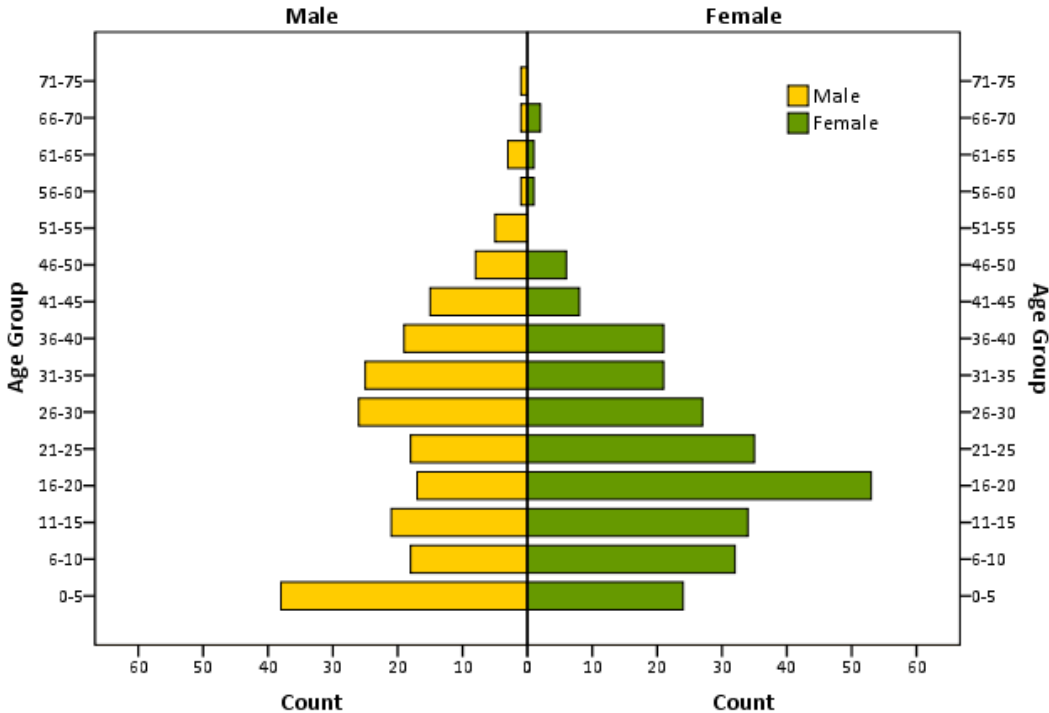
Figure 4.5. Age pyramid household members Juhapura.

The Family
The family situation is crucial to understanding the position of women in their household but also in the larger context. Age is one of the main determinants of the position in the family. In general, young girls that are not yet engaged or married often live with their parents in a house. Some of them are still in school and want to continue as far as possible. Others already dropped out of school and are staying in the house to help with the household work, consisting of washing, sweeping, cleaning, cooking and other tasks. The people they are in contact with are mainly the parents and siblings, other relatives and friends they know because they are living close to them or from school. Out of the total women interviewed, 31,1% of the girls aged from 13 to 25 were still living with both

their parents. In some exceptional cases, a girl lived with one of their parents or with people other than the parents. One girl lived for example together with her uncle and aunt because her mother divorced and remarried another man, another girl lost her father and was living only with her mother and siblings, and again another lived only with her mother because her parents divorced. Most families consist of at least two children, so most of the young women interviewed had at least one brother or sister. The parents are often the main decision makers in the family with respect to the future of their children and especially their daughter.

There might be preferences for boys, reflected both in the numbers of girls in comparison to boys and in the number of school-going boys with respect to girls. A big problem in India is girl feticide which has been a long lasting practice in India and still happens today. The distribution between boys and girls is unequal and it is striking to notice that in the total household member sample, there is clearly a bigger number of boys aged from 0 to 5 than girls but it is unclear whether girl feticide is the cause for this. Gender differences are reflected in the number of children of the women interviewed, of which almost 60% is a boy aged between 0 and 5, and 40% are girls. In contrast, in the age group of children from 6 to 10 years, the number of daughters is higher than that of boys, namely 55 and 45 percent respectively. Most of the women with children have two kids at home, mostly aged between 0 and 5 years. Out of the total number of children aged between 0 and 5, containing both the children of interviewed women and little brothers and sisters, there is also a discrepancy between the number of boys which account for 61 percent, and the number of girls which amounts to 39 percent. In contrast, there are clearly more girls than boys in the age group from 6 to 10 years old, whereby girls account for 64% and boys for 36%. (Figure 4.5).

India is a patriarchic society and this is reflected in the head of the household being often the oldest man. In most cases, also in Juhapura, this is the father or the husband, but it might also be the grandfather, depending on whether they live together in joint families. Through the interviews, it became clear that family members can be very influential on the future of a girls, which has been shown for example by the reasons for quitting education given by women (Table 4.1). Besides the parents, the grand-parents and brothers are also deciding for the girls. Brothers, irrespective of their age with respect to their sisters, seem to have more to say than them. This was reflected by 4,7% of the women, mainly aged between 16 and 20, who said that they had to quit education because their brother told them to stop. They gave different motivations for their brother's decision, such as the school that was too far, that it was too dangerous to travel to school, that it took too much time because he had to accompany her to school, or that she would be able to get her certificate for the board exam, either 10th or 12th, by studying at home instead of at school which was the case for 2,8% of the young girls.

Besides this, children are also often influenced by the decisions of their elder brothers or sisters with respect to school, work and marriage. If the elders of the family have quitted education at a certain age, there is a chance that the younger brothers and sisters will quit at the same age. Other family situations and events also influence the girls' ability to continue in school, which has been shown by women that had to take care of younger siblings, either because the parents were working or because a parent died. In some families, it is a tradition that when a close family member dies, the family has a mourning period that can last for some months and during which people are not allowed to perform certain activities. In some families, people are not allowed to continue going to school during that time.

Reasons for quitting education	Women (%)	Absolute Numbers
Had to take care of younger siblings	3,8	4
Father or mother died	2,8	3
Parents told to quit education	16	17
Grandparents told to quit education	1,9	2
Brother told to quit education	4,7	5
Had to take care of a sick family member	2,8	3
Had to quit school due to the mourning period	1,9	2

Table 4.1. Influences of family on education (in percentages and absolute numbers).

Household work in the family is considered important by many women. Most of the women said that being a housewife was their main 'occupation'. The role of a housewife is considered important in the culture and consists of taking care of the house by sweeping, cleaning, washing clothes and cooking. These are important tasks for a women and girls already start to help their mother with these tasks at an early age. Some left school to do household work, others do it besides school. It is considered very important to learn these tasks in order to become a good housewife whenever a girl gets married. Most of the girls from the sample got married at the age of 20, meaning that they left their parental house and started to life either together with their husband, or with him and his family.

The Marriage

Marriage has a great impact on the situation of a woman because it brings new responsibilities to her, and the relations she has with her family will change and be more concentrated on her husband's family. In India, many newly married women first live with their husband at his parental house, together with his parents and his brothers and sisters, and possibly other sisters in-law. In this new situation, she has to take care of the house and her husband, and after some years she probably also has children to take care of. Marriage is seen as one of the most important events in life by many Indians, the same for all religions. Among the women that were interviewed, more than 63 percent were married and about 42,6% of all female household members. The age at which women usually marry is between 15 and 25 years old, but most got married around the age of 20 and there are no unmarried women of 25 and older in the sample. Furthermore, 12 percent of the women were engaged and 23 percent were single, they all lived at home with their parents or relatives. Two women were widow and one was divorced.

In India, it is very common practice to have the marriage arranged by the parents. This was also clearly represented in the research, out of the 106 women interviewed, 85 percent said that their marriage or engagement was arranged or that it would be in the near future, within one or two years. Only 7 women did not have an arranged marriage, they had a love marriage meaning that they met their husband themselves and decided themselves to get married. For 9 young girls it was unclear whether their marriage would be arranged or not because they were still too young and it was found to be quite inappropriate to ask them about this. During a focus group discussion on the topic of marriage, it became clear that a love marriage is seen as quite amusing and very unusual for most of the women. They said that whether the marriage would be arranged was decided by the parents and depended on their vision of marriage. More open-minded, liberal parents were said to be more likely to allow and support love marriage than more closed-minded, conservative parents.

Nevertheless, there were also many girls and women who said that they would prefer to have an arranged marriage because it is generally more accepted or because they never taught about the possibility of a love marriage and did or do not want to find somebody themselves. Marriage influences the future of a woman because it increases her responsibilities, but at the same time it also influences her possibility of choices for her own future, concerning for example education and work. Out of the 67 married women, more than 24 percent said that they quitted education because of marriage and another 6 percent because of engagement. The age difference between wife and husband ranges from 1 to 10 years, but there are no clear numbers on this as many women said five years difference by estimation.

As mentioned above, Juhapura is a patriarchic society which is reflected by the roles men and women mainly play. Many women said that they stayed mainly at home and that their husbands worked outside. The husbands are the ones earning most of the household income, and even though some women have access to this income, many do not possess their own income or savings which makes them quite dependent on their husband. Besides this, even though some women said during in-depth interviews that most household decisions were made together between husband and wife, for some issues such as following a training or working outside they needed to ask their husband for permission. With respect to vocational training for example, 8,5% of the interviewed women have said that they would have to ask their husband first for either the fee or for participation to the training, or that there were obstacles to participation from their husband's side. The husband can therefore have an important say in what his wife is allowed to do and what she is not allowed to do. The cultural setting of Juhapura and the different interpretations of families about the Islam and ideas about roles, education and work for women, all influence the possibilities for engagement.

Children are another factor that influences the life of women and their possibilities to engage themselves. In total, there were 39 women or young girls without children, and 67 with at least one child and 5 children at most (Table 4.2). Until the age of 20, none of the interviewed women had children, but from the age of 21 onwards, the number of children increases. In the age group from 21 to 25, 39,3% of the women already have one child, 32,1% have two children and 10,7% have three children. Between 26 and 30 years, the number of women having two children was 59,1%. Children need a lot of attention and time, and besides being a good housewife, women have to be good mothers. This is often reflected in the importance of the time mentioned by women that they spend on taking care of their children, and that it sometimes hampers them from doing what they would like to do. Especially at the younger ages, the children stay the whole day at home with their mother and do not go to school. It has been shown in the interviews that out of the 62 children between 0 and 5 years old living in the households, only 19 go to kindergarten or a similar level.

Number of Children	Women (%)	Absolute Numbers
No children	36,8	39
One child	13,2	14
Two children	27,4	29
Three children	17,9	19
Four children	2,8	3
Five children	1,9	2

Table 4.2. Number of children per woman (in percentages and absolute numbers).

The Family in-law

Besides the husband, married women often have increased influences from their family in-law. Especially during the first years of the marriage, young couples often live in joint families with the parents of the groom, and possibly also with the siblings of the husband and other daughters in-law. During the interviews, there were seven women living with either both their father and mother in-law, or with only one of their in-laws, . Five of these women were aged between 21 and 25 and two were aged from 26 to 30. The position of a woman, and her ability to engage in activities that she finds important or that she would like to do, can be quite dependent on the interpretations of the husband's family about the position of women in general.

Throughout the interviews, it became clear that there was a clear distinction between the housewife occupation and the household work occupation, and that there was always only one housewife in every household. Daughters living with their parents said that their mother was the housewife and their sisters and themselves were doing the household work. Those seven women living with the mother in-law said that she was the housewife and that their own occupation was household work. This suggests that the housewife is the one making the decisions about the household work, and the younger women in the house help her with these tasks. Another point showing that the family in-law can be influential about the women's own decisions about their life and future is reflected in the reasons women had to quit education. Three women said that they had to quit education because their parents in-law told them to stop. Others said that they had to quit education because they got married or engaged, which in some cases meant that they were not allowed to continue in school as married women.

> **Box 4.1. Influence of parents in-law.**
>
> One example to illustrate how influencing the family in-law can be has been encountered during the research. This story is about a young woman from a quite open-minded family that married her husband in a love marriage about five years ago, and who now has a son of 4 years old. She has worked in a Community Center in Juhapura during some months. Her husband first agreed with this because he thought that her work would consist of a training that would enable her to work mainly at home. However, she had to work outside the house much more often as she had to travel around Juhapura in order to meet women to provide the services offered by the center. At the beginning of the fieldwork, she was very free in what she wanted to do and she did not wear a veil while she was outside. After some time however, she started wearing the veil because her parents in-law told her to do so when she would meet other people outside the house. As she really wanted to work and has a lot of respect for her parents in-law, she started wearing the veil. However, after some more time, she was not allowed to work anymore for the Community Center. After some discussions with this woman, it turned out that the wife of her brother in-law did not accept her working and told this to the parents in-law. The woman had to stop working because her family in-law thinks that working is inappropriate for a woman, and this is the case in many other families. Even though she really liked the work and was very good in it (as told by her colleagues from the center), she quitted it to respect the decision of her husband and his parents.

The Neighborhood

Women are often allowed to go to the houses of women in their society or in houses of family members or friends in other societies. Besides a new living area and new acquaintances after marriage, many women are still in contact with their own parents and siblings. This can be quite difficult for some women who have moved to the city after their marriage and left their own family in the rural areas, and for women whose family lives in other parts of the city, but the technologies such as mobile phones are widely present in India, as well as in Juhapura. For other women it is easier to meet their family as many live in Juhapura as well. Although the contact with the family continues, they often have less to say on the women now that they are married and their husband and family in-law has become more dominant.

Women are living close together in societies so they often know each other. They spend time together to discuss issues in life, and the relationship with people living in the same society influences their behavior in several ways. One issue that has been mentioned more than once during the research, is that talking and gossiping is widely practiced in Juhapura. Several women and men have said that the fact that people talk so much about what others do, influences their behavior. Some women are for example afraid to work outside because they know that the people around them will talk about it. Men also said the same about their wives working, that this will give people the opportunity to talk about them, that they would be seen as unable to support their wife and family financially. In a research about minority communities from Pakistan and Bangladesh in Great Britain it was also mentioned that people often want to belong to a community and culture and do not want people to talk about them when they behave differently (Keddie, 2011).

There are many relationships that influence the activities and occupations of women. Besides neighbors, people are in contact with friends they know from school or from their neighborhood. Friends from different situations can have different influences on a girl or a woman, school friends may be better able to stimulate them to continue in school than drop-outs from the neighborhood. Furthermore, friends from the neighborhood may make it more easy for girls to move to other places as they are often not allowed to go somewhere alone. Family members other than the direct family is also important, the concepts of cousin brothers and cousin sisters is very common in India for example and they are often considered as real brothers and sisters, especially when they live in the same house. Furthermore, the relations between teachers and young children and between teachers and the parents can also be influential for girls in school. It is important that children feel to some extent at ease with the teachers to make them more willing to go to school, and to enable them to discuss issues concerning school, home or family. Through interviews with two schools in Juhapura, it became clear that the relationship between the student and the teacher is often good. In both schools it was said that the relation between the student and the teacher was very personal, although the classes in F. D. High School are almost two times bigger than in Sanklitnagar Primary School 2. Students were free to discuss any problem encountered at school or at home with the teacher, who would then help them to find a solution. If necessary, teachers would also go to the student's home to discuss an issue with the parents, although there are parent-teacher meetings as well. In Sanklitnagar Primary School 2, these meetings take place on a monthly base and in F. D. High School two times per year but can be planned at any other time during the year if there is a need to do so. With respect to religious teachers, young girls only see them when they are young and do not discuss personal issues, they only talk about the religion. Women and mothers are not in contact with the religious teachers.

4.4. Human capital

Human capital is an important factor in determining the position of women. It encompasses the education, skills, knowledge and capabilities of women. Literacy and education are the first themes that will be discussed, followed by other skills that women possess. All of these themes are important to assess the position of women as human capital can heavily influence the choices women can make about their own future and the possibilities they perceive as being within reach. It also affects their ability to discuss household situations and to avoid being misled.

Literacy Rate

Among the women interviewed, more than 95 percent were literate. During the interviews, being literate was described as being able to read and write in Gujarati. Even though the main spoken language in Juhapura is Hindi as it is more closely related to Urdu, people have learned to read and write in Gujarati at school, which is the main language in the state of Gujarat. This is not the case for all women interviewed, some moved to Gujarat at a later age so they never learned Gujarati in school and are not always able to read and write in the regional language. Young girls up to the age of 20 are all literate, 3,8% of the illiterate women are aged between 21 and 35, and 0,9% older than 46. The illiterate women have never followed any formal education. One of them only went to the madrasa because her parents found religious education far more important for a woman than formal education as she would never have to work anyways, but the other women did not go to school at all. The literacy rates among their husbands is lower, namely 86,6%. Illiterate women are more likely to marry illiterate men, which was the case for 80% of the illiterate women interviewed, and 91,9% of the literate women were married to a literate man.

Overall, literacy rates are higher for men than for women in India and in Gujarat (Census of India, 2011). This has not been found during the research. In the total sample of household members, the literacy rate of women is higher than men, namely 88,3% and 82,4% respectively. Literacy rates in the sample are generally higher for people aged between 6 and 20 years and between 51 and 65 years, which might be due to a higher number of women aged in between which increases the incidence of illiteracy. Being literate has several consequences on the position of women and their children. It enables them to read themselves, which makes them less dependent on others for information and less vulnerable to misuses of information and cheating. Furthermore, literate women (or parents) are more likely to send their children to school than illiterate parents, because illiterate parents do not always see the importance of education for their children. This is also illustrated by Rashida, a woman who did not go to school because of her illiterate parents.

> ***Rashida (35):*** *"I have never been to school because my parents were illiterate. They did not pay attention to my education so I didn't either and that's why I never went to school. My husband is also illiterate but we think that education is important for our children. My oldest son is literate, he is 10 and already in 6th standard. My youngest son is 4 and will start going to school next year."*

There can also be a substantial difference between the perceived importance of education for sons and daughters, it is expected that literate women find education equally important for both their sons and their daughters and stimulate both of them to continue (Gupta et al., 2006). Furthermore, literate women are more likely to encourage their children to make school work because they are able to read what they have to do and can help them.

Formal Education

Education is considered to be one of the most important factors of human capital by development institutions. In India, there are still a lot of illiterates and the difference in literacy rates between men and women remains, but the government has taken some steps to increase the number of school going children. Since April 2010, the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act came into force, which has made education mandatory for all boys and girls aged between 6 and 14 years. Even though this is stated by law, there is no good enforcement system in place to ensure that all children really go to school and the number and quality of public primary schools needs to be ameliorated. The number of children going to school has increased according to the HDR of India, but there are still large numbers of children not going to school and unable to read and write (UNDP, 2012). The Indian law already abolished child labor in 1985 with The Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act but this is also not completely enforced. Enforcement of this would probably have positive influences on the number of school-going children.

Education is provided in India by public institutions and private institutions. Public institutions provide education for free, but the quality is often perceived as being lower than in private schools. Private schools are much more costlier for the parents as they have to pay a fee and they have to bear other expenses such as a uniform, scholarships, books and meals. Young children aged from 4 to 6 can go to kindergarten but are not obliged to go. Kindergarten is divided three levels depending on the age of the child, namely kindergarten, junior kindergarten and senior kindergarten. In Juhapura, kindergartens are mainly provided by private schools and parents therefore have to pay a fee. There are also anganwadis, which are provided by the government at no cost for young children. Besides kindergartens and anganwadis, there are also balghars in Juhapura that are provided by NGOs for children of the same age group. SAATH has for example a certain number of balghars in Juhapura and these schools are also free of cost. Primary school ranged from 1st standard to 7th standard until last year but it has been extended to 8th standard in 2011. Children go to primary school from the age of 6 or 7 until 13 or 14. In Juhapura and surrounding areas such as Sarkhej, Fatawadi and Vejalpur, there are only four public primary schools, and about 15 private primary schools. The only public primary school in Juhapura is Sanklitnagar Primary School 1 and 2, which is the closest public school for people from newer societies such as Anusha Park and Uwais Park. It is however still quite far because people can only go there by walking as private rickshaws are often too expensive and other transport mechanisms are not available. For poor people, there is sometimes no other option than leaving the child out of school because it is impossible for them to go to the public school and the private schools are too expensive.

Box 4.2. Sanklitnagar Primary School

The municipal school in Juhapura is situated in Sanklitnagar. It provides primary education to all boys and girls from Juhapura for free. The students come from all parts of Juhapura but the number of children coming from areas other than Sanklitnagar is low because they have to travel too far or because other schools are located there. Most of the students coming


Sanklitnagar Primary School
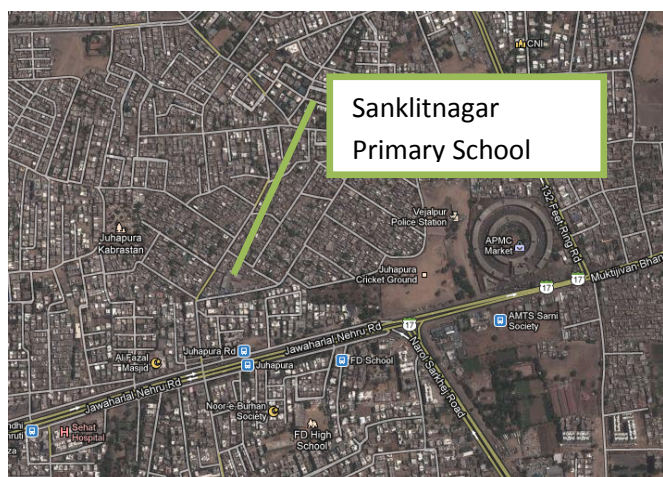
from other areas have to come by walking or by bus, the bus stops at Sarkhej Road from where they have to walk for about 10 minutes to school. The school is divided in two parts, Sanklitnagar Primary School 1 and Sanklitnagar Primary School 2, each school has its own principal and teachers. The first school provides education in the afternoon from 12.15 to 17.30 o'clock to 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th standard, the second school provides education in the morning from 7.00 to 12.30 o'clock to 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th standard and the main courses taught are Gujarati, Hindi, science, mathematics, yoga and spiritual courses. Furthermore, English and Sanskrit classes are given from 5th and 6th standard onwards respectively. Currently, the teachers were learning to operate the computer because computer classes will be provided from 6th to 8th standard in the next school-year. Computer classes will function as follows: some students will start working with the computer that is displayed on a screen, the rest of the class is watching. The roles will change after some time to give everybody the opportunity to work with the computer. The total number of students was about 378 in Sanklitnagar Primary School 2, out of which 200 were girls and 178 were boys. The total number of students was divided in four levels and each level provided two or three classes. The average number of children per class at the end of the school year 2011-2012 was about 38, but it usually varies from 44 to 75 as they have to admit all the children that want to enroll in school. Children usually stay in the school for 8 years, but some children drop out in the 6th or 7th. The number of girls in school is higher than boys, which is mainly caused by a higher drop-out rate before 8th standard for boys than for girls, often due to child-labor. According to the principal, boys often start to work at the garage or shop of their father for example, and girls often have to or want to do household work at home. Meanwhile, she also said that it is often not clear whether a child decided to quit or whether the parents took the child out of school, as some children say that they drop out on their own will while it is in fact due to family issues such as financial problems or the sickness of a family member. The teachers estimated that among 5 to 10% of the children drop out because they are not interested in school. To take into account that girls are not always allowed by their parents to follow co-education when their menstruation has started, the school provides different classes for boys and girls in 7th and 8th standard.

After primary school, children can go to high school (9th and 10th standard), followed by higher secondary school (11th and 12th standard). There are no high schools in Juhapura itself but there are approximately six high schools near the area. One of these is F. D. High School which is closely situated to Sarkhej Road near Sanklitnagar (Figure 4.6). After higher secondary school, young people aged between 18 and 19 and can choose to go to college to do a bachelor in arts, science or education, which takes about 3 years. Thereafter, people can choose to follow a master degree which mostly takes one year. There are no colleges in Juhapura and surroundings, these are all situated in other parts of the city. Most college students are Hindu and education in college is mostly mixed. There are some colleges in the eastern side of the city with more Muslim students, but this might be too far for people from Juhapura and co-education might be a problem. In Jamalpur, an area at the other side of the river, there is F. D. College that provides education only to girls (also masters in education and commerce), but it is quite far for girls from Juhapura.

Box 4.3. F. D. High School
F.D. Highschool is located in Juhapura since 31 years, near Sanklitnagar and very close to Sarkhej Road. It is a private school ran by F.D. Education Society, a charity institution. It provides kindergarten and primary school for a fee of 200 Rs. per month per child (conventionally 3 euro), this is quite high because it is a self-financing school. The high school (9th and 10th standard) is a granted

school, meaning that there is some support from the government as the government does not provide public high schools, which makes the fee 200 Rs. per year per child. The higher secondary school (11th and 12th standard) is also partly supported by government grants and partly by parents
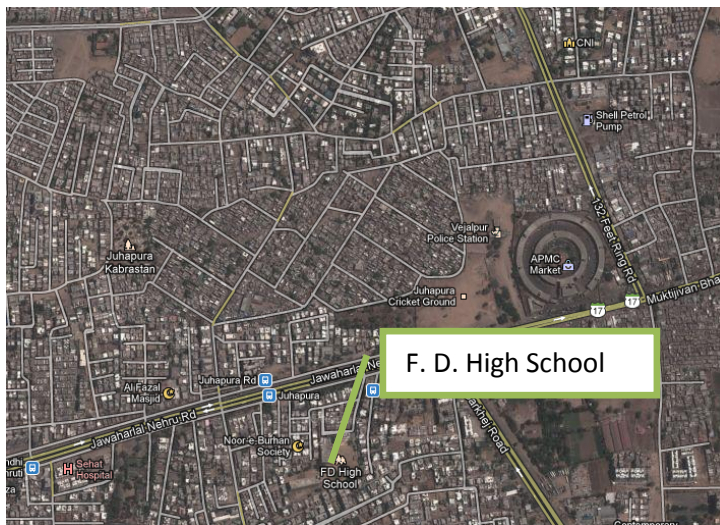
or other rich Muslim families that give donations to the school. This enables children to follow education for a fee of 700 Rs. per year (about 10,50 euro). Besides the education fee there are other costs, such as a uniform costing about 400 Rs. (6 euro), books costing 200-250 Rs. (3-3,75 euro) per year and meals. Students come from everywhere in Juhapura and surrounding areas to this school, there are in total 5000 students among all levels. Classes are given in Gujarati in the morning to 2500 students ranging from KG to 7th standard, in the afternoon classes are taught in English for 800 students from KG to 9th standard, and in Gujarati for another 1700 student enrolled from 8th to 12th commerce and science. Besides teachings in Gujarati and English, lessons are also given in Hindi, mathematics, social sciences and life-skills. Classes contain in general about 80 to 90 students, but these are divided in different divisions such as A, B and C to keep oversight. Overall, there are more boys than girls in the school, the current male/female ratio is 52/48, but the number of girls increases from 10th onwards. The principal of the school, Mr. Gena, stated that many parents of the girls say that their daughter will not continue education if she has to go out of Juhapura for it, so the school has to admit all these girls. With respect to the drop-out rate, the principal said that it is quite low because most of the students complete the school. According to him, the main reason for dropping out among both girls and boys is when they fail a level and have to redo it. Other reasons often mentioned are financial problems at home and the social problem whereby some girls are not allowed to follow mixed education when their periods have started. In F. D. High School all classes are mixed. The principal also said that some children drop out on their own will because they decide themselves that they do not want to study further. However, the classes are so big that if two or three students are missing or if they dropped out, it is not noticed by the teachers and it is said to lead to better class management.

Figure 4.6. F. D. High School, Juhapura.

Data on household members has shown several trends in education levels among men and women and across different age groups. In the age group from 0 to 5 years there is quite a large gender gap, there are 61,3% of boys against 38,7% of girls. As has been discussed before, this is the case all over India and might be due to gender preference but it is important to notice that this is the only group for which it the gap is so large. In some studies, the education levels and number of children in school are also used to measure gender preference (Gupta et al., 2006). Out of the total children aged from 0 to 5, there are more boys than girls going to kindergarten. Children usually start going to kindergarten between 3 and 5 years, but this is not the case in the household sample. Table 4.3 depicts the education levels for children aged from 0 to 5, out of whom 75% of the girls and 76,3% of the boys are aged between 3 and 5. Only 29,2% of the girls and 36,8% of boys of that age group is actually enrolled in kindergarten. Furthermore, there are more girls not enrolled in school than boys. A few children are already enrolled in primary school, which is quite young as children usually start around the age of 6 or 7.

Age group: 0-5	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	60,5	23	66,7	16
Kindergarten	34,2	13	25	6
1st standard	5,3	2	8,3	2
Total	100	38	100	24

Table 4.3. Education levels age group 0-5 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

Children aged between 6 and 10 should have started at least first standard, but this is not the case for all children from this age group in the household sample. Some children are still in kindergarten, and one boy is not enrolled in school (Table 4.4). It is noticeable that the sex ratio has completely changed, the number of girls in this group is much higher than the number of boys, namely 64% and 36% respectively. For each of the following age groups, the sex ratios are more equal.

Age group: 6-10	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	5,6	1	0	0
Kindergarten	11,1	2	3,1	1
1st standard	16,7	3	25	8
2nd standard and higher	66,7	12	71,9	23
Total	100	18	100	32

Table 4.4. Education levels age group 6-10 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

At the age of 11, children are supposed to be in 5th or 6th standard, but this is not the case for all kids from the sample. Most children in the age group from 11 to 15 are students, 94% of the girls and 95% of the boys are in school. Some girls are not enrolled in school and some other boys and girls are in levels lower than 5th standard, where they are supposed to be (Table 4.5). People should have finished primary school, including 8th standard since 2011, around the age of 13 or 14. There are no remarkable differences in the education levels between boys and girls in this age group, except for the fact that more boys are enrolled in high school and more girls in primary school.

Age group: 11-15	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	9,5	2	0	0
2nd standard	0	0	2,6	1
4th standard	4,8	1	5,7	2
Before primary school	42,9	9	65,7	23
Primary school (8th standard)	23,8	5	17,1	6
9th standard	14,3	3	8,8	3
10th standard	4,8	1	0	0
Total	100	21	100	35

Table 4.5. Education levels age group 11-15 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

High school, or 9th and 10th standard, is generally finished at the age of 16. It is not compulsory by law, but the research has shown that the largest number of people have continued education until at least high school or 10th standard (16% of the total household sample). One woman of this age group did not go to school, and more women than men did not finish primary school (Table 4.6). Less than half of the girls (41,5%) and boys (41,2%) are still in school, the others girls are mainly working at home and the boys outside the house. The number of boys finishing high school is higher than girls, which is the case for each of the age groups after the age of 20. The number of girls currently enrolled in higher secondary school is about 20 percent, but no girl has started college. About 17,7% of the boys is still in higher secondary, some boys quitted education before finishing higher secondary and around 6 percent of the boys is still in college.

Age group: 16-20	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	0	0	2	1
Before primary school	5,9	1	15,7	8
Primary school (8th standard)	0	0	21,6	11
Before high school	5,9	1	9,8	5
High school	53	9	29,4	15
Before higher secondary school	23,5	4	13,7	7
Higher secondary school	5,9	1	7,8	4
College	5,9	1	0	0
Total	100	17	100	51

Table 4.6. Education levels age group 16-20 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

People can continue in higher secondary school after high school and it is generally finished around the age of 17 or 18. Ideally, people aged between 21 and 25 should therefore have completed higher secondary school and either have started in college or even finished their bachelor. Among this age group, nobody is going to school anymore and a higher percentage of men did not go to school in comparison to women. There is a substantial difference in the number of women of this age group who did not finish primary school with respect to men but there is also a larger number of women who have completed primary school, which was until 7th standard by then (Table 4.7). The number of men that quitted education before finishing high school is larger than women, but more men completed high school and higher secondary than women. Following the analysis, it seems that women are less likely to continue in school to finish a certain degree. This is certainly reflected in the number of women dropping out before finishing primary school in the age group from 21 to 25. The

reason for dropping out is often the failure in one level, as has been mentioned by the principal of F.D. High School, which could be explained by a decrease in motivation to continue in school for example. This explanation does however not illustrate the difference in drop-out rates before completing a school between men and women. Finally, there is also a difference in college students in this age group, only women have been to college, out of which some obtained a bachelor and others quitted before finishing college.

Age group: 21-25	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	11,8	2	5,6	2
Before primary school	5,9	1	22,2	8
Primary school (7th standard)	11,8	2	25	9
Before high school	41,2	7	16,7	6
High school	17,6	3	13,9	5
Higher secondary school	11,8	2	8,3	3
College	0	0	2,8	1
Bachelor degree	0	0	2,8	1
Total	100	17	100	36

Table 4.7. Education levels age group 21-25 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

Out of the total sample aged between 26 and 30, more women did not go to school than men. Again a bigger percentage of women did not finish primary school than men but a larger number completed primary school (Table 4.8). Another substantial difference is the percentages of men and women who finished high school, but this is not found for higher secondary school. Furthermore, some women obtained a bachelor degree in college and one man finished a master degree. Another man did a training, which has never been observed for women during the research.

Age group: 26-30	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	7,4	2	11,1	3
Before primary school	11,1	3	29,6	8
Primary school (7th standard)	11,1	3	14,8	4
Before high school	29,6	8	14,8	4
High school	25,9	7	11,1	3
Before higher secondary school	0	0	3,7	1
Higher secondary school	3,7	1	3,7	1
Bachelor degree	0	0	11,1	3
Master degree	3,7	1	0	0
Training	3,7	1	0	0
Unknown	3,7	1	0	0
Total	100	27	100	27

Table 4.8. Education levels age group 26-30 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

Table 4.9 shows that among people aged from 31 to 35, there is a slightly larger percentage of men than women who did not follow any education in school. In contrast to other age groups, there are less women who quitted education before finishing primary school and high school than men, and

there are more women who finished primary school. There are however more men who finished high school and higher secondary school, which is also the case for several other age groups.

Age group: 31-35	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	12	3	10	2
Before primary school	16	4	10	2
Primary school	8	2	50	10
Before high school	12	3	5	1
High school	40	10	20	4
Before higher secondary school	0	0	5	1
Higher secondary school	8	2	0	0
College	4	1	0	0
Total	100	25	100	20

Table 4.9. Education levels age group 31-35 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

There are also slightly more men without education level than women in the age group from 36 to 40 (Table 4.10). The number of women quitting primary school before finishing it is again higher than men, but more men quitted high school before finishing it. There is no clear difference between men and women that finished primary school, but the number of men that finished high school is higher. In contrast, the number of women that finished higher secondary school is higher than men. Furthermore, almost 5 percent of the women have finished a bachelor while some men quitted college before.

Age group: 36-40	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	15,8	3	13,6	3
Before primary school	10,5	2	27,3	6
Primary school (7th standard)	15,8	3	18,2	4
Before high school	26,3	5	9,1	2
High school	26,3	5	13,6	3
Higher secondary school	0	0	13,6	3
College	5,3	1	0	0
Bachelor degree	0	0	4,5	1
Total	100	19	100	22

Table 4.10. Education levels age group 36-40 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

In the age group from 41 to 45 years old, there is a remarkable difference in the number of women with no level of education in comparison to men (Table 4.11). In contrast, more women have finished primary school but again a substantially low percentage has finished high school with respect to men. In this age group there is no outstanding difference in the numbers of men and women quitting school before finishing it, as has been noticed for several other age groups.

Age group: 41-45	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	6,7	1	25	2
Before primary school	13,3	2	12,5	1
Primary school (7th standard)	6,7	1	12,5	1
Before high school	26,7	4	25	2
High school	46,7	7	25	2
Total	100	15	100	8

Table 4.11. Education levels age group 41-45 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

There is again a higher percentage of women without education level for people aged between 46 and 50, and more women quitted primary school before finishing it (Table 4.12). There were substantially more men than women finishing primary school, high school and higher secondary school.

Age group: 46-50	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	0	0	33,3	2
Before primary school	25	2	33,3	2
Primary school	12,5	1	0	0
Before high school	25	2	0	0
High school	25	2	16,7	1
Higher secondary school	12,5	1	0	0
Unknown	0	0	16,7	1
Total	100	8	100	6

Table 4.12. Education levels age group 46-50 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

The last age groups have been put together, it ranges from 51 to 75 (Table 4.13). More men did not acquire any education level than women, and more women finished primary school. Only men seemed to have continued in high school.

Age group: 51-75	Male (%)	Absolute	Female (%)	Absolute
No level	9,1	1	0	0
Before primary school	27,3	3	25	1
Primary school	0	0	50	2
Before high school	9,1	1	0	0
High school	9,1	1	0	0
Unknown	18,2	2	25	1
Total	100	11	100	4

Table 4.13. Education levels age group 51-75 (in percentages and absolute numbers).

Overall, several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First, it seems that the importance of education has increased, which is reflected by the levels of education in the household sample. Among the people not enrolled in school anymore, the levels of education are higher for younger people than for older people. After the age of forty, the number of people who went to higher secondary school and college is much lower than for younger people for example. This might be partly due to the increased accessibility to higher education levels which was more rare in the past,

but also to the perceived importance of education for men and women themselves which was lower in the past than today. Second, the number of people who did not go to school does not demonstrate a particular pattern across the different age groups. In some groups there are more men who did not reach any education level, in others there were more women. Third, the difference in the number of men and women who finished primary school also differs greatly from one age group to another, although it seems that women are somewhat more likely to quit primary education before finishing it in comparison to men. It should however be noted that some women came from a small village to the city after marriage, and in many villages there are no education levels after primary school. These findings do not necessarily support the fact that there is a preference in education among sons, because there are no consistent differences among men and women with respect to primary education and education in general. Fourth, there seems to be a difference in the numbers of women and men finishing high school, which is repeatedly higher for men than for women, and the number of women dropping out of high school is also higher. With respect to higher secondary school there were also no remarkable differences between men and women, although the number of women quitting before finishing it was mostly higher than men. The reasons women can have for dropping out of school are many, women might not be motivated anymore to redo one year for example, they may have to quit by their parents or other family members when they fail one year, they may have lost their interest in school because they learned other skills at home such as tailoring or kite making, or they may get married before finishing school. There might be a difference in the importance of high school for boys and girls, as the number of boys finishing high school was always higher for men than for women. Boys might therefore be more pushed and motivated by their parents to finish high school than girls, which makes them less likely to quit before. Fifth, regarding the number of people with a higher secondary certificate and a college certificate, there are no noticeable patterns either, although the number of girls having finished college and obtained a bachelor seems to be higher than the number of men because most men quitted before finishing it. This might be due to the high motivation that some girls have to go to college and to finish it, as has been noticed by the principal of F. D. High School as well.

With respect to the total sample of women interviewed, some other conclusions can be drawn. Out of the total women, 14 percent are still student and go to school. These are only young girls aged from 13 to 18 years old, and classes range from 5th until 12th standard. From the women that are not going to school anymore, 22 percent have finished 10th standard or high school, followed by 19,8 percent who finished 7th standard or primary school. It is mainly the younger women aged from 16 to 25 who continued in school after primary education until 10th or 12th standard, although five women aged between 26 and 40 have continued in college, out of which four finished the bachelor and one dropped out after the first year of college. The elder women aged between 26 and 40 are more likely to have finished only primary education, which was by then until 7th standard. This reflects an increased importance of education in general higher education in particular among young girls, but it should be noticed that this is not the case for everybody.

There are no clear trends in the education level of a woman in comparison to her husband. Out of the 67 married women, it was possible to compare the education levels for 65 married women because the level of one husband was unknown and another man did a training which is incomparable to formal education. Out of the comparable number of married women, 14,4% had the same level as their husband, ranging from no level to 10th standard. Another 33,8% had a higher education level than their husband and 36,9% had an education level lower than their husband.

Traditionally, primary school was often perceived as enough for girls, as the main goal of school was to enable women to communicate with their husbands on a certain level. Higher education was not needed because as housewives, women were not supposed to work anyways. This ideology still persists among young women in Juhapura, they quitted education before finishing high school or higher secondary school because they did not perceive it as important for a women to be highly educated or were not interested in school. The teachers of Sanklitnagar Primary School 2 said that among 5 to 10% of the children drop out because they are not interested in school, this was also somewhat reflected during the interviews with women. About 14% decided themselves to quit school, out of which 12,3% said that they quitted school because they were not interested in school. Disinterest in school is further reflected in the number of women who dropped out of school because they decided themselves to do household work. Being able to do the household work is sometimes perceived as a more important skill for a wife than education, although there can be a difference in the number of girls who perceive it as important themselves and the number of parents that perceive it as important for their daughter. This is illustrated by about 10,4% of the interviewed women who said that they quitted education because they wanted to do household work, and in contrast, 12,3% who said that they had to do household work or that they had to help their mother at home (5,7%).

Religious Education

Besides formal education in school, people from Juhapura also mentioned the importance of religious education. Religious education mainly consists of being able to read, speak and write in the Urdu language in order to understand the Quran, which is perceived by many Muslims as the guide to life and as one of the most valuable skills that people can acquire. People gain this knowledge in different ways. Some learn it from their family members, others learn it at home from a private teacher and some follow formal education in an Islamic school, but most people go to a Madrasa, which can be found in almost every mosque. In Juhapura there are about 12 big mosques that all have a big madrasa and many other smaller mosques with smaller madrasas (Figure 4.7). Religious education is provided in madrasas through different classes based on gender, age and knowledge. In the first class, children learn the letters in Urdu, in the second class they learn to read sentences, in the third class they learn to read in Urdu, and in the fourth class they learn to write. Besides learning to read, speak and write in Urdu, students are also taught about the Islam in general and about society. The monthly fees for a madrasa are about 50 rupees (0,75 euro) per child per month and classes are provided in two shifts to take school schedules into account, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.

Throughout interviews with women, the importance of religion and religious education has often been mentioned but questions about madrasas have not been asked consistently across the research leading to a lack of data on the average number of years spent at the madrasa and the number of children going to madresa. These questions were often neglected due to the fact that religious education, especially at a madrasa, is perceived as a standard in the community, even though it is not obligatory for Muslim children. An interview with two teachers at the madrasa of Masjid Ek Sar in Juhapura provided more insights on religious education. As there is no curriculum such as in formal schools, there is no official start or end to the school. Young children, both boys and girls, often start going to a madrasa at the age of 5 and they typically stay there for about four years, depending on how fast they learn and on their parents. The number of boys and girls in school is approximately the same. They are in separate classes but the material taught is the same. Many children quit the

madrasa when they are able to read the Quran and other books in Urdu, the maximum age for religious education is 15 years but girls often quit the madrasa at the age of 12 or 13. From the moment that young girls have started to menstruate, they are considered to be young women and women are not allowed in most of the mosques and are not allowed to continue religious education in the madrasa. Teaching in the madrasas is therefore done only by men, and communication between the teacher and the parents of the child only takes place with the father. These discussions only concern the progress of the child at school, not any personal or behavioral issues. Besides teaching Urdu to read the Quran, the religion and understandings of the Quran are also discussed, but children do not have to be able to understand it completely after quitting the madrasa. Understanding the Quran is never ending for some as it brings more and more insights, and many people continue to study the Quran throughout their lives.

Figure 4.7. Mosque in Sanklitnagar, Juhapura.

The fact that women are not allowed to enter the mosque and madrasas, and the fact that communication about the child also only goes from man to man, leads to patriarchy in religious practices. This patriarchic situation should be critically taken into account to evaluate the position of women in Juhapura. The fact that women are not allowed to participate in religious activities in the same way as men can be problematic in some cases. According to the two teachers, the Quran states that women should cover themselves, but nothing is written about the fact that they have to stay in the house, that they are not allowed to go or work outside. However, the understandings of the Quran are not the main goal of religious education and people are therefore interpreting the Quran in different ways. This is reflected in the differences between families' interpretations about the position of women as has been discussed above.

Skills

Besides education, people often have other skills. Skills can be taught for example by the parents who learn their child some particular skill because they possess it also themselves. This is the case for many women in Juhapura, the skills they have were passed on from mother to child. Some skills are considered more important than education because it enables a women to do something from home to either increase the household income or to decrease the household expenses, as will be discussed

in the next part. The following will mainly concentrate on providing a picture of the distribution of skills among the women interviewed.

Noticeable was that being a good housewife and mother was one of the most valuable skills for a women to possess. This is taught from mother to daughter and the last years before marriage, the young girls have to help their mother with the different household tasks. The task of a housewife should not be underestimated, different skills are needed such as being able to cook, being able to clean and being able to wash clothes. Furthermore, it takes a substantial time per day to perform the household work because there are almost no electrical machines or other household appliances that decrease the amount of time needed for some tasks. Among the women interviewed, 35.8% said that they were housewife and 9,4% said that they were doing the household work, which could either mean that they are unmarried and still living with their parents, or that they are married and living with their family in-law.

Another skill mentioned during the interviews by 29,2% of the women is tailoring and stitching, although they made a distinction between tailoring on the one side and stitching on the other side. Tailoring can be described as the remaking and repairing of clothes, more than 24,5% said that they possessed this skill, although many women said that they only knew the basics and that they would like to learn it in more detail. Stitching is in the broadest sense everything that concerns stitching of fabric and embroidery and it was mentioned by 4,7% of the women. Girls start to learn tailoring around the age of 16 to 20 from their mother, and many continue to use this skill as they grow older and become housewives (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8. A woman behind her sewing machine.

Furthermore, women have learned to do handwork in general, out of which the main activities performed are the making of kites and rakhi bracelets, which are used for particular festivals that take place during the year. Among the women, 10,4% said that they were able to do handwork in general, out of which 36,4% made kites and 27,3% made rakhi bracelets.

One of the Indian traditions that has been adopted by all religions and cultures is mehendi design, which is worn by women during marriages. The bride often has mehendi all over her arms and legs, and women at the marriage have mehendi mainly on their hands and feet. Besides marriages, girls and young women also wear mehendi without any particular reason and many girls start practicing it from a young age onwards on their sisters and friends. Out of the total women interviewed, 5,7% aged between 14 and 40 said that they made mehendi.

Among other skills that are generally perceived to be increasingly important are English and computer skills. In Juhapura, only 2,8% of the women is able to operate a computer and this is not likely to increase in the near future as many students and women complained about the low quality of computer classes and the lack of computers in schools. This was also reflected by the description of the future computer class in Sanklitnagar Primary School 2. The number of English speakers is also low, 0,9%.

As has been mentioned before, girls often learn the skills at an early age from their mother for example and some women said that they liked it so much that they decided to quit education. Furthermore, other women have learned the skills from their mother and had to quit education in order to work. This was most often due to financial problems at home, which was the case for 8,5% of the interviewed women. Some women had been taken out of school because it was too expensive (2,8%) and other women had to start to work at home in order to increase the household income (6,6%).

4.5. Economic situation

The economic situation of most people in Juhapura is very different from one household to another. As it is home to many Muslims with different backgrounds, there are many different types of houses. There are a few streets with big villas and gardens which are mostly located on the borders of Juhapura close to the main big roads such as Sarkhej Road and the ring road from Jivraj bridge. However, most areas in Juhapura consist of small houses without garden. Although there are no clear numbers on the poverty levels of the people in Juhapura, many people are said to be living below the poverty line, as has been underlined several times by the women from the URC who help Muslim families to get the Below Poverty Line (BPL) status and birth certificates. Besides the lack of numbers on poverty levels, it has been mentioned several times that poor people from Juhapura often face difficulties in obtaining the BPL status and that they therefore miss out on the benefits that are attached to this status. Furthermore, according to people working in this field, there is a difference in the way people from Juhapura are treated because they are Muslims, in comparison to people from other areas who are mainly Hindus. Muslims often encounter more problems in obtaining official documents than other groups of people in Juhapura.

Juhapura can however be described as a lively area where people perform many different activities to make a living. There are a few daily markets across the whole area, and the two main streets of Sanklitnagar contain many small shops and workshops providing various goods. It is noticeable that it is mainly men who work in the workshops and on the market. The few women working on the market are often Hindu women who come to Juhapura to sell their goods. Most Muslim women work at home either as a housewife, or by performing other income-generating activities. This was also reflected in the research, out of the total number of men in the household member sample (including very young children and babies), 58,3% is working outside the house or has ever worked outside. In contrast, only 4,9% of the women from the household member sample have ever worked outside or are now working outside the house.

Several reasons have been defined to explain why women do not work outside the house. First, it is unusual for women to work and this idea has been adopted by some women that do not want to work outside. Second, women said that they were not allowed to work by their husband or family, which is influenced by the interpretations of the Islam and the position of women. Third, some families base the decision upon the fact that low-educated women do not earn so much, and the opportunity cost of hiring a nanny for the children would be much higher. However, no relationship has been found between education levels and working outside. Among the few women working outside, there are uneducated women, low-educated women and high-educated women.

The interviews with women have provided different insights on the occupations that people perform in Juhapura. Most of the activities are performed by women inside the home and although most actions are not generating income, such as household work, some women use their skills to increase the household income. As has been mentioned before, some women acquired skills that either help them to generate income or to decrease household expenses. The most mentioned occupations among all women in the households were housewife and household work, which was also reflected in the sample containing only the women interviewed (Table 4.14). Tailoring has been widely mentioned as a skill but it also allows women to earn some money or to avoid spending money on products they would otherwise need to buy from the market at a higher price. Tailoring can be used

to remake one's own clothes and clothes of close family members such as their husband and children. This way, they do not need to buy clothes on the market and can buy fabrics or dress material instead at a lower price to make their own clothes. Furthermore, women can adapt or change older clothes to make them more suitable in size and to the current fashion designs. Stitching and handwork such as embroidery are still widely present in India and there is still demand for embellished clothes for certain ceremonies. Some women earn money by making clothes 'more heavy', which is a term that has often been used for the generous decorative embroidery and stitch work on clothes used in marriages and festivals. Women that are able to make kites or rakhi bracelets also use their skills to increase household income, although these are more occasional as they are only sold in the periods of the year around which the festival takes place. The Uttarayan International Kite Festival takes place in January and lasts for three days. Women make kites during the whole year to sell during the time of the festival. Rakhi bracelets are made for the Raksha Bandhan festival, which takes place in August every year. Women and young girls give the rakhi to their brothers as a symbol of protection, love and affection. Most women do not sell the products themselves but they make it for a shop-owner that comes to pick up the kites and bracelets to sell it in the city.

Occupations inside the house	Women
Housewife	28,3
Household work	6,8
Tailoring	13,6
Stitching	1,5
Handwork	2,8
Kites	3,0
Rakhi	1,1
Beauty Parlor	1,1

Table 4.14. Occupations women, inside the house (in percentages).

The main activity performed by women outside the house is going to school, but this number decreases as women get older and quit or finish education. Furthermore, it does not directly provide financial income and might be seen by some families as a household expense instead of an investment for the future. Among the main income-generating occupations that women perform outside the house are teachers and women working in an NGO (Table 4.15). Teachers range from primary school teachers to private teachers and teachers in religious education. In order to become a teacher in primary school, a bachelor of education is needed. Similarly, a master of education is needed to become a high school teacher. There are mainly female teachers in Sanklitnagar Primary School, out of which half is Hindu and the other half is Muslim. In F. D. High School there are only Muslim teachers, the teachers in primary school are mainly women but high school teachers are mainly men. Most of the women that were working in an NGO were working at the URC in Sanklitnagar. Other occupations are work as a maid and clean houses of other families in Juhapura, work as a nanny in other families in Juhapura, work at a cart or market stall or work in service, which was explained as working for the government.

Occupations outside the house	Women
Student	35,1
Teacher	1,9
Maid	0,4
Work in NGO	2,3
Service	0,4
Daily wage laborer	0,4
Nanny	0,4
Cart, market stall or lari	0,4

Table 4.15. Occupations women, outside the house (in percentages).

As has been mentioned before, men are more likely to work outside than women although a certain number of people is unemployed and retired. The occupations among men have been depicted in Table 4.16. After students, the main occupation among men is rickshaw driver. There are also other types of drivers among men such as taxi drivers, truck drivers and car drivers. Car drivers are either employed by a family or company, or they have a car and rent it out with driver to persons that need a car, both locals and tourists. In India, it is very uncommon to encounter car-renting offices and when they exist it is almost impossible to rent a car without a driver. Furthermore, there are many occupations in the construction sector, such as electricians, plumbers, masons, construction workers, contractors and one man owned its own construction company. In the main streets of Sanklitnagar, there are several workshops where metal is worked, this provides another 4,6% of the men with a job in welding or as a smith. Some other men own a shop, these are mainly pan parlors that sell a wide range of products such as sweets, drinks and tobacco and are located all over Juhapura. In almost every society there is a pan parlor, although some are much smaller than others. Other commercial activities are tailors (Figure 4.9), market stalls, and mattresses and pillows (Figure 4.10). Furthermore, men work in the service sector and in manufacturing.

Occupations can be divided in two main groups, those that are self-employed and work for their own such as rickshaw drivers, electricians, tailors, painters, and hairstylists, and those that are employed somewhere. Self-employed often need to make a certain investment in order to start their business and their income depends partly on their own effort and partly on the market they serve. People are therefore not completely certain about their income but they can often increase it by working more. Rickshaw drivers are among the occupations that earn substantially more than other self-employed, the average monthly income among rickshaw drivers in Juhapura was about 9 to 10.000 rupees (135 to 150 euro), while incomes of other self-employed ranged from 6 to 8.000 rupees (90 to 120 euro). Daily wage laborers also do not have a continuous flow of income as it changes from day to day. In contrast, several men are employed in a factory or a garage, or they have a job (which is an administrative position in a private company) or work in service (position in a public institution) and are more likely to receive a continuous monthly salary. This can however differ greatly from one occupation to another.

Figure 4.9. Tailor workshop, Juhapura.

Occupations	Men
Transport	
Rickshaw driver	11,6
Driver	4,2
Construction	
Construction	6,9
Metal work	4,6
Painter	1,4
Engineer	0,5
Commerce	
Own shop	2,8
Business and Sales	2,3
Tailor, tailoring	2,3
Market stall, cart, lari	1,9
Pillows and mattresses	0,5
Service Sector	
Garage	2,3
Service	2,3
Job	1,4
Security	1,4
Hairstylist	0,9
Cook	0,5
Manufacturing	
Factory work	2,3
Handwork, embroider	1,4
Wallpaper designer	0,9
Dyeing	0,5
Book binding	0,5
Other	
Student	27,8
Daily wage laborer	2,8
Unemployed	2,8
Retired	1,4

Table 4.16. Occupations men (in percentages).

Figure 4.10. Shop for pillows and mattresses in Juhapura.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe the position of women in Juhapura in a broad manner to take into account influences from different sources that can have a potential impact on women and their choices. The aim was to determine the main factors influencing socio-economic engagement and participation of Muslim women in society. For each of the paragraphs of this chapter, the main factors influencing women's position are summarized. Conclusions on how these factors either stimulate or hamper a women's position and ability to engage herself in valuable activities are also provided. It is clear however, that these factors and their influences change from one woman to another. Their position is influenced by a complex set of factors which have to be seen as a whole instead of separately.

In the first part, the position of women within their direct environment was described. Although the situation differs from one person to another, some general observations have been made. The living area, or the society and the location of the society within Juhapura, is certainly a factor that on the one hand can stimulate women or young girls to participate, to go out of the house and to continue in school. Sanklitnagar and other societies that are located close to it, have more accessibility with respect to education, commercial areas, transport and community centers. On the other hand, the close environment can also hamper the freedom of women to engage. Besides the fact that there are less facilities in the areas further situated from Sanklitnagar, transport is problematic in Juhapura and hampers the movement of women from the more remote societies. Furthermore, there is a general idea of fear among women from Juhapura. With incidents that happened in the past and during the research period, women continue to be afraid to go out of the house. A woman that just moved to a new area and who is still exploring her new surroundings can have more difficulties in feeling at ease outside and in being able to do what she would like to do. Most women interviewed live in small houses consisting of one room and a kitchen, and live their either with their parents, their husband and children, and in some cases with their parents in law.

The social relations of women with people that surround them do influence them in many different aspects. Following the life cycle of a woman, one can almost predict the events that will cross her path and change her position, her role and her responsibilities. At different stages in life, a woman has to deal with different power structures that affect her decisions. From birth until about the age of 20, young girls live at home with their parents in most cases. At home, the head of the household makes the most important decisions. This is often the father but it can be the brother as well, as has been shown in the reasons for quitting education. Most of the girls have gone to school, but some have quitted education at an early age and others never went to school. All have helped at home by doing the household work, some did it besides school and others instead of school. The household work is important and young women start to learn this at an early age because they need to know it before they get married. Young women mostly get married around the age of 20, and this is a stage in life where many changes affect the position of a woman. She has to take care of her house and her husband, and eventually of her children. Her responsibilities increase and this can limit her ability to make choices with respect to education for example. Furthermore, children demand time, especially during the early ages of childhood when the kids cannot go to school. This limits the time a woman is able to spend on other activities. Increased influence from the family of the husband also influences a woman's position and her freedom to participate. With respect to decision-making, the decisions of the family in-law on her life can sometimes be even more important than what her husband or her

own family says about it. Finally, relationships with neighbors and friends, acquaintances and teachers also influence women's behaviors. Social cohesion among people from Juhapura is quite strong and people know and talk about each other. This heavily influences people in what they do and do not do because they really care about what the community might think about them.

Besides social relations, human capital is another important field that has been explored to determine the position of women. Knowledge and information, capabilities and skills are all important factors because it influences women's empowerment and agency. Being literate is amongst one of the basic skills that empowers people because it allows them to search for information themselves and it makes them less vulnerable to misuses of information. Literacy rates in Juhapura were quite high in comparison to national numbers, and more women were literate in contrast to the general tendency in India. The number and levels of schools in Juhapura are limited. In Juhapura and surroundings there is a small number of public schools with respect to the total population, the main school is Sanklitnagar Primary School. There are many private primary schools but the fees can be too expensive for some families. The only high school in Juhapura and neighboring areas is F. D. High School, which also provides higher secondary education. There is no college nearby, these are situated in other locations of the city.

An analysis of education levels among men and women in Juhapura has shown different trends. First of all, education levels seem to increase among boys and girls in comparison to older people. Second, with respect to primary school and higher secondary school, there were no remarkable differences between men and women. Third, men seem to have completed more often high school than women. Fourth, girls tend to quit school more often before finishing it then boys, at different levels. Fifth, more women have completed college than men. An analysis of the reasons for dropping out of school has shown that many women were not interested in school, which might be due to their vision of a future as housewife that does not require high levels of education, or because they did not like school. The difference in education levels between husband and wife does not show any particular pattern, except for the fact that illiterate women are more likely to marry illiterate men. Women are generally as likely to have a lower education level as a higher education level than their husband.

Besides formal education, religious education is also influential to the position of women. Almost everybody followed some years of religious schooling at a madrasa or at home to learn to read the Quran and almost everybody is able to read in Urdu. Due to the fact that the religious institution of the Muslims is very patriarchal, and the fact that women are at a certain age not allowed to enter a mosque or madrasa, they are basically kept out of this education system and decision making. Furthermore, the understanding of the Quran is not the basic goal of the madrasas so whenever a woman has questions, she can only communicate with religious leaders through her husband. This indirect contact can certainly hamper women's freedoms and engagement because of misunderstandings and misuses of the religion.

At last, human capital also consists of a number of skills that women have learned at home, from their mother for example. Besides the household work, skills defined among women and girls in Juhapura are tailoring and stitching, handwork such as the creation of kites and rakhi bracelets, and mehendi design. Other important and useful skills are being able to speak English and being able to operate a computer, although a very low number of women in Juhapura is able to do so. Many

women use their skill as a 'pass-time' and do not necessarily work to raise the household income. Only a few women use their skill to earn some money or to decrease household expenses.

The economic situation of Juhapura is very diverse and differs greatly from one household to another. Men perform many different activities ranging from rickshaw drivers to construction work and tailors. The activities they perform mainly take place outside the house and they are the ones earning most of the household income. In contrast, women almost only work inside the house and many have never worked outside the house. In Juhapura it is a social convention that women do not work outside the house. There is however a certain number of women that does work outside. Most of these women are working in Juhapura itself, for example as a teacher or in an NGO. The position of women within the economic environment is difficult to assess because the question of whether women are allowed to work outside the house or not remains difficult to answer.

Chapter 5. Opportunities and constraints for women in Juhapura.

5.1. Introduction

Now that the position of women in Juhapura has been described, it is time to turn to third sub-question, namely: *What opportunities can be defined for Muslim women?* Besides opportunities that can be defined in the environment of women, the constraints they encounter for it to become within reach are also important to consider. There are many institutions and organizations in and around Juhapura that are aimed at girls and women. Among the main themes across these organizations is women empowerment, but every organization has different activities in place to support this.

This chapter will start by elaborating on the awareness among women of the existence of community centers and (vocational) training centers in Juhapura, and the main uses of the centers will be described to give an insight on what is important for women. The institutional landscape has been described thereafter. It provides an overview of the organizations that are located in Juhapura and aimed at the population of Juhapura, and in particular the organizations that focus either on women or on trainings. The goals, objectives and the activities organized by each of the organizations will be discussed to illustrate the types of opportunities that can be found for women in Juhapura. As will be shown, organizations have very different ways of empowering women.

The second part of this chapter will elaborate on the opportunities provided by organizations in general and on how it stimulates women to empower themselves and engage in activities, trainings or work. The opportunities that women can find in community and training centers can indirectly lead to opportunities in new fields. However, there are also constraints on women engagement and these will be discussed thereafter.

In the third part, different constraints on women engagement will be discussed. The lack of engagement can be due to a lack of information but also to other obstacles encountered by women. The lack of information is first discussed throughout an analysis on access to media across women and the diffusion of information in general in Juhapura. Secondly, an illustration is provided on the obstacles to engagement in trainings and work that women have defined themselves.

The last part of the chapter elaborates on the dreams and aspirations of women in Juhapura and their visions of the future. This shows to a certain extent how women position themselves with respect to the opportunities and constraints encountered in Juhapura.

5.2. Institutional Landscape

The institutional landscape in Juhapura is characterized by a certain number of organizations and institutions aimed at supporting the community and organized by members of the community. As Juhapura is a Muslim community, some organizations are Muslim-based and others are not. The creation of the institutional landscape has been based upon the interviews with women and their awareness of community centers and vocational training centers. Some of the organizations are very local and mainly aimed at people in Juhapura, others are bigger organizations that have activities in different locations across Ahmedabad. Most of the employees and volunteers in the centers are from Juhapura.

The awareness about community centers and vocational training centers was generally not so high. Among the women interviewed, 41,5% was aware of at least one community center and 24,5% was aware of at least one vocational training center. Tables 5.1 and 5.3 depict the centers mentioned by women during the interviews. Some women knew more than one center and others said that they knew about a center but did not remember the name. Some centers have been mentioned in both tables because they provide both community services and trainings.

Community Center	Women
Unaware Community Center	58,5
SAATH Bachat	18,9
SAATH URC	14,2
AMWA	3,8
SAATH	3,8
Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. Society	2,8
Samerth	2,8
Aashray Social Welfare Foundation	0,9
Aman Samudhay	0,9
Baitulmal	0,9
HIV Center	0,9
Parwaaj	0,9
Red Cross Society	0,9
Safar	0,9
Sarjan	0,9
Does not remember the name	2,8

Table 5.1. Awareness of Community Centers among women from Juhapura (in percentages).

The most mentioned community centers were SAATH Bachat and SAATH URC, which might by partly due to the sampling method (Table 5.1.). As has been mentioned in chapter 2, one woman of the URC in Sanklitnagar introduced us to at least one woman in every society. This increased the chances that she knew about SAATH and the URC. SAATH Bachat is located next to the URC on the market in Sanklitnagar and this also increases the chances that a women knows about both, but some women were only aware of the Bachat because they make use of its micro finance services. Others knew about SAATH in general because it was very active in Juhapura after the riots of 2002. Aman Samudhay was also active after the riots. Association of Muslim Women Associations (AMWA), Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. Society (MPWCS), Baitulmal and Parwaaj are located in Juhapura and will be discussed more in depth in this chapter because their activities are concentrated on women and trainings. Samerth also has activities in Juhapura but mainly in the field of education of young children (Samerth, 2012). Aashray Foundation is a larger organization providing trainings and

livelihood programs, but mainly in rural areas (Aashray Social Welfare Foundation, 2012). The HIV Center and the Red Cross Society are situated at the other side of the river in the eastern part of the city and therefore not included in the institutional landscape of Juhapura. Safar and Sarjan have also been mentioned but the activities of these organizations have remained somewhat unclear, the women themselves also did not really know what the aim of the organization was.

Women that knew about a community center were also asked about the use of it, this is depicted in Table 5.2. Some women only knew the name of a center but not what activities and services were provided by the center. Most women used the services of the center, which was in most cases the services delivered by the URC in Sanklitnagar, such as birth certificates and election cards. Some of the interviewed women were working at the URC, so they were employed by the center. Others had a relative working in a community center, one girl said that her mother was working in an organization for example. Savings, loans and trainings were also among the mentioned uses of a community center. Other women only went to the center for inquiry but did not make use of it, or said that they will use it in the future. One women used the community center to get the material needed to do handwork at home, such as fabrics. Remarkable was that some women did know about a center but did not want to make use of it, they said that they did not trust community centers in general.

Uses Community Center	Women
Only knows the name	5,7
Services	6,6
Employment	5,7
Savings	4,7
Loans	3,8
Training	3,8
Employment of a relative	3,8
Inquiry	2,8
Does not want to use it, distrust	2,8
Meetings	0,9
Future use	0,9
For material	0,9

Table 5.2. Uses of Community Centers among women from Juhapura (in percentages).

Most of the women were unaware about vocational training centers, and the centers mentioned by women did not necessarily offer vocational trainings (Table 5.3.). Some centers provided trainings without placement, and some trainings were given in private, at someone's home for example. The two vocational training programs of SAATH, UMEED and Yuva MAST, were the most mentioned. The women aware of these programs are however only the ones working at the URC, so it is clear that they are more aware of the overall activities of SAATH. There has been a UMEED center at the Vejalpur Police Station near Juhapura from September 2007 until February 2011, but this has been closed because the government needed the building. The center was aimed at youth from Juhapura and Vasna, and the trainings offered were Information Technology Enabled Service (ITES), Customer Relations and Sales (CRS), Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), Tally Account, Computer Hardware and Hotel Management. According to data from November 2010 until the closure of the center, more than 700 people have participated in a training, out of which 74,8% have been placed after the training in several companies. There were however much more boys enrolled in the trainings than girls over the same period, namely 64,5% and 35,5% respectively. It seemed that none of the women

interviewed knew about this center. Baitulmal, MPWCS and AMWA all provide trainings to women in Juhapura. Jyot, Sarjan and Talim have been mentioned by women as vocational training centers but the activities are not very clear and the location of the centers neither. The women that mentioned the centers were also unable to provide more information on their activities. Utkarsh Mahila also provides trainings but it is located in Valsad, another city in Gujarat, and is therefore not included in the institutional landscape.

Vocational Training Center	Women
Unaware Vocational Training Center	75,5
Private Classes	5,7
UMEED	4,7
Yuva MAST	4,7
Baitulmal	1,9
Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. Society	1,9
Mahila SEWA	1,9
Jyot	0,9
Sarjan	0,9
Talim	0,9
Utkarsh Mahila	0,9
AMWA	0,9
Does not remember the name	4,7

Table 5.3. Awareness of Vocational Training Centers among women from Juhapura (in percentages).

From the number of women that are aware about a vocational training center, most only know the name without being aware of the type of trainings offered by the organization (Table 5.4). Furthermore, several women have been to an organization for inquiry but they did not actually follow or start a training. Among the trainings followed, only tailoring, stitching, computer and mehendi have been mentioned. One women knew about a vocational training center but she had no time to make use of it because she owned her own beauty parlor at home.

Uses Vocational Training Center	Women
Only knows the name	6,6
Inquiry	3,8
Tailoring	2,8
Tailoring and Stitching	1,9
Computer Class	1,9
Mehendi	0,9
No time	0,9

Table 5.4. Use of Vocational Training Centers among women from Juhapura (in percentages).

A certain number of NGOs has been selected for interviews because they are based in Juhapura and their activities were concentrated either on women, either on trainings, or on both. The interviews were aimed at providing more information on what they do and how they empower women, but also on the type and organization of trainings offered. Furthermore, each organization has been asked to explain how they raise awareness of their activities among the people from Juhapura. Figure 5.1. depicts the location of the interviewed organizations in Juhapura.
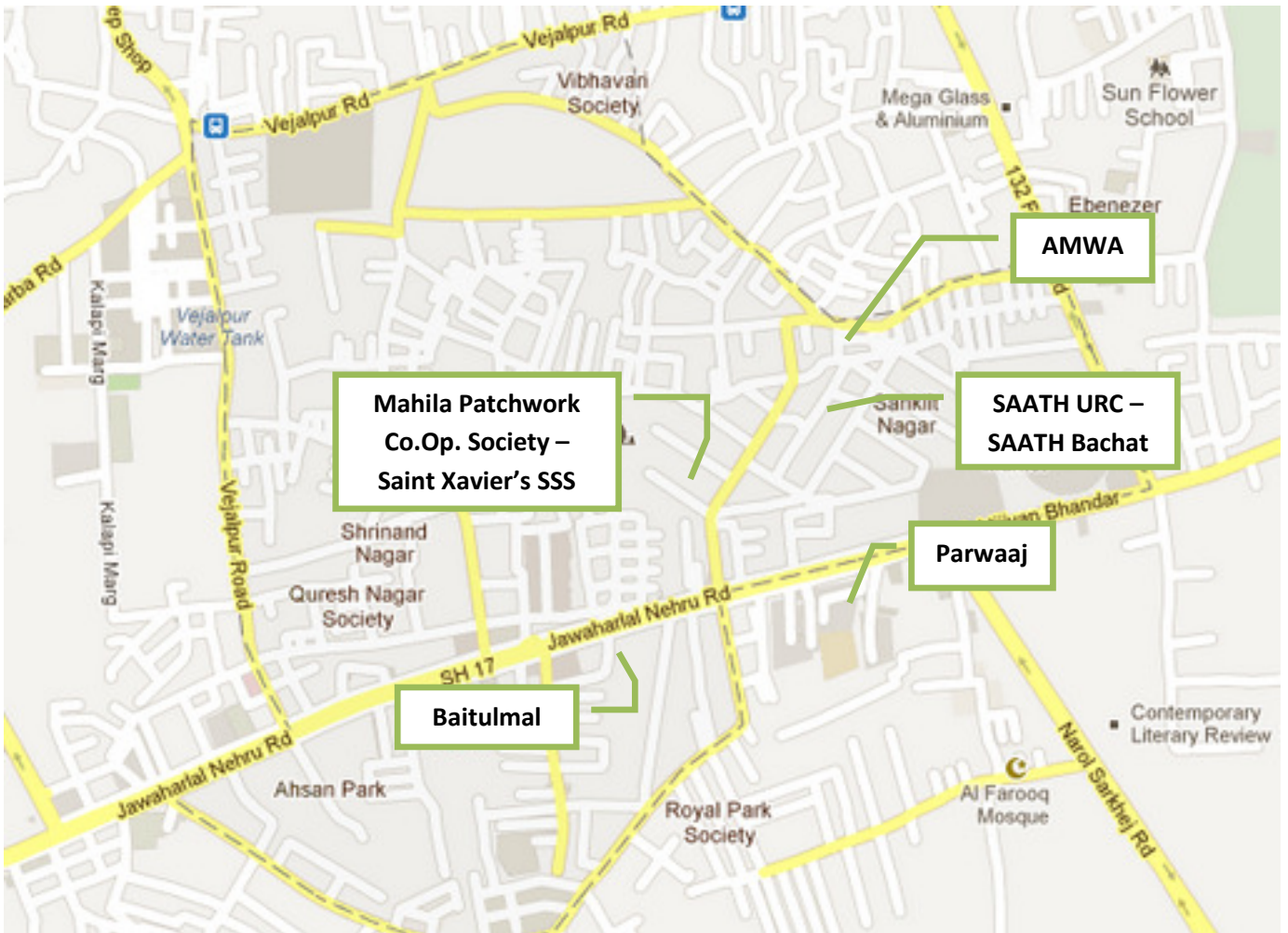
Figure 5.1. Community Centers and Training Centers in Juhapura (Google Maps, 2012).

Association of Muslim Women Associations (AMWA)

AMWA is an organization located near Rizwan Rowhouse in Sanklitnagar, Juhapura but there are other offices in other cities in Gujarat, namely Kalol and Dhandhuka. The organization has been founded in 1989 by Dr. Mehrunnisa, a college teacher in Ahmedabad who did her Ph.D. on the rights of women in Islam, and who writes columns in several Indian periodicals. The main goal of the organization is to empower women by making them more independent from their husband and family. It is not only aimed at Muslim women, although most are Muslim in Juhapura. AMWA works together with other organizations in Ahmedabad such as Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) which is a very big organization for women empowerment in the city (SEWA, 2012). AMWA also operates with Widow Home, an organization providing houses to lonely and helpless people, not necessarily widows. Women from Juhapura come to AMWA when they want to contact this organization. There is also a collaboration with DENA Bank, which has provided loans for initial investments to women. An example of such an investment are sewing machines, costing about 5000 to 6000 rupees (75 to 90 euro).

The organization provides several services and activities to stimulate women empowerment. The main service offered by AMWA is the bachat group, which is only for women. In the bachat group, women can start by taking out a loan for investments. The organization first checks whether a woman really needs a loan by visiting her house. When a loan is given out, the woman pays it back by saving a specific amount every day. For example, a woman with a loan of 1000 rupees (15 euro) has

to save 10 rupees per day and a woman with a loan of 2500 rupees (37,50 euro) saves 25 rupees per day. Loans are not given out to people with financial problems but these women can receive a financial 'household help' to support them, the amount is decided by AMWA. The organization also gives marriage counseling to women. This is aimed at the relationship between husband and wife and does not focus too much on the 'going-out' issue because it is too complicated. Most women come to the counseling because of domestic violence. Through conversations with the husband and the in-laws, that often play an important role as has been shown in chapter 4, the organization tries to settle the situation. Other services provided by AMWA are a library for men and women and a gudiughar, which is a school at kindergarten level for children aged between 3 and 5 (similar to a balghar).

Among the trainings provided to women are tailoring and stitching, handwork, mehendi and beauty parlor. The trainings have a duration of three months and costs about 100 rupees per month (1,50 euro). Women aged between 18 and 40 years can participate in them and they do not need to have any experience or minimum education level to start. Trainings take place throughout the whole year but the schedules depend on the availability of the teachers and each class has place for about 10 to 15 participants. After participation, the women receive a certificate of the organization but there is no link with the market after the training, meaning that women are not provided with a job afterwards which distinguishes it from vocational training. The demand for this type of courses remains high in Juhapura because it enables women to work for themselves. Some talk to shopkeepers for example, to ask if they can sell their tailor and handwork at the shop. Other women have opened their own beauty parlor at home, and again others now give beauty parlor and mehendi classes to others. There have been some occasions however where companies have approached AMWA with work, which was then divided among some members. There was some space in the AMWA office for this work, but most women preferred to work at home.

AMWA organizes meetings and seminars in Juhapura to increase awareness about their programs and trainings. However, they said that raising awareness from word-to-mouth is most efficient. Most new people come to the organization because they heard about it from existing members of the organization.

Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. Society

MPWCS has been founded in 1978 by Roshanben Shaik, a woman who had been victim of the floods in 1973 and came to Juhapura thereafter. The organization started with the provision of livelihood trainings and the support of women in Juhapura. Today it also has activities in other areas of Ahmedabad such as Ramol, Vatva and Bombay Hotel, and in other development domains such as education, health and human rights. In 2006, the organization reached about 660 women, 140 female adolescents and 350 children directly with its programs, and at the same time it affected another 300.000 people indirectly. Among the main objectives of the organization are addressing the needs of deprived people in Sanklitnagar, to promote gender equity and gender justice, and to support women enterprises and create a supportive environment that includes the community in the development process.

The main activity of MPWCS is patchwork trainings and the provision of work to women who followed a training. These trainings are only offered to women and the money made with the work is only for the women themselves, it is not utilized for other training purposes. The patchwork trainings

are organized two times per year and lasts for 15 days. The group consists of 15 to 20 women and the total fee amounts to 150 rupees (2,25 euro)but it is free for people with financial problems that need the training to overcome them. Currently there are 25-30 women making patchwork, another 10 to 12 women are making embroideries and again another 10-12 women do the stitching work, but out of these women only half work the whole year long. The women mainly prepare patchworks for exhibitions and they sell on order to shops and boutiques. They are paid individually for their contribution. Women earn about 1000 to 1200 rupees (15 to 18 euro) per month when they do the work besides the household work, and about 2000 rupees (30 euro) per month when they work fulltime.

Besides patchwork trainings, MPWCS also has other projects. Together with other organizations, it organizes a health camp in Juhapura for two day per year where women can receive a free body check-up, diagnose and treatment. Women are also checked for breast and uterus cancer during this camp and awareness about these issues is raised. Furthermore, MPWCS has a counseling center where women can find advice and help concerning marriage issues, domestic violence and education problems. Meetings are also organized to discuss issues such as personal law and the rights of women, the parda system (women that cover their face in the presence of men) that is still widely practiced in India, and education. In the past, free trainings were also given on the demand of girls and women in other disciplines such as beauty parlor and mehendi. This was a project of a predetermined duration funded by the government, Oxfam India and some other organizations. Today there is no funding for these trainings but girls can come to the center whenever they want to learn something, they will find a teacher or a place where she can learn it. Another activity that MPWCS pursued in the past together with Parwaaj, another organization that will be discussed below, was the Sponsor's Program that ran from 2003 until 2008. The program was funded by ActionAid for a period of 10 years (until 2013) and consisted of people from Europe sending postcards and money to a particular child in India. Although the people thought that the money was given to the child, for its education for example, it was in fact used for many other activities and the child received no or almost no benefit. This is why MPWCS quitted the agreement in 2008. MPWCS also had Self-Help Groups (SHGs) in the past, which is a bachat or Micro Finance Institute (MFI). It is now limited because there were too many activities. The almost 190 women that were saving are still member, but no new members are admitted. Women have to save about 15 to 20 rupees per month, or any amount they wish, and they can take out a loan individually from 5000 rupees (75 euro) up to 20.000 rupees (300 euro). The aim of loans is to support people to start up their own business.

MPWCS is active in Juhapura since several decades and the main method for awareness raising of the trainings is word-of-mouth, but the organization undertakes special awareness raising among the population of Juhapura for the health camps held every year by going into the field, talking to people and distributing pamphlets.

Parwaaj Sangathan Trust
Parwaaj is an organization located near F. D. High School, close to Sarkhej Road and Sanklitnagar. It is aimed at empowering women, raising awareness about the rights of women from Juhapura and protecting victims of domestic violence. It was established in 2002 just after the riots because the population had increased enormously in Juhapura, there was a lack of infrastructure and services, and families had to restart all over again because they lost their home and income. Parwaaj started to work together with MPWCS and the activities were partly funded by ActionAid India, especially the

Sponsor's Program as discussed above. Since 2008, MPWCS quitted the agreement and the two organizations now operate separately but there is still some cooperation between them. Parwaaj also stimulates networking between other organizations active in Juhapura such as SAATH and it is sometimes present at national conferences. The organization has today 1200 female members, about 300 members are young girls aged from 8 to 12 and the others are older, ranging from 20 to 70 years.

In order to stimulate the objectives of the organization, different activities are undertaken for women and children. For young children for example, the organization opens new schools in areas where there are no anganwadis. They also give meals and/or improve the quality of food in anganwadis and other government schools when it is not provided to the children. Furthermore, they raise awareness among parents about the School Management Committees (SMCs). SMCs are committees in government schools that should be formed by teachers and parents from the community in which the school is located. SMCs are used to discuss progress of the school and of education, the financial situation of the school and the position of children in the school. As these meetings do not always include parents, Parwaaj organizes focus groups to inform parents about the functioning of SMCs. With respect to women and girls, the organization provides different trainings during the year to increase awareness about their rights. These trainings usually take place one or two times per year and lasts for two days, there is no participation fee because trainings are funded by ActionAid India. Subjects discussed during the trainings are Muslim Personal Law, Leadership and Adolescent Gender.

In the Muslim Personal Law trainings, which take place one time per year and where 25 to 30 women can participate, personal issues, issues concerning the family, and education within the Muslim religion are discussed. The patriarchic situation in Juhapura, both in mosques and madrasas and at home, leads to men misusing the personal law and can put women in a submissive position. The personal law and the position of women therein have been discussed in chapter 4. The leadership trainings takes place one or two times per year for 15 to 20 women, but women are elected by Parwaaj for this training because they only provide it to women that are capable of being a leader. The goal of the training is Training Of Teachers (TOT) and this will enable women to pursue the activities of the organization, trainings for example, in their own living areas whenever the organization has to quit its activities for one reason or another. The adolescent gender training also takes place one or two times per year and about 20 to 30 girls can participate in it. The girls are trained to make their own decisions, to be aware of gender discrimination and to understand that there is no difference between daughters and sons, so they should be treated in the same way. Parents of the participants are actively involved in the training because their role in these issues is very important.

Besides these occasional trainings, Parwaaj also organizes self-defense trainings for women. This training was initiated because the organization often got complaints of girls and women unable to go somewhere, to school for example, due to men that harass them. It also supports victims of domestic violence. The self-defense training empowers women in the sense that they feel more secure in presence of men because they know how to protect themselves. Until two years ago, Parwaaj also offered livelihood projects to women. These projects were in the form of patchwork trainings that would eventually evolve in work and income for these women. Today, a number of 25 women are still working for Parwaaj. They prepare patchworks for exhibitions, some products are sold to people

visiting the organization and some work is done for MPWCS when they need more women to prepare an order.

Parwaaj increases awareness about its activities by organizing meetings and seminars at the end of the year whereby they invite the members but also government officials. This is aimed at bringing the members closer to the people that make decisions that affect their lives and to make them more aware of what is said and what is done by the government.

Baitulmal

Baitulmal is a Muslim-based organization located in Juhapura near Lal Plaza on Sarkhej road. It is part of a bigger organization, namely Gujarat Lokhit Seva which means Gujarat Public Interest Help Organization and is funded by rich donors. The board of trustees of the organization is composed of quite influential state officials. The main objective of Baitulmal is to support people from Juhapura that are living below the poverty line and it does so in different ways. Helping the poor is derived from some principles of the Islam but the organization is not solely aimed at Muslims, although it is run by Muslims (men and women). It is aimed at the poor population of Juhapura and surrounding areas from any religious background. The organization has been established 14 years ago because the Muslims formed a minority in Sanklitnagar and were often very poor. The proportion of Hindus with respect to Muslims was 90% versus 10% respectively at that time. Today, Baitulmal works together with many other Muslim-based organizations in Juhapura and Ahmedabad and it also has activities in rural areas.

The funding of the activities of Baitulmal is mainly based upon the 'Jakat' which is a certain portion of the household income that Muslims give to the poor. Among the activities of Baitulmal are first of all that they provide food to poor people during the Ramadan, which is one of the most important events for most Muslims. They also operate three dispensaries or small health clinics offering different services to the people at a very low price, a check-up costs for example 5 rupees (less than 0,1 euro), while it can amount to 100 rupees (1,50 euro) in other dispensaries. Financial aid is provided to people that really need it, but only for a specific amount needed. One man from a rural area in Gujarat had to come to Juhapura to find work for example, he was given the travel expenses to make this trip. Furthermore, the organization provides loans to people up to 5000 rupees (75 euro) that have to be used for investments. About 100 women have for example received a loan to buy a sewing machine. At last, they support the education of children and young people in different ways. They give books to students from 1st to 12th standard, both in Gujarati and in English, and pay the education fees when there are financial problems at home or when students are not allowed by their parents to study further. They also encourage students who are doing good at school to continue by giving them a medal and supportive phone calls, and talk with the parents whenever a student is not allowed to continue in school and try to convince them about the importance of education. With respect to other trainings, they have tailoring and stitching classes only for women and computer classes for men and women.

The duration of the tailoring and stitching training is three months, and the total costs for the training amount to 210 rupees (3,15 euro). After the three months, girls are supposed to be able to work from home but no work is provided to them. Whenever a girl is very well in tailoring and stitching before the end of the training, the teacher provides them with some work that she will sell later. This way, the teacher earns something extra with her teachings. The computer classes at

Baitulmal are given to both men and women. As mixed education can be quite problematic in some families, a special eye is kept on the computer class to ensure that nothing will happen between the boys and the girls, of whatever nature it might be. The computer classes consist of teaching basic MS Office in the first place and in the second place, people can choose to learn either Tally Account in depth or Desk Top Publisher (DTP). The computer classes also have a duration of three months and costs 200 rupees per month (3 euro). Students receive a certificate from the organization itself at the end of the training, and there is no strict timing schedule for the trainings meaning that there is no obstacle to participation in this sense. The total number of students is often about 10 to 12 for each training but classes are given the whole year long (with the exception of Sundays and holidays) and people can join them at any time they wish. Teachings are given personally to each student so people can start at any level. They can come to the center from 8.00 to 14.00 o'clock and stay for one hour. Besides these trainings, other trainings were offered in the past for the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) entrance exam and the Indian Police Service (IPS) entrance exam but these classes have stopped because the frequency of the exams was low.

Figure 5.2. Tailoring and stitching class at Baitulmal.

Although men and women do not directly get a job after the training, the knowledge gained will increase the capabilities of men and women and they often find work by themselves afterwards. Women that learned tailoring and stitching often find work at home by making clothes for family and friends and by making their own clothes which saves them money. People that followed a computer training have gained a valuable skill that will support them to find a job more easily.

The position of women within Juhapura has also been discussed during the interview with Baitulmal and this has provided some other insights on the position of women in the household, in their environment and with respect to work. The Muslim community is divided in several streams of thinking and this influences whether women are able and allowed to work outside the house.

However, there is also a general idea among women, and maybe even more among Muslim women, that if they decided to work outside, they would have to deal with harassment against women which is still widely present in India and they will receive a lower salary than men.

The main method used by Baitulmal to raise awareness about its activities among people from Juhapura is by distributing pamphlets in the community. This method is also used to appeal people to donate money to the organization and to take part in it. Furthermore, events are organized around the Ramadan, where food is given to poor people and drinks are distributed to everybody to increase awareness.

Yuva Prashikshan Kendro

This organization is located in Sanklitnagar B Ward, just next to Mahila Patchwork Co-Op. Society. It is part of a bigger organization, Saint Xavier's Loyola Social Service Society (SSS), which is located at the Saint Xavier's college in Navrangpura, an area on the western side of the city. Saint Xavier's SSS started its activities in Juhapura about 40 years ago, at the time that Sanklitnagar was created for victims of the floods of 1973, to help the many poor people living there. The aim of the organization is to provide educational programs to youth, especially to drop-outs, and this is supported by different activities. Among the general activities of Saint Xavier's SSS are festivals for children who are not enrolled in school and would therefore miss these celebrations, the organization of picnics and visits for children but also for women who cannot go out themselves due to household work or because they are widow, a Yuva Bachat (a micro finance institution for youth), tuition classes for 10th and 12th board exams, and trainings of different types such as computer, beauty parlor, mehendi and English speaking.

Among the services offered in Juhapura are a dispensary, computer classes for youth and tuition classes for 10th and 12th boars exams, both men and women. The computer classes exist since two years, they are mixed and have space for 10 students. Three classes of 1,5 hour each are run every day from 9.00 to 14.00 o'clock so 30 students can participate in total. The training has a duration of six months and costs 600 rupees (9 euro) for the whole period. People are taught to use basic MS Office but there is no internet in the classroom. After six months they have to do an exam and then they receive a certificate from Saint Xavier's SSS. They are not placed in a company after the training but it will be easier for people with computer skills to get a job. Furthermore, the teacher helps them with job interviews and shares ideas about starting something up on their own, such as a small business or a beauty parlor.

Besides computer classes, tuition classes for the 10th and 12th board exams are also provided in Juhapura. These classes are free for participants of all ages and gender, but people will have to pay for the National Board Exam, which amounts to 1500 rupees for female students and 2200 rupees for male students. There is a lower fee for girls because otherwise the parents might be more likely to not send her daughter to school. The organization also offered English courses in Juhapura in the past but they had to stop it because they could not find teachers. In the future, the organization is planning to start with mehendi and beauty parlor classes in Juhapura. It has already other well functioning training centers in other areas of Ahmedabad, namely in Jamalpur and Gomtipur, but there is a large demand from girls for this type of training in Juhapura as well. Trainings will be located in a spare classroom next to the computer class, where they can settle about 15 to 20 girls,

and costs will be also be 600 rupees for six months with 1,5 hour class per day. Actually, they only need to find a teacher and then the training can start.

Saint Xavier's SSS computer center invited people from the community and other organizations to the opening of the computer center and this is how they mainly increased awareness of its activities. The dispensary and tuition classes are already in place since much longer, but the organization continues to go into Juhapura to talk to people about the courses.

SAATH Bachat

SAATH Bachat is a Micro Finance Institute (MFI) located in Sanklitnagar, next to the URC. There are many individual MFIs spread over Ahmedabad and some have been merged together by SAATH three to four years ago. There is also a SAATH Bachat in Fatawadi, another area of Juhapura and several other institutions such as Mahila Patchwork and AMWA provide micro finance services.

The aim of the micro finance services is to create a habit of saving among people because it will make them more independent and it enables them to take out loans for various purposes. SAATH Bachat provides micro finance services, savings and loans, to both men and women. This is in contrast with other MFIs that only provide one of the services or only to women. There are now 1500 members at the institute in Sanklitnagar, but more women than men have an account (the ratio is 70/30). This is due to the fact that most men are working during the day so they cannot come to the center to take out money or to register for a bank account or a loan. The MFI is only open during the day from 10.00 to 16.30 and as most women are working at home, they can come more easily to the center. The husband of a woman cannot withdraw money from her account but he can take out a loan for himself if his wife is a member of the center.

Figure 5.3. Sign SAATH Bachat at the market in Sanklitnagar.

Today, about 10% of the members only save money and 90% make use of both savings and loans. In order to be eligible for a loan, people first have to save money, which is different from AMWA where people start with a loan and save to pay it back. People start with saving 200 rupees (3 euro) to open a bank account and then they have to save 100 rupees (1,50 euro) per month during 6 months before they can get a loan. People have to take out a loan in a group of minimum four members, the amount of the loan does not have to be the same for each group member and can range between 5000 and 30.000 rupees (75 and 450 euro). One member of the group is appointed as the group leader and has to collect the repayment (including 2% interest per month) of the loan every month from the other group members. The repayment amounts to about 8% of the loan per month but it can vary for big amounts. If one person is unable to pay, the other group members have to advance the repayment of that person.

Loans are used for various purposes, most women use a loan for tailoring and stitching purposes, such as investments in machines and in basic material such as fabric. Other women use a loan to set up their beauty parlor at home or have their own vegetable cart or clothes shop. Again others use the loan for school fees and tuition lessons for their children, for weddings, or even for household purposes. Women do not often use a loan to invest in trainings for themselves, such as tailoring and stitching or beauty parlor, because they often prefer to invest in material after the training. Furthermore, women often do not think that fees are that high as they range from 200 to 250 rupees (3 to 4 euro) per month.

Awareness about SAATH Bachat has been raised mainly through SAATH. As SAATH has been very active in Juhapura after the 2002 riots, and projections of its activities had been shown all around the city, the name was quite well known. This has served the SAATH Bachats in Saklitnagar and Fatawadi after they were merged and started to have the same name.

5.3. Opportunities for Engagement

Women in Juhapura have different skills and social connections that provide them with opportunities in different ways. Furthermore, the institutional landscape provides them with other activities or capabilities that can support them in the future and that empower them to some extent. As has been shown by the activities of the organizations discussed in this chapter, the main types of opportunities provided to women are trainings, work and information in the general sense. Some women are using or have used one of the services provided by the community centers and others have followed a training. This all empowers women in several ways because it gives them access to more resources and it increases the scope for more opportunities.

In education, there seems to be a growing number of women going to school and continuing to higher levels than in the past, which has been shown in chapter 4 and that has been confirmed by the teachers of the different schools interviewed as well. For young girls, it may become more likely that they continue in school in the future and this will empower them in several ways. In contrast, other women have dropped out of school at an early age and do not have the time to continue in school now because of children and marriage, or they do not see the advantages of education, or they have financial problems which makes it impossible continue. For these women, it might be much more interesting to follow a training in a field that they are interested in and that is more suited to their current lifestyle. With respect to trainings for girls and women, several new opportunities have been determined because trainings can increase the possibilities for women to engage in several ways. Women learn different skills during a training that they can use in the future. There are two types of trainings, ones that are more practically oriented, and ones that are more theoretical, aimed at increasing information and knowledge on a certain topic that affects women. Although some women prefer to do a training to have something to do, others use their skills to work at home and to earn some money. As has been mentioned by several organizations, women often find work themselves after the training, but some continue to work for the organization, such as some women at MPWCS and Parwaaj. Most women prefer to work at home, by tailoring and stitching for example. Trainings with respect to knowledge and information provide women with other skills such as increased information about issues that they encounter in their daily life. Religion, the position of women in society and rights of women all provide women with knowledge that increases their opportunities.

Access to information is one of the most crucial opportunities for women in Juhapura. As has been mentioned by several organizations, most information in Juhapura is transmitted from one person to another, and the religious institutions play an important role in this. Women are often unaware of their rights and do not know where to go and what to do. As some organizations are focused only on female members, it creates an environment where women are the ones who transmit information to other women. It is important to bring women together to increase knowledge among them about issues that affect their lives. Relations between women can lead to networks that further increase the opportunities for women. The fieldwork has shown that women often feel associated to other women in their neighborhood and if more and more women engage in activities of community centers, other women may follow. If women feel they are not alone and have examples of how other women have engaged themselves, they can feel stronger to make decisions they would otherwise not make. Networks between organizations can also be important in increasing awareness among women about the existing opportunities in Juhapura. Organizations can stimulate women to go to

other organizations for specific activities, but a network can also stimulate learning between the organizations themselves.

5.4. Constraints on Engagement

It is noticeable that, although the organizations described above have made different efforts in increasing awareness of their activities among the population of Juhapura, many women still do not know about their existence. This lack of awareness is an important constraint on women engagement. It may be partly due to the access to information that women have in general, and partly to obstacles that women encounter in their life and that hampers them from knowing more about the organizations and to participate in the activities. Access to information has been measured to some extent by the access to different types of media such as radio, television, newspapers and internet. This paragraph starts with an analysis of the media types, providing several insights on the access of women to media and the uses of media, and this is then related to information in the more general sense. The obstacles mentioned by women with respect to trainings and work have been analyzed thereafter and this illustrates somewhat why people are not able to fully engage in these organizations or to work.

Access to Media
During the research, women have been asked about their access to radio, television, newspapers and internet. These media can be an important source of information, but it depends on the uses of it and other sources of information can also be very important. Radio provides music, news, interviews, advertisements, stories, which can all contain a certain amount of information that can be useful for women. The main uses of radio among the women are songs and news, but the number of women from the sample that do not have a radio is 63%. The younger girls from 11 to 15 do not have a radio, which might also be due to the fact that they do not consider the radio of their parents as theirs. Furthermore, the share of women without a radio is also bigger for the age group 21 to 30 which might be due to the increase in costs after marriage and preference for television.

Sources of information from the television are many, and the amount of information can be different from one program to another. Almost 88% of the women have a television at home, and about 66 percent of the women watch TV shows and half of them watch the news. Some women also watch serials, Discovery Channel, songs and movies. About 8,5 percent of the women aged between 21 and 30 said that they had a television at home but that they did not have any time to watch it, that their children were mainly watching television. The women that did not have a television were mainly aged between 21 and 30 years, this may also be due to marriage and increased expenses. The news is watched by women from all different ages.

Newspapers are not widely read, about 75% of the women do not have access to a newspaper, and from those having a newspaper, the Divya Bhaskar is most read across all age groups, which is a newspaper in Gujarati. Other newspapers read by a few women are Samachar and Sandesh and two women have access to newspapers but this changes from day to day. The percentages of women with no access to a newspaper are highest for the age groups of 26 to 35 years. Internet is not available for most of the people from Juhapura. There are almost no internet cafés and almost nobody has a computer. Out of the total sample, only one woman said that she had an old computer at home but that it did not have an internet connection and she did not know how it worked. One other women had access to internet through the mobile phone of her husband who was engineer. Furthermore, in schools and centers where computer classes are provided, there is often no internet either and the quality and number of computers can be quite low.

As this analysis has shown, access to media is low among women from Juhapura. Television is the mostly used medium by women of all ages, but there are still women without access to any media. Access to information is partly stimulated by access to media, and this might be an important complementary source of information as information in Juhapura is widely transmitted from one person to another and more importantly from men to women in a patriarchic society. Religious institutions are also patriarchic and play an important role in what information is transmitted to women and how. As it is mostly transmitted from the father or the husband to the women, it can lead to misuses if women do not have access to complementary sources of information.

Information is an important asset for personal development. In the first place, information can increases awareness about possibilities and opportunities that can be found in the environment of women, such as community centers and trainings. In the second place, women that engage themselves into these centers will be stimulated to continue to broaden their knowledge which can be used to increase their engagement further, in other areas. However, not all women are able to participate in activities, even though they are aware of the existence of community centers and training centers. The following will discuss the different obstacles mentioned by women with respect to engagement and participation in trainings and in work.

Obstacles to Engagement

The main goal of the research is to define how engagement of young women can be stimulated in Juhapura. As the opportunities and the institutional landscape have been defined, it is also necessary to determine the problems that women encounter in the realization of their engagement. During the interviews, women were asked to define obstacles with respect to following a training or to work. Out of the total sample of women, 38,7% said that they would not encounter any obstacle at all for participation in a training and work, the other women had at least one obstacle, but some women mentioned up to five obstacles. This provided several insights on what occupies the women and what should be taken into account when setting up a program in Juhapura aimed at stimulating women to engage.

Most of the obstacles mentioned by women are family-related. About 20,8% said that they had babies or young children at home and that their first and most important task was to take care of the children. This is an obstacle in the sense that women cannot spend too much time in a training or at work because they have to be at home with their children. Furthermore, 1,9% said that they were pregnant during the interview, which will also be an obstacle to trainings or work, especially in the first months after birth. Other obstacles mentioned are related to the husband, this was the case for 11,3 percent of the women. Women mentioned for example that they would have to ask their husband either for permission to participate in a training because they were not certain whether they would be allowed to do so by their husband, and others said that they would have to ask him if he would agree to pay a fee for the training. Some women are going to get married in the near future and said that their future husband might not agree with the training or with work. This was the case for 1,9% of the women. From the girls that were still living with their parents, 5,7% mentioned the same kind of obstacles but then with respect to their parents. Another 10,4% of the women interviewed mentioned household work as an obstacle. As has been discussed in chapter 4, women from Juhapura spend a lot of time doing the household work and it is generally considered important to be a good housewife. This means that women can only participate in a training or in work if they still have enough time to do the necessary work at home. Another woman (0,9%) said that she had

work to do, other than household work. This woman had a market stall with her husband and needed to prepare the food to be sold. Out of the women with family-related obstacles, 4,7% said that the obstacles would be overcome by discussing with their husband or their parents.

Other obstacles mentioned are more related to the culture, although it might be different from one family to another. Some women said that they were not allowed to go out (6,6%), and others said that they were allowed to go out during the day but not during the evening (1,9%). Some others, mainly young girls, said that they were not allowed to go alone to the training although there was no problem to go alone to work after the training. This was the case for 4,7% of the women interviewed.

There are also personal obstacles, which have nothing to do with the family or culture, but are more related to a particular person. These obstacles are for example women that do not speak Gujarati (0,9%), although this does not necessarily have to be an obstacle as most people in Juhapura talk in Hindi, which resembles more to the Urdu language than Gujarati. Another 7,5% of the women said that they had to take into account their education, school or tuitions for a training. Most of these women were young girls and still in school, and they spend much time for school or exams so they are not completely free to follow a training or to work now. Some other women (2,8%) said that their sickness was the main obstacle to trainings or work, although not all sicknesses were chronic. One woman said for example that she was often sick and therefore not certain whether she would be able to follow a training if she would have to miss it several times. A few women also said that the main obstacle to trainings was that they did not want to work outside the house after the training. This was mentioned by 2,8% of the women interviewed. Another 4,7% of the women said that they could not participate in a training or could not start to work somewhere because they were already working and did not have time to follow a training or did not want to quit their current job.

Some other obstacles that have been mentioned by women are more general. Several women (13,2%) said that the training or work should not be too far from home because otherwise they would not be able to go there. For all these women it was however fine if the training or work would be located in Juhapura itself, it did not necessarily have to be in their society or living area. It has also been mentioned by 2,8% of the women that the trainings or work should not take too much time. Reasons for this were either young children at home because the women cannot leave their children alone while they are at the training, or household work whereby women could not allow themselves to spend too much time away from home without doing the chores. Other women said that they did not like to leave their house unguarded. One woman also said that an obstacle to trainings and work was that it would need considerable investment after the training, especially when someone wants to start a business at home. Another woman said that the travel expenses to work somewhere, especially outside Juhapura, would be too high and this would be an obstacle for her to follow a training.

Lastly, 31,1% of the women said that they were only able to come to a training or to work at specific timings during the day. Although it differed greatly from one woman to another, some general ideas about the timings have been determined. The majority of the women that gave specific timings said that they would only be able to come in the afternoon because they had to do the household work in the morning. About 20,8% said that they would only be able to come from 12.00 or 13.00 o'clock until 16.00 or 17.00 o'clock. For 4,7% of the women it was only possible to come for two hours per day, 3,8% could come for three hours per day and 4,7% for a few hours per day. In each case, the

women did not specify the exact timeslot they would prefer. Another 1,9% said that they would be able to come the whole day except for the evening, being after 17.00 o'clock. In contrast to most women, one woman said that she would only be able to come in the morning to a training and another woman said that she would only be able to come to a training in the evening after 17.00 o'clock.

5.5. Women's Dreams and Aspirations

Different factors have served to determine how women position themselves with respect to the future. As has been discussed in chapter 4, age is an important factor in this as well. Throughout interviews with schools and community centers, and in-depth interviews with women, several issues have been determined with respect to the future of women in Juhapura. An overview has been created including the most mentioned issues.

There is a difference between young girls and women regarding their visions of the future. The conclusions of chapter 4 with respect to education, the principals of both Sanklitnagar Primary School and F. D. High School, and women working at several community centers, have all mentioned that young girls that are still in school are today much more motivated to continue in school after primary education and sometimes even want to go to college. According to the principal of Sanklitnagar Primary School 2, 25 to 30 percent of the girls continue after 8th standard and many of these girls want to become someone later and have a good job. The schools try to support these girls to continue at school in several ways. Sanklitnagar Primary School tries to convince the parents of the importance of education by talking with them. F. D. High School also supports the girls that are good in school and want to continue by talking with their parents, especially when the parents do not see the importance of education for a girl. It has a special fund created by a wealthy man from Juhapura that is dedicated to girls that want to study further but are either not allowed or have financial problems at home. Furthermore, the school organizes workshops on study habits, future visions, courses after graduation and career counseling, to help young people to make choices that will affect their future. For drop-out students, the school has an Open-School Center on Sundays, where people of all ages can come with questions concerning the 10th and 12th board exams. For people that do not have time to come on Sundays, there is also a class on the local TV channel to prepare people for these exams. This supports people to get a higher education level without going to school every day and to increase their opportunities in the job market.

No all young women are motivated to study further however. Two women of 16 and 17 years old, who quitted education after 8th and 10th standard respectively, have been asked about their dreams and aspirations for the future and how they would picture themselves in the future. This has provided different insights on this issue, the quotes below (from Shabnam and Jabin) show that the main event in their future is to get married and eventually have children, but there is no emphasis on education and work. Situations as these, where the marriage has been mentioned as the most important matter for women and where education and work received far less importance, have also been encountered many times during the standard interviews with women.

> ***Shabnam (16):*** *"I will get married in 3 or 4 years, after my elder sister gets married and after my parents have found a wife for my elder brother. If my parents have found a man for me, they will ask me whether I like him or not but I will not look after a man by myself. In the future I would like to follow a course for my own pleasure and to learn something interesting, such as a cooking class for example, but this depends of course on my future husband and whether he will allow me to do so. I do not want to use the skills acquired to work because I don't think that work is very important and in my family there has never been a financial need for women to work."*

> *Jabin (17):* "*I don't really have any dream or aspiration for the future, I only want to get married with my fiancé and maybe have one child. I wanted to become a doctor when I was young but now I don't regret that I didn't. I do not really want to travel and see other places because I have been to Maharashtra with my family a few days ago for a marriage of one of my family members.*"

Elder women, aged 25 years and older, have also been interviewed in-depth during the research period. Women are married and often have at least one child, as has been shown in chapter 4. It is striking to notice that some of these women had difficulties in answering the question about dreams and aspirations and their vision of the future.

> *Shabana (32):* "*Actually, I never thought about my dreams or aspirations, but I can do everything I want to do, I have no restrictions. I'm happy with my life as it is, and the whole family is satisfied with life as it is here in Juhapura. I do some stitching and handwork during the day to pass the time but we don't really need the money. I am not allowed to work outside, but if I were, I would only like to work for a few hours per day in Juhapura.*"

For themselves, they did not really have any dream and some even never had a dream for the future, they are content with their life and do not want to change it or do not see how it can be changed. It is more for their children, and daughters in particular, that they have dreams for the future such as a good education, good marriage, no suffering. The women said that they would do everything to realize this for their children. Most women also want to stay in Juhapura, although some said that they would like to move to another area in Juhapura or a bigger house. The women were also satisfied with their occupation. Some women were working at the URC in Juhapura and said that they would like to continue working for SAATH as long as possible because they feel good with the work. Other women are doing some work at home and did not really think about other possibilities.

> *Parvin Banu (25):* "*I never thought about anything else to do than stitching so that's the only thing I want to do, but I don't have a sewing machine anymore. I don't have dreams or aspirations and I never had dreams before marriage either. Maybe I would like to move one day to a better place in Juhapura and maybe my husband could find better work, he works in a factory and income is low during the monsoon because he works less. It would be good if I could make up for the lower income during these months by working but my husband would never allow me to work outside. Others would see this as a bad thing and ask him why his wife works.*"

Throughout the in-depth interviews, it seemed that women have very modest dreams and aspirations. Young women that are not yet married are preparing for their marriage and this is their main vision of the future. Elder women seem to be happy with their life as it is and do not want too much change. The fact that women do not have a vision of themselves in the future that they want to strive for, shows that most women live from day to day and do not see any possible changes to their lives. This might be on purpose, because people like their life as it is, but it might also be because they are unaware of possibilities.

5.6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to define opportunities for women in Juhapura. In order to do so, the chapter started by describing the awareness of community and vocational training centers among women in Juhapura. The analysis has shown that awareness is in general low among women, and centers that have been mentioned are not always located in Juhapura. This unawareness decreases the opportunities for women to engage in different activities.

Organizations in Juhapura provide services and activities that empower women in different ways. Trainings, work and access to information are important across the organizations. An analysis of women's uses of the centers has shown that overall, the services correspond to women's demands. Unawareness remains however low and this is one of the most important obstacles to participation and engagement of women. Efforts should be made in talking to women about the programs offered and networks between organizations should be created to stimulate women to go to other organizations for other programs and to meet other women.

As Juhapura is patriarchic, it is important that women use other sources of information to increase their knowledge because most information will be transmitted to them by men. Access to media has shown mixed results. Although most women have a television, the uses are different from one person to another and the type and amount of information differ from one program to another. Furthermore, there are still many women that have limited or no access at all to media, so it is important to stimulate women to engage with other women to increase knowledge and information between them. This can be an important counterforce to the domination of men in most areas.

Besides a lack of knowledge about the existence of community and vocational training centers, there are also other obstacles that hamper women from engaging themselves. Women have mentioned obstacles related to their family such as husbands and parents that do not allow them to participate in a training, or women that are not allowed to go out due to cultural practices. Furthermore, more personal obstacles have also been mentioned, some young women are still in school and do not have time to participate in something else, others have health problems that hamper participation. Generally it has also been said that women cannot go too far to participate in a training, or that they have so many things to do during the day that they cannot spend too much time in something else.

The focus of the research is to determine how women can be stimulated to increase engagement, so it is very important to take into account how women want to engage themselves, which has been reflected by the uses of community and training centers, and the opportunities offered by different organizations. A discussion on dreams and aspirations of women showed that women are generally not thinking about changes in their lives, except for marriage. They seem to be happy with what they have and with their current situation. Dreams and aspirations can be stimulated by empowering women, but the most interesting would be to empower women in what they want to and are able to do now. It is therefore important that the issues mentioned in this chapter should be absorbed in programs aimed at empowering women because it is more likely to increase participation if programs are organized in such a way that is suits the situation of women.

The next chapter will focus on the vocational training center that SAATH plans to set up in Juhapura. It is aimed at determining what courses women are interested in and how it should be organized to take into account the opportunities and obstacles to engagement mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 6. Vocational Training Center for Women in Juhapura

6.1. Introduction

One of the opportunities for women, as defined in the previous chapter, is trainings. As this enables women to learn something new or to learn something in depth, and eventually to make money, it is one way of empowering women. Programs of this type are commonly called Livelihood Programs in India, because the training is aimed at giving people the opportunity to create his or her livelihood, to earn money that enables them to take care of their children and other family members.

This chapter is attempted to answer the fourth sub-question: *How can the capabilities of Muslim women be strengthened?* The focus is therefore on the particularities of a vocational training center aimed at women from Juhapura. Vocational trainings are only one way to empower women. Women are empowered because they become less economically dependent, but this small-scale empowerment may stimulate women to become agents of change (Cheng, 2010). The chapter will start with a discussion on the livelihood programs provided by SAATH in Gujarat and Rajasthan. SAATH has two types of vocational training programs, the similarities and differences between these programs respect to the type of courses given, the duration and the schedule will be described. Based upon the existing programs, a list has been compiled for the interviews to see what courses women would be interested in. For each category of courses, the number of women interested and the reasons women gave for being interested or not have been given.

The second part of the chapter consists of a discussion on the courses that women have suggested themselves. As the trainings from the list did not always correspond to the interest of women, they have been asked to give suggestions of courses that they would be more interested in and why. The courses suggested by women are important in considering a livelihood program aimed at stimulating women to increase engagement.

The last part of this chapter will elaborate on the organization of livelihood trainings in Juhapura. Fees and the duration of a training have been discussed with women during interviews and it is compared to other organizations that provide trainings in Juhapura. Furthermore, although not all of the obstacles mentioned in chapter 5 can be considered in organizing a training, either because they are too personal or too restrictive, an attempt has been made to find solutions for some obstacles that have often been stated by women. Lastly, a location for the center has been suggested to take into account the institutional landscape of Juhapura and problems such as transport and accessibility that women encounter in some areas.

6.2. Interest in Existing Courses

Women were asked during the interviews which courses they would be interested in for a vocational training. Women were shown a list containing different courses that are provided in other centers, but is was mainly based upon the courses provided in the two types of livelihood programs offered by SAATH. This was on the one side UMEED and on the other side Yuva MAST, which will be described hereafter. Women were in general interested in following a vocational training: out of the 106 women, 100 said they were interested. Out of these 100 women, 79% have shown interest in one of the courses proposed by the list, the other 21% have suggested other courses, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

UMEED, called UDAAN in Rajasthan, is a vocational training program aimed at youth from slums that exists since 2005. From 2008 to 2010, there were 306 centers in urban and rural areas of Gujarat and Rajasthan, and out of that, 34 centers were located in Ahmedabad. There are three conditions for people to be allowed to participate in an UMEED training: they should come from an economically weak background (BPL status), they should have at least 7th or 8th standard, and they should be aged between 18 and 35. Boys and girls can follow a training of three months in a particular domain and will be placed in a company thereafter. People should follow a training for at least four hours per day and can come from 9.00 until 17.30 o'clock. Every day, students have one hour of teachings in the main course, one hour of English class (speaking and writing), one hour of computer class (in general, such as MS Office and internet) and one hour of life skills. Life skills consist of learning about confidence, motivation, health, education, banking and more topics that are generally useful. Placement of the students after the training is based upon a market scan, which is conducted one time per year to define what is needed in the market and trainings are organized accordingly. Trainings at UMEED last for three months and cost 500 rupees (7,50 euro) in total for the student. Trainings are further funded by SAATH (also 500 rupees) and the largest share (3500 rupees or 52 euro per person per training) is funded by the government in three installments, one after completion of the first month of training, one after completion of the three months of training and one after six months of placement. The certificates that people receive after the training are therefore from the government.

Yuva MAST is also a vocational training center for youth of the same age group, MAST stands for Market Aligned Skills Training. There is only one center in Gujarat, in Ahmedabad, and four in Rajasthan. In contrast to UMEED, trainings at Yuva MAST take a duration of one month and students have to be there for two hours per day. The center is open from 8.00 to 20.00 o'clock except Sundays, although there is an idea to open Sundays as well in the future to use this time to upgrade students' computer skills. Students have one hour training in their chosen subject and the second hour is used for computer and life skills, there are no English classes because the most important is to place people in a job position, not to speak other languages. The fees for the training are also 500 rupees for the participant and 1200 rupees (18 euro) is funded by the American India Foundation (AIF) after placement of the student. The Yuva MAST centers are not supported financially by the government and certificates handed to students after the training are therefore not from the government but from the center itself.

From these trainings, a list has been compiled with courses that might be attractive to people from Juhapura and especially to women. The women were asked to tell which courses they might be interested in for a training and work, more than one choice was possible. The analysis has shown that

several courses are far more attractive than others and this should be taken into account for the future center.

Computer Trainings

A general computer course to learn the basic use of computer is mandatory in both UMEED and Yuva MAST trainings, and it takes place simultaneously with the main course. With respect to computer-related trainings, a list has been proposed to women during the interview, based upon the existing courses in the UMEED and Yuva MAST programs, and their interest for each has been asked (Figure 6.1.). Women are generally quite interested in the computer and would like to learn it, but some women said that they would never be able to do it and did therefore not choose any of the computer courses. Table 6.1 provides an overview with the different computer courses proposed to women and their interest, as the total number of interested women was 100, the numbers can be read as percentages. However, it should be noted that the minimum education level required for such trainings is 7th or 8th standard and this is quite high because almost 25% of the women have lower education levels.

Computer Courses	Women
Data Entry Operator	21
Database Manager	8
Oracle	7
Web Designer	8
Internet Café Manager	7
Tally Account Assistant	15
IT Software	11
IT Hardware	9

Table 6.1. Interest among women in computer courses (in absolute numbers).

Data Entry Operator is by far the most chosen training by women from the computer-related courses and it consists of entering data into a database. The interest for this training might be due to different reasons. Out of the computer related courses, data entry might be the most common name and might be more appealable to women than names that they never heard of. Furthermore, some women said that it might be one of the easier courses because it can be quite systematic and women will therefore become earlier accustomed to it. Also, some women said that they liked it because there would not be so much contact with other people, and women can stay concentrated on the computer. Oracle is a program used to manage a database system and some women have shown interest in this. Tally Account Assistant also received quite some attention from women and it consists of learning to do bookkeeping and accounting by using a special software. Women are interested in this course because it is generally seen as useful in order to find work, but it can also be a valuable skill for persons that want to set up a small business on their own. IT Software are trainings that make use of information technology to provide services, it groups together Desk Top Publishing (DTP) and Information Technology Enabled Services (ITES) because the work conditions are quite similar. DTP consists of using IT to create files for publication and ITES uses IT for services such as insurance and health for example. Generally, web designer and internet café manager would be interesting courses, especially with an eye on the future, so women should be stimulated to engage in these type of trainings. It might however be difficult for some women to engage in internet café manager trainings because of the eventual contact with all kinds of people that would make use of the service. Finally, IT hardware consists of dealing with the hardware in an office or company,

such as the computers and printers, so the contact with other people remains limited to the number of people working in a company and people do not have to talk to unknown people.

Figure 6.1. Computer training at Yuva MAST, Usmanpura,

Call-Center Trainings

Women were in general not very interested in call-center trainings and work, although two women said they might be willing to start the call-center executive training (Table 6.2.). The main reason for the disinterest of these trainings, mentioned throughout interviews and discussions with women, is that the work schedule for call-centers can be variable and women might have to work in the evenings and nights as well, and this is not possible for most women. The interest in call-center executive might be based upon the name, some women said that they wanted to become an executive in general and it did not really matter in which field. Also, an executive might have other work schedules than the assistants which might be more suitable to women from Juhapura.

Call-Center Courses	Women
Call-Response Assistant	0
Call-Center Executive	2

Table 6.2. Interest among women in call-center courses (in absolute numbers).

Marketing and Sales Trainings

Several trainings have to deal with marketing and sales, but interest among these are quite low as shown in Table 6.3. Most of these trainings will lead to work where people have to be in contact with many people and this obviously decreased the motivation for women to choose one of these courses. The last three are even less interesting because it is also expected that people approach persons they may not know and this is difficult for many women because their relations are often limited to their family and neighbors. Women have mentioned that it is not normal for them to work and to talk with unknown people in their culture, especially with men. It would therefore be difficult for a woman to work in a shop to help people, to approach anyone for a survey, or to promote a product on the street by distributing pamphlets. Sales executive was the most mentioned course, for some women it was based on the title, being an executive sounds appealing to them. Furthermore, sales is also a term which is better understood than telemarketing and therefore more appealing because people know better what is meant by it.

Marketing and Sales Courses	Women
Telemarketing Executive	1
Sales Executive (CRS)	3
Showroom Sales	1
Market Surveyor	0
Counter Sales Person	0
Field Promotion Agent	0

Table 6.3. Interest among women in marketing and sales courses (in absolute numbers).

Care Trainings

The following trainings do not really correspond to women's interests (Table 6.4.). There was only one woman interested in geriatrics, this was because she already started to follow a training in this field before she got married. She had to quit the training before finishing it when she got engaged and did not continue thereafter. Now that there might be the possibility for a training and to get a certificate in this field, she said that she would be very happy to do so. Care of small children was for many women not really an option because they have their own children to take care of and therefore no time to take care of other children. BSPA was also never chosen but no clear reason has been given for this, maybe because traditionally people take care of their family members when they get sick or old, so women do not see why there would be a demand for this.

Care Courses	Women
Bed Side Patient Assistant (BSPA)	0
Geriatrics	1
Small Child Care	0

Table 6.4. Interest among women in care courses (in absolute numbers).

Hospitality Trainings

Again, Table 6.5. shows that there is low interest in hospitality courses. Housekeeping and front-office assistant were the only courses that women might potentially choose but many women said that they did not want to do something they were already doing half of the day, namely household work. Other women said that they were not allowed to go into houses of people they did not know and even less into hotels or other public accommodations. Again, an obstacle mentioned for front-office assistant was that women would be in contact with too many unknown people and would feel uncomfortable. Interest in retail management and office administration has never been mentioned by the women, although the reasons for this are not clear. It might again be due to the titles of the courses which are not widely understood or to gender roles for example.

Hospitality Courses	Women
Housekeeping	1
Front-Office Assistant	1
Retail Management	0
Office Administration	0

Table 6.5. Interest among women in hospitality courses (in absolute numbers).

Other Trainings

Throughout the research it became clear that women mainly prefer to work at home because issues such as being in contact with unknown people, uncomfortable schedules and work conditions and the importance of other tasks that should be done at home, influence women's willingness to work

outside. The most interesting training is by far the beauty parlor and mehendi course (Table 6.6.). Women can do this type of jobs at home and there is continuous demand for it as well. Marriages are among the most important events in one's life and all women at the wedding have mehendi for example. Furthermore, beauty parlors can be located at home, and combined with mehendi. Several women showed with proud their beauty parlor, from very basic to more sophisticated, and mehendi designs. Tie and dye can also provide women with work at home but there is not so much interest in it, maybe because some perceive it as an occupation for men. The electrician course was mentioned by one woman because she wanted to learn to repair things on her own, without the help of her husband.

Other Courses	Women
Beauty Parlor and Mehendi	39
Mehendi Only	14
Tie and Dye	2
Electrician	1

Table 6.6. Interest among women in other courses (in absolute numbers).

6.3. Suggestions for Other Trainings

Besides asking women whether they were interested in the existing courses given by UMEED and Yuva MAST, women were also asked whether they wanted to suggest other types of training. The main interest among women is to learn something that they can do at home, either to pass time or to earn some money, but where they can also continue to perform their main occupations such as household work and being a mother. It should be taken into account that women were sometimes quite surprised by the question and never thought about it, so it might have been difficult for them to think of a course they would like to follow. In contrast, others have given up to three suggestions of other courses. Table 6.7. displays the suggestions for courses given by the women interviewed.

Suggested Courses	Women
Tailoring and Stitching	46
Fashion Design	9
Spoken English	6
Written English	5
Cooking	2
General Handwork	2
General Knowledge	2
Human Relations	1
General Computer Class	1
Nursing	1
Interior Design	1
Haircutting	1

Table 6.7. Other courses suggested by women from Juhapura (in absolute numbers).

Tailoring and stitching was clearly the most suggested course, which is not very surprising as it is also one of the main occupations among women from Juhapura inside the house (see Chapter 4). Some women already know tailoring and stitching to some extent but want to learn it in more detail, others do not know it at all and want to learn it from the beginning onwards. Furthermore, some women were interested in fashion design because they would like to learn the new trends to use it in their tailor and stitch work. It can be interesting to combine these two in one course as it is closely related to each other, and women can use their skills to create new trends themselves.

Spoken and written English are also mentioned by some women. Spoken English consists of learning to speak English, but without focusing too much on writing and reading. The main idea of these women was to be able to speak English as they consider it a very useful language and this would enable them to talk to foreigners for example. Written English was considered to be helpful to use the computer, as many terms are in English and not so much in Hindi. They said that they did not really want to know how to write in English, but more how to read because this will enable them to understand computer programs.

Cooking class had been mentioned twice, but it directly motivated other women during the interview. For some women, it would mainly consist of learning to cook something new and from other countries. The Italian, Mexican and Chinese kitchens have been stated as examples of what they would like to learn. For some women, cooking class is more considered as a pass time and to have some new ideas for dinner, but cooking is an income-generating activity for other women. For example, one woman said that she prepared the dishes that her husband sells on the market.

Handwork in general, such as embroideries, patchwork, quilting, painting, kites, rakhi or pottery could also be a course, although it has not been suggested by many women. All of these courses would provide women with something to do at home but they can also use their skill to earn some income. Different types of handwork could be introduced to women so that they can find out what they want to focus on. Additionally, they could continue to diversify their activities if they prefer.

General knowledge is an interesting course, but it is closely associated to the life skills given in the existing UMEED and Yuva MAST programs. Women from Juhapura mainly said that they would like to learn about market prices in general to understand what price it should be when they buy products on the market, but it can also be used for setting the prices of products that women sell themselves, such as clothes or kites for example.

Human relations has been mentioned by one woman, she mainly focused on teaching young women about marriage, and especially on how to deal with the issues between a woman and her family in-law. As the family in-law can play an important role in the position of a woman and influence her decisions on matters that concern her own future, it might be an interesting subject to include in the life skills course.

A general computer class would consist of learning the basic uses of the computer, such as MS Office. Not all women are interested in learning one specific program on the computer, such as the courses mentioned in the list. Basic programs would already be useful as a start because it enables women to continue to learn more on their own. One woman had a computer at home for example, but she was unable to use it because she did not know where to start. Another woman wanted to do administration work at a small dispensary near her home but she did not have basic computer knowledge so she could not apply for the job.

Nursing and interior design have both been mentioned once and are interesting but more specialized, so it might be difficult to provide the material needed and to place them somewhere after the training. Haircutting could be integrated in the beauty parlor course, as a specialization for example.

6.4. Organization of Trainings

Based upon the existing vocational training centers of SAATH, women have been asked questions about the organization of the training in general, such as fees, duration and timing, and other obstacles mentioned in chapter 5, that should be taken into account when starting up a center for women in Juhapura.

The first question concerned the fees, which are 500 rupees (about 7,50 euro) in both centers. All of the interested women said that they would have no problem in paying a fee for a training, that it was normal to pay a fee because it would motivate women more to finish it because it is seen as an investment. There were however other women in Juhapura who were not interested in doing a training or in participating in interviews, and who said that a fee of 500 rupees was too much. This was based upon the fact that the research period was a period in which families had to bear other expenses such as school fees for their children and fees for their tuitions during the holidays. They said that it would be impossible to save money for themselves to follow a training. In most other organizations in Juhapura, trainings are provided at a fee but these are mostly lower than 500 rupees for three months.

The second question concerned the duration of the course. Women were asked whether they would prefer to have a training during three months, such as the UMEED program with a government certificate, or during one month, such as the Yuva MAST program with a certificate from the center itself. Most women (84% of the women interested in vocational training) said that they would prefer to have a training with a duration of three months and the main reason for this was that they would learn it better in three months than in one. For some women it was more because they would receive a government certificate, which was important for them. Only two women said that they wanted to do a training of one month because they did not want to spend too much time on it, and to be committed to go there every day for a period of three months. For 14% the duration did not matter, which was sometimes due to the fact that they had to ask their husband or parents about the duration, or because they just wanted to learn something, no matter how long it would take. The duration of trainings in other training centers in Juhapura range from two weeks to six months.

The previous chapter has elaborated on the obstacles that women might encounter in their participation to a training. Although it is important to take the obstacles into account to set up a center in Juhapura, it is not possible to consider all obstacles. There are however a few obstacles that could be addressed in organizing the center. First, the timings mentioned by women are important to take into account because a center that would only be open in the morning is not very suited for women as most do the household work in the morning until 12.00 o'clock. Furthermore, most women are not allowed or do not want to go out in the evening, so the best would be to provide courses from 12.00 to 17.00 o'clock because most women would be able to go. It is also important that the courses do not take too much time during the day, so four hours like UMEED trainings might be too long. It might be more interesting to provide courses of two to three hours and to be flexible in the schedules. Some women might encounter difficulties in coming one day or another due to family issues, sickness, or because they are not allowed to go alone to the center. This should be taken into account by allowing women to stay at home for a particular number of days during the training for example.

Second, some women have mentioned that the time they need to take care of their children hampers them from participating in a training. As many small children are not enrolled into school, they spend the whole day at home with their mother. Mothers prefer not to leave their children alone at home and might encounter difficulties in finding someone to take care of them. A solution that might motivate more women to participate in a training can be to set up a day-care center next to the training center itself, where women can leave their children during the training.

Third, as Hindi is the main spoken language among women in Juhapura, it might be more interesting to teach in Hindi instead of Gujarati. This would also allow people that moved to Gujarat and do not speak Gujarati to participate in a training. It does not have to be a strict rule, women can be asked at the start of a training in which language they would prefer it to be.

Fourth and lastly, women mentioned in general that the training center should not be too far from home, but for most of them it would be fine if it was located in any area of Juhapura. As has been shown in the institutional landscape of Juhapura, most organizations are located in or close to Sanklitnagar. It might therefore be useful for women if the center would be located at the other side of Juhapura, at the north-west of Sanklitnagar near Anusha Park, Uwais Park and Al Faisal for example (Figure 6.2.). This way, women that are more remote from the main activities in Juhapura can also participate in trainings because they encounter more obstacles with respect to transport and accessibility than women from other areas in Juhapura.
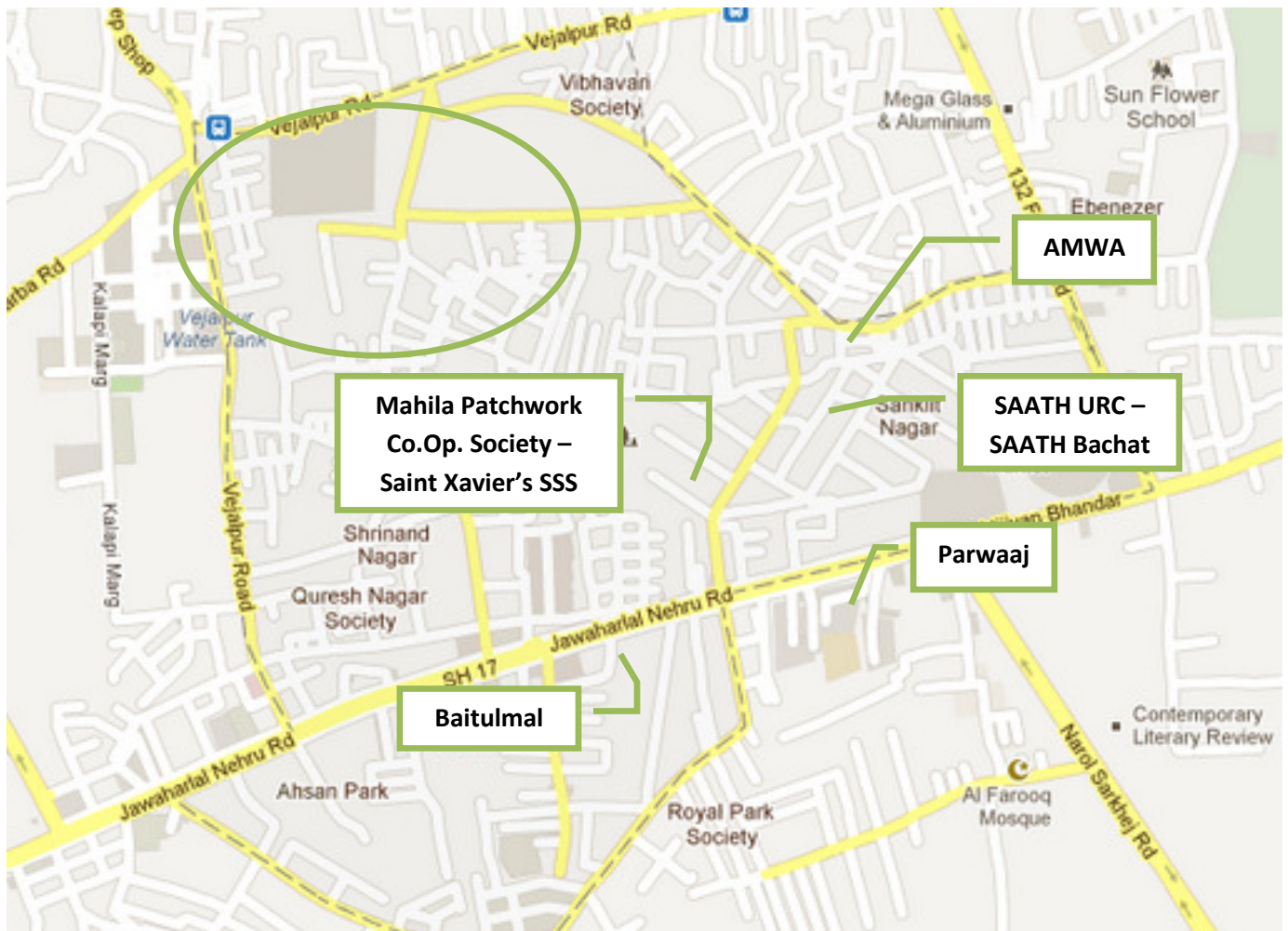

Figure 6.2. Suggested location of a vocational training center in Juhapura (Google Maps, 2012).

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to define how women's capabilities can be strengthened. Livelihood programs, or vocational trainings, are one way to strengthen women's capabilities and this has been discussed throughout the chapter. First of all, it is important that women are interested in the courses provided by the center. The research has shown that computer courses, especially data entry operator, IT software such as DTP and ITES, and Tally account assistant, are among the most interesting courses for women. The work conditions are quite favorable to them because they do not have to be in contact with too many unknown people and they can concentrate on the computer. It has been shown that courses that consist of too much contact with other people, especially unknown people, are not very interesting for women. Nevertheless, the minimum education level required for such trainings can be a problem, quite a substantial number of women have education levels below 7th or 8th standard.

Courses given in fields such as call-center, management and sales, care, and hospitality have not been mentioned very often by women, suggesting that interest in these trainings is low. As it is important that trainings correspond to women's interest, it might be useless to include these types of trainings in the livelihood program in Juhapura.

Among the most interesting courses for women is clearly beauty parlor and mehendi design combined, although some women would prefer to learn only mehendi. The two courses could either be separated to give women the opportunity to choose what they want to learn, or it could be provided as one course with optional courses in mehendi and hair-cutting for example.

Other trainings that correspond to the demand of women and that should be included in the livelihood program are tailoring and stitching and fashion design. Tailoring and stitching is a widely performed activity by women in Juhapura and it is definitely one of the capabilities of women that should be strengthened by trainings. The fashion design course could be integrated in the tailoring and stitching training because they are closely related and provide women with skills that enable them to design their own clothes in the future and to stimulate innovation in tailoring and stitching.

As several women said that they would be interested in learning English, either spoken or written, it might be included in the training, as it is for existing UMEED trainings. The UMEED trainings are scheduled for four hours per day, out of which one hour consists of English class. Although women have mentioned in general that they would not be able to spend too much time per day on a training, one possibility is to include English class and computer class as optional in the training. Women could then choose between the two trainings in addition to the main course, making the total time spend per day shorter and women can decide what they find more valuable for themselves.

Life skills is also included in the UMEED and Yuva MAST programs, and this should also be included in trainings provided in Juhapura. This course consists of learning basic knowledge with respect to education, health and other issues, but it could be designed in such a way as to take into account subjects that are of particular importance to women from Juhapura. Subjects such as women's rights or relations with the husband and family in-law could be included in the course. The most interesting would be to stimulate women to discuss their own ideas and suggestions in this course.

Finally, women are willing to pay a fee of 500 rupees for the training so the fee should stay identical as in other centers. The duration of the training should be about three months because this was generally preferred by women, and if it is possible, a certificate from the government should be handed out to women who finished the training. Furthermore, the organization of the trainings should be such that it takes into account obstacles to participation mentioned by women. The center should therefore be open from 12.00 until 17.00 o'clock and it should not take too much time per day, two to three hours was the maximum. By giving women the opportunity to choose between optional courses, they can create schedules that are more suited to their daily occupations and responsibilities. Nevertheless, women should also have the possibility to miss a certain number of days during the training to take into account that they are not always able to go. Other suggestions are to teach the courses in Hindi because it is the main spoken language among women from Juhapura, and to set up a day-care center for women with young children. At last, the location of the center should be based upon the location of existing organizations and living areas where the position of women can be considered as worse than other places with respect to transport and accessibility for example.

Based upon the position of women and the opportunities and constraints that they encounter in Juhapura, the vocational training center or livelihood program is only one way to stimulate women engagement and participation. There are more programs aimed at empowering women, as has been shown in the activities of other organizations in Juhapura. In order to stimulate the engagement of women it is important to encourage women in participating in the program and to come with new ideas and suggestions. Furthermore, a counseling center could be initiated by women to support women that would like to start a training but are not able to do so. Women that encounter obstacles from their husband or other family members might come to this center to discuss their problems and solutions or mediation could be provided. Overall, it is important that women continue to have an important say and influence in the center because it has to be suited to their needs in order to be efficient and to stimulate women engagement.

Chapter 7. Conclusion and Recommendations

The last chapter of the thesis is aimed at drawing a conclusion on the research by summarizing the main findings and answers to the different sub-questions in the first part. This summary will be used to answer the main research question whereby the different factors have been used in combination to create the most complete picture possible of the position of women in Juhapura. Furthermore, it is aimed at answering the last sub-question, *What role can SAATH play in addressing the issues influencing engagement and participation of Muslim women, both on the individual level and on the larger societal level?* The second part of this chapter will therefore provide recommendations for SAATH.

Main Findings

The development approaches that have been defined at the beginning of the thesis, namely grassroots development, participatory development and empowerment, have been central to the research. The approaches have guided the research and three focus areas have been defined to stimulate overall well-being of women, these are the environment, the capabilities of women and access to opportunities. These three focus areas have been explored in Juhapura throughout the research because the importance of a holistic approach to development has been underlined several times. This holistic approach has shown that the position of women is influenced by numerous factors that have different effects on women.

The environment of Juhapura has been considered throughout several chapters of this thesis. The third chapter focused upon the different contexts whereby the position of women in general and especially women from a Muslim minority, have been described. As has been shown, the environment is in general not very supportive for women. Although the government of India has made several efforts to improve the position of women, it is clear that in general, women remain more vulnerable than men. Patriarchal relations and gender inequalities remain widely present in India, preference for boys is still perceived and literacy rates and education levels are consistently lower for women than for men. Furthermore, women of a minority group, such as the Muslim women from Juhapura, are even more vulnerable. Besides the fact that they are women in a patriarchic society, which is both the case for India and the Islamic religion, they are also positioned in an area that lacks basic services, especially in health and primary education. The environment and the lack of infrastructure in most of the newer areas of Juhapura puts the women living there in a position that makes it even more difficult for them to engage in activities of their choice. Sanklitnagar is the most vibrant place in Juhapura, but in surrounding areas there are less social and commercial places accessible to women. Transportation is very limited in Juhapura and this can make it even more difficult for women from more remote societies to engage and to participate. It is therefore important to not consider women from Juhapura as one group, because women from different areas face very different situations that influence their position.

This is further reflected in the position of women with respect to their family, husband, children, family in-law and neighbors. At different stages in life, women's social relations and responsibilities influence their possibilities to engagement in many ways. The family plays an important role for young girls and decisions affecting their future, education for example, are most often made by the parents. After marriage, around the age of 20, the husband and his family start to play an important

role in a woman's life and their decisions can weight stronger than her own. Furthermore, when women have children, especially small children, their responsibilities increase, they have less time to spend for their own and are more committed to stay at home. Throughout the lifecycle, women encounter new people and make new friendships that all influence them to some extent, although it might be in very different ways. Teachers can for example be influential for girls in the sense that they support them to continue in school and discuss with the parents if she is not allowed to do so. The fact that women are often dependent on others to make decisions that concern their life makes it difficult to define their position. Furthermore, the influences of the family, the husband, the family in-law, friends and neighbors may have positive and negative effects on women's engagement and possibilities for participation. Family and social structures are overall patriarchic and leaves the field of decision-making mainly with the men. The religious institutions also play an important role in defining the position of women, and by structurally keeping them outside of decision-making, women are in general subject to men. Some families are very conservative and may be strictly against high education levels for women and good jobs. The roles for women have been clearly defined as being a good housewife and a good mother. In contrast, other families are more liberal and do not have that many objections against working outside for women and stimulate their daughters to follow education.

Human capital, or the capabilities that women possess, have also been identified in this chapter, and again there are many differences among women. Literacy rates in the sample are higher than the overall rates for India and Gujarat, and in contrast to the general tendency, female literacy rates were higher than male. Young women are all literate and they stay longer in school today than in the past. The importance of education seems to be recognized by more and more people but there are still women that are either not allowed to continue in school, or that do not see the use of going to school because they will never work anyways. There are no consistent differences in education levels between men and women, although several age groups have shown larger numbers of women dropping out of school before completing the level than men, mainly with respect to primary school and high school. The trend of increased education levels among boys and girls in school is likely to be translated into higher education levels among future generations because higher educated parents are more likely to send both sons and daughters to school in comparison to lower educated or uneducated parents.

Although the importance of literacy and education for overall development is widely recognized, it is also important to give women the opportunity to decide for themselves. For those girls that are willing to study further, they should be given the opportunity to do so. The environment is however not always supportive to girls in the sense that families may decide that it is not necessary for them to study, the financial situation may not allow for this, or the number and quality of education facilities may influence decisions concerning education. For other people, skills are considered to be more valuable than education levels because this enables them to do something to pass the day or to earn some money. The economic situation of Juhapura has shown that it is mainly the men that work outside, but the occupations of women should not be ignored. Besides household work, several women perform income-generating activities at home such as tailoring and stitching and the making of kites and rakhi. As most women feel more comfortable by working at home, this should be considered in defining how they can be stimulated to increase engagement. A few women work outside the house however. The fact that women work outside can be partly due to the financial

situation of the household and the need for additional income, but also because women really like to work outside.

Different opportunities have been defined in the environment of Juhapura that may stimulate the engagement of women. The opportunities are dependent on the social position of women within their environment, the economic position and the physical environment as have been described above, but they are also dependent on the opportunities provided by different NGOs in Juhapura. Among the main activities that provide new opportunities to women in this area are trainings, information and work. Trainings such as tailoring and stitching, beauty parlor and mehendi design, computer classes and handwork are provided by different organization with the objective to empower women. By learning them a particular skill, women can start to make money on their own and this will make them less dependent on their parents or husbands. This is a widely accepted practice to stimulate women empowerment and the number of women participating in existing trainings show that it corresponds to women's interests. There is however one issue, most women in Juhapura are not aware of the existence of this type of centers and do therefore not participate. It is important to increase awareness among women about the opportunities that exist in the environment in order to stimulate their engagement. The lack of awareness is also reflected in the low access to information measures by access to media. Access to media is an important source of information for women and it can be used as a counterforce against the patriarchal relations whereby information is mainly transmitted from men to women. Besides the lack of awareness, women have also mentioned other obstacles that influence their ability to participate. Family-related, personal, cultural and general obstacles have been defined and these should be taken into account for programs aimed at stimulating engagement of women. The following will provide recommendations with respect to the vocational training center for women in Juhapura.

Recommendations for SAATH

With respect to the general issues that have been described in the context of the research, such as the general position of women in Juhapura, gender inequality and religion-based conflicts, it might be difficult for any organization to address them. However, organizations can start with small-scale activities that may evolve into broader movements of women to react upon issues that affect them. Vocational trainings are one example of such small-scale activities aimed at stimulating women engagement. SAATH plans to set up a vocational training center for women in Juhapura, and part of the research has been dedicated to define the particularities of such a center to tailor it to the interest, capabilities and position of women. The center is not focused upon organizing women to stand up against the patriarchal situation that women encounter, but there should be a stimulating environment where women are encouraged to engage in other activities besides trainings.

The interest among women in vocational trainings has been significant so there is clearly demand for this type of activities for women. Based upon the general findings and the findings from chapter 5 and 6 that concern the vocational trainings , several recommendations have been defined for SAATH. The first recommendations concern the type of trainings that should be given at the center according to women themselves. Thereafter, recommendations that concern the organization of the center in general will be provided. This is partly based on the constraints that women have mentioned and partly on more general constraints that have been defined during the research.

The most important recommendation to SAATH is that the type of trainings should correspond to the interest of women. Several courses that are already provided in the UMEED and Yuva MAST centers have proven to be interesting for women, but women also proposed other courses. Computer courses such as data entry operator, tally account assistant and IT software (DTP and ITES) should be included in the trainings because women have been interested in this. These courses are aimed at placing women in a company after the training, so it is important that SAATH finds companies close to Juhapura for these women. Many women are only able to go out during the day and most prefer to work close to their home because they feel uncomfortable with travelling, or travel expenses may be too high. In order to participate in this type of courses at UMEED or Yuva MAST, people need to have finished at least 7th or 8th standard. This is quite high for women from Juhapura because not all have finished primary school and they would therefore be excluded from the computer-related trainings. Although it is clear that some education is needed to understand the courses, maybe it would be more interesting to lower the minimum level of education needed to reach more women.

The following existing courses have received most interest by women and do not require a minimum level of education, namely beauty parlor and mehendi design, although some women said that they would be more interested in learning only mehendi design. Women are mainly interested in these trainings because it enables them to work at home. As has been shown throughout the research, most women prefer to work at home instead of in a company or any other public accommodation.

Besides the existing courses, women also suggested other courses for the training center. Clearly, the most mentioned course is tailoring and stitching. Although many women already possess this skill in Juhapura, many others would be very interested in learning it too. Some organizations already provide these type of courses to women and they emphasized the continuous demand for this training. Fashion design courses have also been mentioned by a large number of women. The combination of these two types of trainings would provide women with a valuable skill. Furthermore, they can do this work at home which is preferable for most women. Some other courses suggested by women also enable work at home and could be interesting as well, such as cooking and handwork in general.

As has been emphasized throughout the research, it is important that trainings provide work to women that they could do at home because they generally prefer it. It is more suited to their position and responsibility towards the home and family members, especially children. The trainings aimed at enabling women to start to work at home should include a connection to the market, but in a different manner than the existing UMEED and Yuva MAST programs. Several options could be explored with women.

On a small scale, women can be self-employed. Women should learn about the basic functioning of the market and pricing mechanisms to enable them to start working from home for themselves. Women would then be able to buy material needed for production, work it at home, and sell it to neighbors and family members at a fair price. They could also learn some basic marketing techniques to increase awareness of their work in the neighborhood and surrounding areas.

On a larger scale, women can be self-employed and sell their goods in a somewhat more formal place. Women could for example be stimulated to start a small business collectively where they can sell the products they make at home together. However, this could lead to situations where women

have to face people they do not know and this can be quite uncomfortable for them. Nevertheless, this could be mitigated if women work together because they may feel stronger as a group. Furthermore, risks related to the investment would also be shared by more persons and the initial investment will be lower, which could motivate more women to start up such a small business. Besides providing trainings, the center should also inform women about the micro finance services that are provided in Juhapura by different organizations. Overall, awareness about this type of services is low among women.

Furthermore, women could work for salesmen. In this case, a salesman can provide work to the women. Several women in Juhapura have said that they earned money as such by making kites and rakhi. The salesman leaves an order at the women and picks it up after some time to sell it on the market. Women can stay at home to work and do not need to be in uncomfortable situations with others. However, they would probably receive less for their work because of sales commissions. The RWeaves program of SAATH is based upon a similar approach and this could be replicated to the case of women in Juhapura.

Besides these possibilities to connect women to the market, SAATH should also explore the market to define whether there are companies that could provide work to women at home. Companies that make fabrics, clothes and other textile products should be approached. This situation is more similar to the UMEED and Yuva MAST programs, but it is unclear whether companies would be willing to work in such a way with employees. It is a possibility that should be explored because it would be a very interesting option.

The organization of the training in itself will be considered next. First, women are all willing to pay a fee for the training because they perceive it as an investment. The amount of 500 rupees is a little higher in comparison to the fees asked by other training centers in Juhapura, but it does not differ much. In some periods of the year, the household expenses might be higher than usual for women, for example the holidays and the beginning of the new school-year for children, so this could be taken into account by providing courses at other times in the year.

Second, the duration of the training should be three months because this corresponds most to women's interests. Most of the women are willing to take a course of three months because they believe that they will learn it better. A training of three months also gives more space to consider other courses. As has been mentioned in chapter 6, some women would like to have computer or English classes and these could be provided next to the main training. Furthermore, the life-skills that are part of the existing livelihood programs should also be given in this training, although it should include the particular issues that women from Juhapura encounter such as marriage, personal law and religion. In order to address this type of issues and to support women that are unable to participate in trainings due to personal obstacles, the center could also provide a counseling center to help women and to mediate between them en their families or husband.

Third, women have defined several constraints to their participation in trainings and work. Although some of these obstacles have been very personal and difficult to address, others can be included in the organization of the vocational training center to stimulate engagement among women. As such, the most desirable time for trainings would be between 12.00 and 17.00 o'clock. Women perform the household work in the morning and take care of their children before and after school so this is

the moment of the day that is most suited to participate in a training. Furthermore, trainings should not take too much time, about 2 to 3 hours per day at most. Some women also mentioned obstacles that could hamper them to go to the trainings for some days and this can be addressed by the center by allowing women to stay at home for a particular number of days during the whole training. Children can also be an obstacle to women's engagement in trainings because they cannot leave them alone and might have difficulties to find somebody to look after them. A solution to this is to provide a day-care center next to the training where women can leave their children during the training. With respect to the location of the center, a suggestion is to set it up in a place where women do not have access to many other facilities and activities. Many organizations are located in and around Sanklitnagar, but the women that live in other areas do not have easily access to this and transportation is a big issue in the more remote and newer areas in Juhapura. Finally, it is very important that SAATH uses its experience in development to address the lack of awareness among women of vocational training and community centers. This would greatly stimulate their engagement.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Questionnaire for Women

This questionnaire will be used for research purposes on a young women development program in Juhapura. Please answer the questions by ticking a box or by writing down, depending on the type of question. Your answers will be treated confidentially. Thank you for your participation.

General questions

1. Can you describe your family/household situation in the most accurate way by filling in the table below?

Name	Gender	Relation to you (Parents, husband, children, …)	Age	Literate (yes/no)	Type of education followed (formal, non-formal, informal)	Highest level of education acquired	Current occupation (formal, informal, type)	Marital status (married, engaged, single, widow, separated) Since?

2. In which area in Juhapura are you living? …………………

3. Since when are you living in this area (in years)? …………………

4. Was or will your marriage be arranged?

- ❑ Yes

- ❑ No

5. What are the media that you have access to/that you are exposed to?

- ❑ Radio: …………………

- ❑ Television: …………………

- ❑ Newspaper: …………………

❏ Internet: …………………

6. Are you aware of the existence of a community center in your living area? (MFI: SAATH Bachat, URC,…)

❏ Yes

❏ No

7. Do you make use of the community center?

❏ Yes, for what purposes? …………………

❏ No, why not? …………………

Questions related to vocational training

8. What is (are) the main reason(s) you quitted education? …………………

9. Are you aware of vocational training programs in Ahmedabad (such as UMEED, Yuva MAST,…) that provide placement in a company?

❏ Yes

❏ No

10. Are you interested in following a vocational training?

❏ Yes

❏ No, why not? …………………

11. What type of training would you be interested in? (more than one choice possible)

IT Enabled Services	*Customer Relations and Sales*	*Hospitality Management*
❏ Data Entry Operator	❏ Telemarketing Executive	❏ Waitress
❏ Web Designer	❏ Sales Executive/ Customer Relations and Sales	❏ Food and Beverage Manager
❏ Database Manager	❏ Showroom Sales Person	❏ Housekeeping
❏ Internet Café Manager	❏ Market Surveyor	❏ Front Office Assistant
❏ IT Software (Desktop Publisher/IT Enabled Services) (MS Office, Pacemaker)	❏ Counter Sales Person	
❏ Tally Account Assistant	❏ Field Promotion Agent	
❏ IT Hardware and Networking		
❏ Oracle (Database system)		*Other Courses*
		❏ Tie and Dye
Business Process Outsourcing	*Bed Side Patient Assistant*	❏ Retail Management
❏ Call Response Assistant	❏ Bed Side Patient Assistant	❏ Office Administration
❏ Call Center Executive	❏ Geriatrics	❏ Beauty Parlour & Mehendi Design
	❏ Small Child Care (at home)	❏ Electrician

12. Is there any other course that you might be interested in that is not in the list?

- ❑ Yes: …………………
- ❑ No

13. Are you willing to pay an amount of 500 rupees for such a training? (Household Income)

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No, why not? …………………

14. What is the amount of time you would be willing to spend on such a training?

- ❑ One month (without government certificate)
- ❑ Three months (with government certificate)
- ❑ Does not matter

15. Can you define the main obstacle(s) to your participation in such a training? …………………

16. Would you agree to participate in a focus group to discuss this theme?

- ❑ Yes (please answer question 18 or 19)
- ❑ No

17. Would you allow me to map one day in your life?

- ❑ Yes (please answer question 18 or 19)
- ❑ No, why not? …………………

18. What is your phone number? …………………

19. What is your address? …………………

Appendix 2. Questionnaire for Schools and Education Centers

School	
Area	
Classes	
Contact person	
Contact details	

1. How many children are enrolled in your school? Per class? Male/Female ratio?

2. From which areas do people come to this school? And how? Are there any issues?

3. Until what age is education obliged? Average years spend in the school?

4. What is the main reason for dropping out among boys and girls?

5. Is there a selection procedure? What is the education fee? (Including everything)
Which facilities are provided by this school?

6. Can you describe the curriculum?

7. Which facilities are provided by this school?

8. How is education scheduled?

9. How would you describe the situation of girls in the school?

10. How would you describe the relationship between teachers and students? Between teachers and parents/family?

11. What are the main concerns among students about their future?

12. Additional notes

Appendix 3. Interviews with Community Centers and Vocational Training Centers

Name	
Date	
Area	
Contact Person	
Contact address and website	

1. What are the main activities of the organization?

2. What is the aim of the organization? (Women, men,…)

3. Trainings: type of training, participants, selection, costs, …

4. Why is the organization located in Juhapura? How would you describe the situation in Juhapura?

5. What is the link between the organization and the market in general? Provision of work?

6. Do you operate with other organizations in Juhapura? In Ahmedabad?

7. What are the main issues faced by your organization?

Appendix 4. In-depth Interviews with Women

Name	
Age	
Living area	
Marital Status	
Date	

1. What is your life history? When did you come to live here? Riots?...

2. How would you describe your family situation, relations?

3. How would you describe your living area and Juhapura in general? How do you feel there?

4. What do you miss in Juhapura? What would you like to change in Juhapura?

5. How does your daily life look like?

6. How would you describe your position in the household?

7. How would you describe your participation in the household? In making decisions?		
8. Self-initiated, shared decisions with others	*Degrees of participation*	
7. Self-initiated and directed		
6. Other-initiated, shared decisions with self		
5. Consulted and informed		
4. Assigned but informed		
3. Tokenism	*Non-participation*	
2. Decoration		
1. Manipulation		

Participation ladder, adapted from Hart, 1997.

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8. How do you consider education for yourself and for your children? What is the importance of:

- Primary school?

- High school?

- Higher Secondary school?

- College?

- Religious education?

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9. Do you go outside the house and outside Juhapura?

10. How important is working for you, either inside or outside the house? Have you ever worked?

11. What are your dreams and aspirations for the future?

12. How do you see yourself in the future?

Appendix 5. Discussion Topics for Focus-Groups

Life in Juhapura: general issues and environment	- Travelling and transport - Education (access and availability) - Health centers - Other facilities, community centers,… - Housing - Community Life - Riots - Safety
Position of women	- Women and Islam - Position in the household, society - Going out of the house: activities, issues,… - Marriage
Education	- Importance (for self and children) - Work and income - Work at home, work outside - Reasons for suggested trainings

Appendix 6. Questionnaires for Husbands

This questionnaire will be used for research purposes on a young women development program in Juhapura. Please answer the questions by ticking a box or by writing down, depending on the type of question. Your answers will be treated confidentially. Thank you for your participation.

General questions

1. Can you describe your family/household situation in the most accurate way by filling in the table below?

Name	Gender	Relation to you (Parents, wife, children, …)	Age	Literate (yes/no)	Type of education followed (formal, non-formal, informal)	Highest level of education acquired	Current occupation (formal, informal, type)	Marital status (married, engaged, single, widow, separated) **Since?**

2. In which area in Juhapura are you living? …………………

3. Since when are you living in this area (in years)? …………………

4. What are your family's/household's monthly earnings (estimation in Rs.)? …………………

5. What are your family's/household's total monthly expenditures (estimation in Rs.)? …………………

6. What are the media that you have access to/that you are exposed to?

- ❑ Radio: …………………
- ❑ Television: …………………
- ❑ Newspaper: …………………
- ❑ Internet: …………………

7. Are you aware of a community center in your living area? (MFI: SAATH Bachat, URC,…)

❑ Yes

❑ No

8. Do you make use of the community center?

❑ Yes, for what purposes? …………………

❑ No, why not? …………………

Questions related to vocational training

9. Do you find it important for your wife to have acquired education?

❑ Yes, because: …………………

❑ No, why not? …………………

10. At what age did your wife quit school? …………………

11. What is (are) the main reason(s) that your wife has quitted school? …………………

12. Would you like your wife to contribute to the household income?

❑ Yes, because: …………………

❑ No, why not? …………………

13. What are your future family plans? (Children, job, …)…………………

14. Would you allow your wife to follow a customized training that would place her in a company?

❑ Yes

❑ No, why not? …………………

15. Would you allow your wife to participate in a mixed program (with men and women)?

❑ Yes

❑ No, why not? …………………

16. Which courses would you allow your wife to follow? (more than one choice possible)

IT Enabled Services	Customer Relations and Sales	Hospitality Management
❑ Data Entry Operator	❑ Telemarketing Executive	❑ Waitress
❑ Web Designer	❑ Sales Executive/ Customer Relations and Sales	❑ Food and Beverage Manager
❑ Database Manager	❑ Showroom Sales Person	❑ Housekeeping
❑ Internet Café Manager	❑ Market Surveyor	❑ Front Office Assistant
❑ Desktop Publisher/IT Enabled Services (MS Office, Pacemaker)	❑ Counter Sales Person	
❑ Tally Account Assistant	❑ Field Promotion Agent	
❑ IT Hardware and Networking		
❑ Oracle (Database system)		
Business Process Outsourcing	Bed Side Patient Assistant	Other Courses
❑ Call Response Assistant	❑ Bed Side Patient Assistant	❑ Tie and Dye
❑ Call Center Executive	❑ Geriatrics	❑ Retail Management
	❑ Small Child Care (at home)	❑ Office Administration
		❑ Beauty Parlour & Mehendi Design
		❑ Electrician

17. Is there any other course that you might be interested in for your wife that is not in the list?

❑ Yes: …………………

❑ No

18. Are you willing to pay an amount of 500 rupees for such a training for your wife?

❑ Yes

❑ No, why not? …………………

19. Can you define any obstacles to participation in a training and in work?

20. How do you consider life in Juhapura, in general?

Appendix 7. Field Inventory

GENERAL INFORMATION		
Area		
Date		
Size		
Number of Inhabitants		
Number of Youth		
Main Religion		
	PHYSICAL CONDITIONS	FUNCTIONAL CONDITIONS
Roads		
Sidewalk		
Water		
Sanitation		
Electricity		
Gas		
Sewerage		
Schools		
Health Centers		
Housing		
Places of Worship		
Community Center		
Transportation		
Communication		
Street Lightning		
Green Areas		
Other		