

THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BHUTAN

A STUDY OF SARPANG DISTRICT

Dissertation

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Award of the Degree of

Master of History



Submitted By:

Dupthup Zangmo

Reg. No. 11605794

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Manu Sharma

Associate Professor

Department of History

UID -16179

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES

LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY

PUNJAB, INDIA – 1444411

(2016-2017)

I

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BHUTAN: A STUDY OF SARPANG DISTRICT”, is confided and original work done by Dupthup Zangmo, a student of Lovely Professional University, Punjab, under my supervision and guidance.

The subject of this dissertation is an original contribution towards the discipline of History and has not previously formed the basis for the award of the Degree, Diploma, Associated ship, and fellowship or another similar title to any candidate.

The Dissertation represents entirely an independent work of the candidate under my guidance.

Date-

Place-

Signature of Supervisor

(Dr. Manu Sharma)

(Associate Professor, Lovely Professional University)

II
DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree/diploma.

Signed:

Date:

Statement 1

This research is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for M.A. History from the Lovely professional university.

Signed:

Date:

Statement 2

This research is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by giving explicit references.

Signed:

Date:

III

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This work is the collective effort of various people and institutions. Firstly I would like to thank Sarpang Dzongkhag authority for approving me to carry out my research in the Gewogs and heartfelt of gratitude to all the Gewog administration heads especially those eight Gewogs for rendering full support and cooperation. My research won't have been successfully completed without the support of Mr.Sonam Wangdi, the Dzongkhag Electoral Officer of Sarpang Dzongkhag. I would like to extend my heart full gratitude to him for providing me with the informative data and figures and also in sharing his ideas and knowledge on the topic. And I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all the principal, teachers, and others who showed their interest and gave their valuable time and had enough patience for answering my questions.

Following are some important people whom I would like to acknowledge:

- i. Mr Tshering of Serzhong(Gup)
- ii. Mr Yonten Jamtsho of Chhudzom (Gewog Administration Officer)
- iii. Mr Shankarlal of Chhudzom (Teacher)
- iv. Mr Rinzin Dorji of Samtenling (Principal)
- v. Mr Tenzin Wangchuk of Samtenling (Teacher)
- vi. Mr Karma Wangchuk of Samtenling (Teacher)
- vii. Mr Sonam Chophel of Samtenling (Teacher)
- viii. Mr Sacha Wangdi of Umling (Teacher)
- ix. Miss. Tshering Yangzom of Umling
- x. Mr Tashi Phuntsho of Tareythang (Teacher)
- xi. Mr Rinchen of Senggey (Teacher)
- xii. Mr Pema Lethro of Chhuzanggang (Teacher)
- xiii. Mr Sangay Tenzin of Chhuzanggang (Teacher)

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the most important person, my research guide Dr. Manu Sharma for the unwavering and consistent support, dedication and help in providing me with the profound knowledge, ideas and information in bringing out the completion of my dissertation, without the proper guidance and assistance from her I won't be able to complete my dissertation. I, therefore, owe her infinite appreciation and thankfulness.

My sincere appreciation also goes to my friend Tshering Wangmo's mom for the hospitality she rendered during my stay at her place. I owe a big 'thank you' to my brothers Yeshe and

Sonam Gamtsho for rendering their helping hand in entering the data. Likewise, I also like to thank my friend Angel Anu for helping me out in editing the research. And none the less, I would like to thank my cousin brother Tashi (Gup of Khaling Gewog, Tashigang district) for helping in sharing his views on past, present and future scenario of women in the Local Government.

Date: 28, November 2017

Place: Phagwara

Name of the Candidate: **Dupthup Zangmo**

IV

ABBREVIATION

BBS	Bhutan Broadcasting Service
BNEW	Bhutan Network for Empowering Women
DIPD	Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy
ECB	Election Commission of Bhutan
FLT	Functional Literacy Test
GNH	Gross National Happiness
IMS	Institute for Management Studies
MoHCA	Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NCWC	National Commission for Women and Children
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

V

GLOSSARY OF BHUTANESE TERMS

Chiwog	Village
Dzongkhag	District
Dzongkha	National Language
Dzongda	District Head
Gewog	County
Gup	Elected County Head
Mangmi	Elected Deputy Head
Tshogpa	Elected Representative of a Chiwog
Thromdes	Municipalities
Thromde thuemis	Municipality Head

VI

ABSTRACT

The study focuses on the participation of Women in Local Government in Sarpang district. It examines the reason why fewer women are coming forward to participate in Local government particularly focused on Sarpang district. The 80 samples were collected randomly from eight Gewogs (county) in the Dzongkhag, from elected, non-elected and voters women who participated in 2016 election. 10 each sample were collected from every Gewogs. The samples collected were analyzed and interpreted and the result found indicates that Sarpang district still faces the challenge of less participation of women in the Local government but the number of participants has increased from the last election held. The reasons behind for less participation were because of the financial problem, lack of support from the people, domestic responsibilities, less participation in various activities related to the election, fear and shame of losing the election and less number of women who appeared for FLT. The few of the suggestion put forward to encourage more participation of women as a candidates were by providing them with enough training on building self-confidence and more practices in public speaking, support from the people, educating people on the capabilities of women were most of the important aspects were more women can be inspired to participate.

If everything said above were in place, more women will be contesting in future since more than 50% of the women are interested to take part in the election.

Key Words: Women, Local Government and Sarpang District

TABLE OF CONTENT

Sl.No	Title	Page No.
i.	Certificate	I
ii.	Declaration	II
iii.	Acknowledgment	III
iv.	Abbreviation	IV
v.	Glossary	V
vi.	Abstract	VI
vii.	Chapter 1: Introduction to Local Government of Bhutan	11-20
	1.1.Introduction	11-19
	1.2.Objectives	19-20
viii.	Chapter 2: Literature Review and Research Methodology	22-28
	2.1. Literature Review	22-27
	2.2. Research methodology	27
	2.3. Area and Sample	28
ix.	Chapter 3: Result Analysis and Outcomes	30-57
	3.1. Demographic and Economic Status	30-35
	3.2. Measures for less participation of women	35-38
	3.3. Responses from the women candidate	39-44
	3.4. Perception of women by women and community	44-53
	3.5. Research Outcome	54-57
ix	Chapter 4: Conclusion and Recommendation	59-61
	4.1. Conclusion	59-60
	4.2. Recommendation	60
	4.3. Limitation	61
X	References	62-63



CHAPTER I



INTRODUCTION

1.1. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BHUTAN

The Local government is the most important body in the functioning of a small geographically area which is the closest form of government, administrating effectively by reaching to its every individual people of the society of the nation. According to the dictionary meaning, “Local government is defined as the people who have the authority to make decisions or pass laws in a small geographic area near to them”. A Local government may be loosely defined as a public organization authorized to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a subdivision of a regional or national government. Local government is at the bottom of a pyramid of governmental institutions, with the national government at the top and intermediate governments (states, regions, provinces) occupying the middle range. Normally, local government has general jurisdiction and is not confined to the performance of one specific function or service. (Lockard, 2008).

Country’s overall growth fully depend upon how well its towns and cities have urbanized and developed over the years. And this development will happen only if every citizen of the nation both men and women collaboratively and jointly work towards the common goal. They have the equal rights of shouldering the responsibilities of carrying out the task of development activities of the nation. Equal participation of women in all spheres of development activities is a must for the upbringing of the nation. They represent about half of the country’s population and therefore got absolute right and authority to take part equally based on their capacity in every field be it in private sectors or in government or any decision-making level in the national or at the local level.

Gender issues in the societies restrict women from indulging in the decision making in the forum of a so-called ‘man’s world’ which is indeed believed to be created by societies themselves. Women feel and believe that beyond the wall outside their home, is the men’s domain and should restrict oneself involving in it. Of a few decades ago, women were considered to be someone who is responsible only for private matters and was locked within the four walls of the family. They were never given the equal rights in the decision making in all levels of life, be in family matters. Their job was just to bore babies and be housewives and take care of the household chores. They were considered unqualified for any field of

decision making. This type of stereotypes conditioned women to feel that they are incapable and incompetent to men.

(NCWC, 2012) A study was done on women's participation in 2011 local government elections which supports this point, in which a society where gender stereotypes and attitudes have got deep-rooted, women are depicted as being less capable than men and therefore a large number of women seem to believe to be the fact and hence leads to women often having lower self-esteem. But as time changed, the mentality of people also changed. They began to value and respect the women, firstly as their rights as human being. Secondly, they started honouring women's competency and capabilities in all fields. Thirdly they supported and assisted the women in all levels of bodies of decision making.

The first democratic elections in Bhutan that is in the Parliament level began in 2007 which gave the women a grand opportunity to get out of the horizon of four walls of the family. Bhutan for many years was an absolute monarchy. The era of absolute monarchy began in the year 1907 when Bhutan got its first ever hereditary king. The country remains as a monarch until the year 2008. The year 2008 is considered in the history of the country as a peaceful transition of king's absolute power to its citizens and this could happen when the fourth king, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck abdicated the throne for his eldest son Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck. Bhutan's government is now a democratic constitutional monarchy but the foundation of this democratization was vivid from the year 1953 when the third king, His late Majesty Jigme Dorji Wangchuck established the country's legislature-a 130- member National Assembly (Parliament). The introduction of the legislature was to promote a more democratic form of governance. It was firstly a unicameral parliament. Further, in 1965, he founded a Royal Advisory council and after three years that is in 1968 he formed a Cabinet. In 1971, the late King authorized the National Assembly to remove him or any of his successors with a two-thirds majority. In the year 1998, the fourth king also followed the same trend of transferring most of his administrative powers to the Council of Cabinet Ministers which allowed the summoned of the king by a two-third majority of the National Assembly. (Bhutan .n.d.)

The king, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk is greatly known internationally for his philosophy of GNH. Among the four pillars of GNH, 'Good governance' is one of the most important pillars of the development of the country. Good governance reflects its true sense when it is operated democratically which shows greater efficiency, transparency, and

accountability aiming for the well-being of its people. Therefore the king fully contented with Bhutan's peaceful transition to a democracy, issued a Royal Edict on 9th December 2006, announcing his abdication and transferred the throne to his eldest son Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, who was officially crowned on 6 November 2008, in Punakha. Bhutan thus became one of the youngest Democratic country.

Before the abdication, the king Jigme Singye Wangchuck declared his reason of abdicating the throne during the National day celebration on 17th December 2005, which was in favour of his son. The king wanted his son to have full hands-on experience as the nation's leader before actually holding over the country's new form of government. The king also pronounced that there will be elections in 2008 and in the same year Bhutan's constitution was implemented. But in 2007 as the king removed the ban on political parties, the elections for the Upper House were held. According to the national newspaper, Kuensel, the king stated to his cabinet of ministers that as long as he is there presiding over the throne, "the Crown Prince would not gain the actual experience of dealing with issues and carrying out the responsibilities of the head of state. With parliamentary democracy to be established in 2008, there was much to be done; so it was necessary that he gained this valuable experience."("History Of Bhutan," n.d.).

On September 11th 2009, the parliament of Bhutan acted 'the Local Government Act of Bhutan' in order to decentralize and transfer the power and authority of the state to the small geographic area. The endorsement of the Act was important because of centralized government who usually unknowing ignores the local communities' needs and aspiration like providing basic facilities and services and maintenance of law and order and this happens chiefly because of its huge gap between them. Government tends to react only if it is closer and nearer to its people. Therefore decentralization was crucial because it reaches to every nook and corner voices of the population and creates an efficient and reliable administration, strengthens and improves local development and better ensures and protects the rights of the local citizens to have a voice in government.

The law enacted has decentralized its power to the administrative divisions of 20 Dzongkhag which is headed by the Dzungda who is responsible to the Ministry of Home and Affairs. Dzongkhag is further divided into Dzungkhags and each Dzungkhag is divided into several Gewog. There are about 205 gewogs in total headed each by Gup. Each village for its easy

convenient for the basic electoral purpose is divided into Chiwogs. Some areas are designated as Thromdes and they function on the same administrative level as the gewogs.

After the endorsement of “The Local Government Act of Bhutan”, the very first Local Government Elections was held in June 2011, originally scheduled for 2008. Between 2008 and 2011, recruitment and retention of Tshogpas, or local government council members, remained a serious issue. Since election being for the first time, they were being obstructed because of lack of interest and lack of economic incentives to difficulty in fulfilment and obtaining approval under existing election laws. The functional literacy and skills test alone left many constituencies without the minimum of two candidates, leading to a lengthy delay of the local government elections of 2011. In ‘Local Government Elections 2011 (Press Release, ECB/NOTIF-01/2011/026’), total vacancies for the Local Government Elections 2011 by Post and Dzongkhag are mentioned.

The then Chief Election Commissioner of Bhutan Dasho Kunzang Wangdi described it as “teething problems” since he said the country is a beginner in the democratic process, the culture and the mentality of the people had yet to come in tune with the democratic processes. “Until 2008, things were done by the king and the government and that mentality is still prevalent. People have taken comfort since the parliamentary government was formed-they do not need to worry.”(Sherpa,2011).

Women got the opportunity to come forward and take part in the first ever election held. They started to take part in all spheres of government and political leadership positions. They got the chance to raise her voice of rights in the society and this challenged the society. Thus women proved that societal structures are not inflexible but can be changed and moulded with the change in time. And also it can be changed as the way one wants within the given framed law, which is working towards the betterment and improvement of the society and nation as a whole.

Their number was initially less but it faintly increased as the years rolled by. But still, their representative is less as compared to men in parliamentary and as well as in local government in the modern age. Therefore it has become the area of concern regarding the less participation of women in the decision-making level as it has found out crucial and important for every citizen to take part equally in the process for the successful flow of the constitutional democratic system. As a result of every decision-making levels, there’s always a talk on the needs to build up women’s political participation and the ways and methods and various skills needed to improve for future. Bhutan is considered to have a very high level of

gender equality as compared to other South Asian countries but still, they lack women's representation in local government and parliament.

The year 2011, in the history of Bhutan, is considered to be a crucial year for citizens of the country especially women in particular as it was the year where women from a grassroots level advent in the decision-making forum. The result was not fair from a gender perspective. There was a total of 1102 representatives and only 99 female candidates were elected to the respective post and the rest candidates were all male. The study carried out by the NCWC of Bhutan on women's participation in 2011's local government election had found out that women's are portrayed as less capable than men. And the very reason behind was that there were only 1 women out of 1102 who got the opportunity to be in the post of a local leader and 12 women for the Mangmi out of the total of 205. Party worker holds only 2 numbers whereas for the post of Tshogpa there were 86 female representatives which were more than any other post.

The first round of the functional literacy and skills test left many Gewogs in Bhutan with no representatives, though second-round results showed a pass rate of 90%. Although women elected to office remained relatively few, more than half of voters in initial local government elections were women. In initial local-level voting in 2011, voter turnout was about 50%. This has raised the question of whether women would benefit from quotas in public service, highlighting the need to encourage further female electoral and political participation. ("Bhutanese local government elections,2011," n.d.)

According to research done by Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (2016), currently, Bhutan amongst the 8 SAARC nations (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) is experiencing as one of the worst in the field of women's political participation. Maran Ja Seng Hkawn, MP from Kachin Myanmar, commented that "Today there are many different types of barriers some changes require firm action from current political party leadership, but other changes are in the hands of women themselves to initiate". DIPD director, Rasmus Helveg Peterssen, stressed the need for cooperation and not just competition among political parties to bring about changes. Yeshi choden, the member of Peoples Democratic Party pointed out that mentoring programs for women candidates and MP's, gender reviews of party manifesto and increase in party nomination of women for political positions.

There seem to be various reasons for women not being able to participate in the politics in local as well as in state level. It's very important to find the reason why women participate

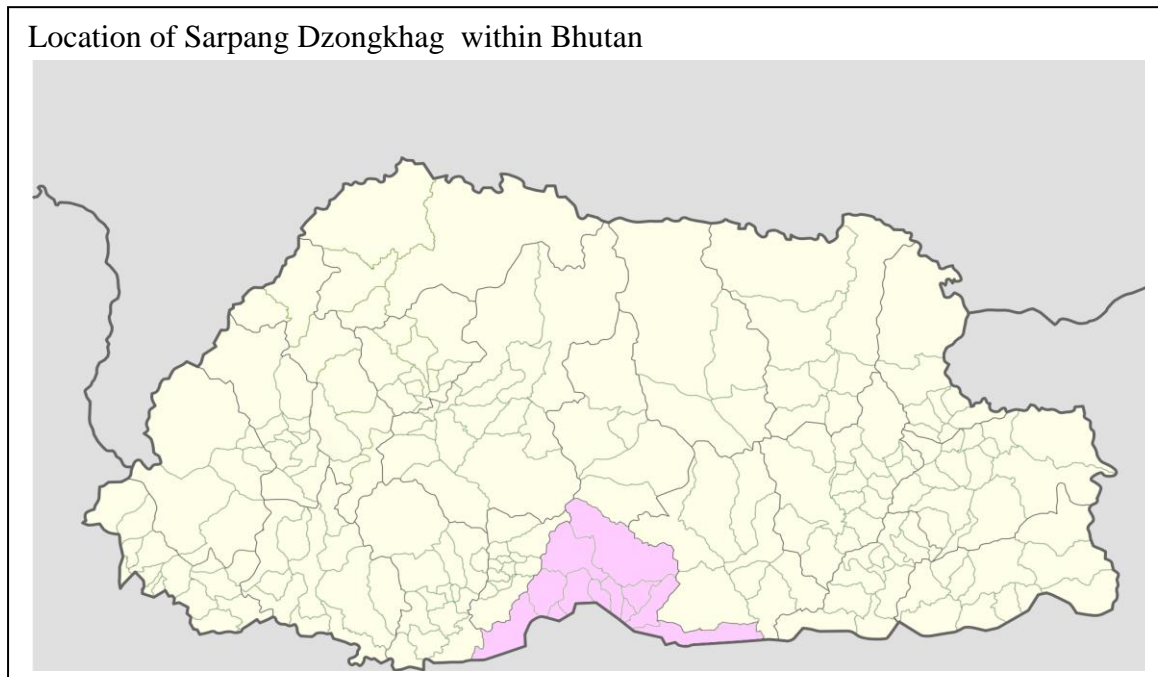
less in number and need to examine measures to increase their participation in government at all levels. If nothing is taken care of, women tend to get to their old horizon of family walls and there will be little change or slow move in the development activities of the place. Their increase in representation in the politics can empower women and also achieve gender equality. BNEW has been established mainly as a result of the need to develop women's political participation and to improve their methods and skills in the field. It was the outcome of first-ever National consultation of elected women representatives organized in March 2012 by Department of Local Government (MoHCA) and NCWC with support from DIPD and UN Women (also known as the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women). The aim and goal of BNEW were of getting more women inspired to participate and to be elected in politics at local government and national levels.

Bhutan is embedded by its great philosophy 'Gross National Happiness', which is supported by four pillars namely, *Environmental Conservation, Good Governance, Preservation and Promotion of Culture, Sustainable Socio-economic Development*. 'Good Governance' is considered a pillar of happiness as it decides the conditions in which Bhutanese boom. It will operate aptly only when it is democratically managed by its citizens irrespective of its gender, jointly working towards the goal.

In the local election that was held in 2011, the women representation was relatively poor. There was extreme under-representation of women at the highest local position (Gups) compared to other posts in the local government because of few candidates that stood for the election. The various researchers and studies found out by researchers, scholars, historians etc had discovered that there exists a 'glass ceiling' a metaphor for unseen hurdles that prevent women for the highest positions. So, therefore, it compels the needs of active measures to break that unseen hurdles.

This study is mainly focused on Sarpang Dzongkhag, as so far there wasn't done any research on the participation of women in the Local government. The study is centred on reasons for less participation of women in the decision making level, the changing scenario of female representatives especially in regards to the two ever election held so far. The difficulties and challenges faced by women in politics and the measures and actions for the improvement of their participation in the local government. This study will pave more ways for further research on this subject and will open various methods and solutions for better representation of women in Local government especially in regards to Sarpang district.

Figure 1.1



(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sarpang_District from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia)

Sarpang also known as Gelephu is one of the districts among 20 Dzongkhag (district) of Bhutan. It lies in the southern zone of Himalaya foothills. The dominant language is Nepali (Lhotshampa), an Indo-European language spoken by the heterogeneous Lhotshampa community. Besides Lhotshampa, Kheng language is also spoken in the northeastern parts of the district. There consist of some Sharshops and Ngalungs who came from eastern and northwestern parts of Bhutan respectively who got resettled during the late twentieth century.

The district is divided into twelve gewogs. Most parts of Sarpang is covered with environmental protected areas. The far western Sarpang (Senggye Gewog) lies within the uninhabited Phibsoo Wildlife Sanctuary along the Indian border. Jigme Singye Wangchuck National Parks is located in the northern Sarpang(Jigmechhoeling Gewog), and in eastern and southeastern Sarpang (Jigmechhoeling, Tarethang, Umling Gewogs) lie the Royal Manas National Park. And all these three environmental protected areas are connected to each other.(Sarpang District, 2016)

Lhotshampa are those sections of people who migrated from Nepal through Sikkim and West Bengal in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were settled in the six districts of southern Bhutan, Samtse, Chukha, Dagapela, Samdrup Jongkhar and Gelephu districts. Most of these Lhotshampas couldn't adjust to the tradition and cultures of the indigenous people, fled the country. As a result, the Royal Government of Bhutan decided to

redistribute the lands of the Bhutanese refugees to the landless Bhutanese people. Therefore the resettlement programme was first started in 1993 and then in 1997. It continued with its scheme up to the early twenty-first century. (Basu, n.d.).

Due to the presence of a majority of Lhotshampa still existing in Sarpang district, the participation from their part in the Local Government election was very less. Those who participated were mostly who were the resettled population who came from East and Northeast parts of Bhutan. The sample for the study was from eight Gewogs among the twelve Gewogs collected according to the convenience of the study. The Gewogs chosen were Samtenling, Chuudzom, Chuzangang, Jigmechoeling, Senggye, Serzhong, Tareythang and Umling. The samples collected from each gewog was ten from those elected, non-elected and voters women of the given gewog. The total collected was eighty.

Chuudzom is the remotest gewog among the twelve gewogs of Sarpang district. Towards the far extreme north of Sarpang lies Jigmechoeling and to the far extreme west of it lies Senggye gewog. Serzhong Tareythang, Senggye and Umling are more of re-settlement Bhutanese people. But in Chuuzom there are not a single resettlement people. The gewog comprises of purely Lhotshampas.

Following table 1.1 is the list of women who participated in 2016 Local government election.

Table 1.1 (Source: Election office, Sarpang Dzongkhag)

Sl. no	Gewog	Aspiring			Primary round (Nominated Candidate)			General round (Elected)		
		Gup	Mangmi	Tshogpa	Gup	Mangmi	Tshogpa	Gup	Mangmi	Tshogpa
1.	Chhudzom	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2.	Chuzangang	0	1	6	0	0	6	0	0	0
3.	Jigmechhoeling	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4.	Samtenling	0	2	3	0	1	2	0	0	1
5.	Senggye	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	3
6.	Serzhong	1	0	6	1	0	6	0	0	0
7.	Tareythang	1	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	3
8.	Umling	0	1	7	0	0	7	0	0	1
Total		2	5	33	1	1	32	0	0	8
Grand total		40			34			8		

The table above clearly shows less participation of women in the local government held in 2016 especially for the position of Gup. Only two turns up for the election in which one gets nominated for the post in the primary round but in the final round, none is being elected. Similarly, for the post of Mangmi, there were initially five who registered, one gets nominated but unfortunately was not elected. In case of Tshogpa, which is the lowest rank in the local government, there turn out to be thirty-three as an aspiring candidate in which thirty-two gets nominated but in the final round, just eight of them got elected.

Altogether the women who participated in the election were forty and only eight got elected in the final round of the election. It is very less number of representation when compared to man counterpart. But it is a good figure of improvement of women's participation in the local government election when compared to that of the first-ever election held in 2011. There were only about few numbers of women who participated for the post of Tshogpa and four of them got elected. Whereas only one woman contested for the post of Mangmi and wasn't through. But for the post of Gup, no women participated.

According to the study by NCWC on Participation of Women in 2011 Local Government Election, it states that voters significantly voted for male Mangmi candidates and not at all for female gups and Thromde thuemis, which indicated that voters were willing to vote for female candidates at the lowest positions in the Local government offices, there is very reluctance on the part of the same voters to elect female candidates for the more coveted Local government positions. (*Kuensel online*, 16 October 2012)

1.2. Objectives of the Research

There was no as such research conducted before pertaining to Sarpang district regarding the participation of women in the Local government. It was a great opportunity to uncover the hidden secret of Sarpang women's less participation in the local government bodies. Thus the research study on this field was mainly undertaken to highlight the possible reasons and issues related and the potential outcomes of tackling with such issues and the right decisions to encourage maximum participation of women in the decision-making forums.

Keeping in view of the above statement, the study focuses on fulfilling certain objectives while carrying out the research. The study seeks to identify the possible impacts of various factors that hamper women's participation in the decision-making levels. The study to some extent will

provide the reliable data for the future researchers for better understanding the issues relating to the less participation of women as candidates in the political field in Sarpang. And further will ensure the best methods and tactics to deal with the issues for the fullest participation and better representation of women in the political scenario.

Therefore, the overall objectives of the research were to emphasize on the study of the participation of women in the local government. The following specific research objectives were identified:

1. To explore and examine the changing scenario of women's participation in the local Government in Sarpang district.
2. To investigate and analyze the challenges of women's participation in local politics.
3. To find out the measures for the improvement of women's participation in the local government.

CHAPTER II

- 1. LITERATURE REVIEW**
- 2. METHODOLOGY**

CHAPTER II

2.1. Literature Review

Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD) conducted a seminar on ‘**the Women lining up for democracy (2017)**’, at Thimphu which illustrated a concrete determination to bring more women to the forefront to take political responsibilities. Some expertise pointed out the keys that allow women to come forward and take the responsibilities. As such the MP from Kachin Myanmar, Maran Ja Seng Hkawn declared, “Today there are many different types of barriers – some changes require firm action from current political party leadership, but other changes are in the hands of women themselves to initiate”. DIPD director, Rasmus Helveg Peterson also strongly supported the point that is to bring about changes; the political parties not only have to focus on competition but also needed to look for cooperation too. Yeshi Choden, the member of Peoples Democratic Party, acknowledged that the seminars will provide a way for more fundamental change in the future.

Women in Political Parties in Bhutan (2017), the seminar was held by **Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy**, in which expertise shared their views and experiences on advancing women in politics which included both the difficulties as well as the opportunities for improvements. Former Danish MP Gitte Seeberg said, “Women tend to underestimate their own capacity in comparison with men. Sometimes women in powerful positions do not create an enabling environment for other women to advance in”. Another expert Drude Dahlerup stated, “The political parties are the gatekeepers to elected positions...It is the responsibility of the political parties to be more inclusive in terms of gender, majority/minorities, and youth”. The seminar was concluded by drawing action plans by the political parties which included voter education, candidate training, political mentoring and review of party nomination processes.

Women in Politics in Democratic Transition: The case of Bhutan (2015); Explored the Data from 26 women and 17 males all over Bhutan. The data were collected from three sources: Semi-structured interview, analysis of public documents and observations in the field during the election campaign and also from the later parliamentary sitting during the course of 2012. The study represented the patriarchy which is implanted in Bhutanese society for centuries and is strengthened by cultural practices and the legal framework. It furthermore

examines the public/ private dichotomy and the low educational attainment of girls and women. The study revealed a masculine driven election campaign, women's minor represent in political parties, their barriers and difficulties while taking part and the challenges of being women in the world of men.

Determinant of Voter's Choice and Women's Participation in Elective Offices in the Kingdom of Bhutan (2014) was the research conducted by **Election Commission of Bhutan** using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. They used tools like Field Questionnaire Survey, Focus Group Discussions, Social Media Survey and Literature Review. The study was based on to assess and evaluate the situations and challenges faced by the women in politics and identify its factors and causes and develop strategies, procedures, and measures to facilitate women's political participation. They highlighted some of the major activities conducted by them to encourage more women to join politics. The research found out that sex was not the issue for the voters while choosing for their candidate but of competent, qualified and better candidates irrespective of their gender. They also pointed out that political parties play a very important role in enhancing women in politics.

Engaging Women in Bhutan's Growing Democracy (2014), an article written by Rinchen Choden, a field Coordinator for READ (Rural Education and Development) Global in Bhutan. She mentioned about the important role played by a village library for the women in leading the path and preparing women for their leadership qualities in the public sphere. A survey was taken before the program got started and the responses from most of the participants were, they believed that their responsibilities evolved only around the house. The program was held over the course of 11 months in which 500 women took part. The activities such as information campaigns, a radio show, and a discussion group were organized. The activity, radio show gave opportunity mostly to those illiterate women to learn about democracy. The program was concluded with positive feedbacks from the participants. Most of the participants said that they felt more comfortable in sharing their views and opinions in front of the group and became more excited about taking an active role in society.

Reservations about reservation for women (2014), the article talks about the reservation that is required to be implemented by every political party. Similarly, Bhutan Network for Empowering Women (BNEW, 2014) also argued that “The Assembly’s legislative committee will propose a minimum of 30 percent seat reservation by all political parties for women when the election Act is put up for amendment”. These clearly indicate that even incumbent Member of Parliament also supports the reservation for women’s participation in politics which is necessary. It stated about the consequences it will have if implemented. They pointed the act as demeaning the women which won’t be attracting the best candidates and moreover it was not necessary to reserved seats for women when equal opportunity is granted. BNEW, at last, pointed out that there needed for a good discourse on the issue of quota. The government, on the other hand, declared that they will draft legislation to ensure at least 20% quota for women in all elected office, including Parliament.

Thinley, D. et al. (2014) discussed on “**Improving Women’s Participation in Local Governance- an Explorative study of Women’s leadership Journeys in Eight Districts of Bhutan.**” The result of their research shows that in Bhutan there is less evidence-based research on women’s participation in local government at present. The data collected for their study were through closed and open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews from eight districts in Bhutan. Their finding concluded that the women in the community lack interest, capability, incentives, family motivation and community support were considered not qualified for the leadership post. The authors recommended skills and confidence building training, awareness programs and advocacy to improve women’s participation in the future.

Women’s under-representation in politics in the new Democracy of Bhutan: the need for new strategies (2014) highlights why there is a very low under-representation of women in the national and local government elections. The reason behind was that there were very few women candidates, and therefore a lower success rate of those who actually stood for election. The report present different options regarding the use of proactive measures on how to improve women’s political participation and representation. It also shows an overview of different types of quota systems used in other countries which may be useful for decision-makers in Bhutan. The countries with quota system represent highest women’s political representation than the countries without the quotas. The main reason behind women’s very low representation is that there are too few candidates nominated for political election at all

levels – a question of both lacks of demand and supply. So, therefore, the report says that a quota system will make the political parties more seriously to look for potential women candidates which hence increase the supply. Besides quotas, there must be certain measures like capacity building, gender-sensitization for the women.

Based on the documentary ‘Bhutan Women Forward’ and educational resource- book ‘Raise Your Hand’ by Kezang Chuki Dorjee in the year 2014, an article was published by Raina.Shilpa (2014); which emphasized on **“Bhutanese women in politics: Victims of prejudices”** in a mainstream news of the marginalized Two Circles. The documentary covers the journey of women candidates from different constituencies and parties from 2008 to the 2013 elections- and many stereotypes associated with them. And the book talks about the profiles and experiences of Bhutan’s women elected leaders. In the article, Shilpa highlighted the statement given by Kezang that, there is no gender discrimination in Bhutan but when women take part in politics, they are being restricted by the socio-cultural prejudices and this preconceived notion makes people difficult to accept women as a candidate. Kezang concluded saying that ‘women can be effective leaders and their equal representation is necessary to address many issues’.

Why less women in politics? (2012), is an article by **Bhutan Broadcasting Service (BBS)**. It signifies that the number of Bhutanese women participating in politics has been very insignificant. It supported its statement by saying that the survey carried out by the Institute of Management Studies disclosed that domestic obligation and lack of self-confidence are the two major reasons for the lesser participation of women in politics. Sangay Zam, a member of National Council says that “The end result tells us loud and clear that system is not right for women. It is challenging to have to compete in a world made by men folks.” So in order to go in line with the men, she added saying that quota reservation is must which allows women to fully explore their potential. But it should be backed by supported services. Another MP Karma Lhamo supported the statement about the quota but supplemented saying that there needed to be done research and analysis whether the quota system is applicable for Bhutan or not.

Institute of Management Studies (2011) had done a study on **Women in Politics: Status of Women's Political Participation in Bhutan**. The study was based on survey method and data collected from the men (n-714) and women (n-822), aged 18 and above from rural and urban areas. The survey was conducted in eight districts in all of the four regions of the country. The outcome of the survey indicated that factors like household duties and low self-esteem, illiteracy, fewer role models and lower expectations have prevented women from participating in politics. Amongst which of being a mother, domestic work and income generation prevented them greatly from participating in public life. The report recommended some training and programs like non-formal education, gender awareness programs and special leadership training for women.

Encouraging women to join politics (2010), article was written by Bhutan Observer (newspaper) which talks about the program organized by the Institute of Management Services (IMS) in Thimphu. The program was organized mainly to influence women to contest for the next upcoming local government elections since the last election held represent low women participation. Moreover, the programs were aimed to boost self-confidence among women and teach them campaigning and communication skills. The National Council member from Thimphu, Sangay Zam said that it was time, women take equal participation in the social, economic and political life of the community. And further urged women a need to rip away the outlook and mindset that politics and decision making is only for men. The opposition leader, Tobgay also persuaded women to take part and require boosting self-confidence and taking the risk. He added saying, "No man can represent for women as women's way of looking at the world is different from men." IMS was aiming to conduct similar programs in all the 20 Dzongkhags (districts) to encourage women to participate in politics.

Constitution of Bhutan (2008), article 7.15 states that "All persons shall have the right to life, liberty, and security of person and shall not be deprived of such rights except in accordance with the due process of law". Article 22.1 talks on why decentralization of power and authority is essential. Local government is formed to assist and let people participate in the development and organization of their own social, economic and environment well-being.

National Commission for Women and Children (2008) has done a research on ‘**Study of Gender Stereotypes and Women’s Political Participation (Women in Governance)**’. The study is based on quantitative and qualitative data analysis related to the existing, reported and perceived gender inequality, affecting the participation of women in governance, particularly at the decision-making level. The study area was divided into three major regions of Bhutan namely, west, central and east and from each region, districts were randomly selected for overall coverage of 70% (14 districts out of 20 districts). A total of 541 questionnaires were administered from 45% male and 55% female respondents. The biggest challenges resulted from the study was the presence of gender disparity, a strong presence of cultural beliefs in biological inferiority and vulnerability of women.

2.2. Research Methodology

The study focused on main issues like why women participated less as a candidate in politics and the ways and methods for the better participation in future. Therefore this study focused on qualitative and quantitative research which involves descriptive as well as analytical research. The descriptive statistics was used to find the frequency and percentage of the samples collected. The information was collected through distribution of questionnaires and was evaluated based on the answers given by the respondents. The information was also collected through interviewing the District Electoral Officer of Sarpang Dzongkhag. The officer shared his experiences and views regarding the participation of women in the local government of the district and provided some authentic data of women participation in the second local government election held in 2016. Some women were also interviewed regarding their viewpoints on the less participation of women as a candidate and possible reasons for not coming on the front line of politics. To get more authentic and reliable outcomes from the research, published books, reports, research papers and journals and newspapers were referred and analysed based on the given information.

The sources were also gathered from the seminars, conferences, and workshop conducted by scholars, researchers, historians etc on the topics related to the study. All these information and sources went through thorough analysis and interpretation to draw the best outcomes. These outcomes will help to explore more on the reason for less participation of Bhutanese women in politics and the methods and ways to motivate them in the changing society. The study is also supported by substantive literature review.

2.3. Area and Sample size

The Field Questionnaire Survey(FQS) was undertaken to get views and reasons from women of the eight gewogs (sub-districts), both from elected and non-elected candidates and also from voters. There were 36 questionnaires and was conducted during the month of June 2017. Sarpang Dzongkhag is divided into twelve Gewogs, under each Gewogs, there are 5 to 6 Chiwogs and Chiwogs comprises of 4-10 villages. The Gewogs were divided into Chiwogs for the convenient of the villagers to vote during the election.

The study carried out was in the eight Gewogs namely Serzhong, Chhuzanggang, Umling, Jigme chhoeling, Tareythang, Senggey, Samtenling and Chhudzom. There are 41 chiwogs altogether in these eight gewogs. The samples collected from these Gewogs were as per the convenient of the collector and was randomly collected from the women of the villages. The samples accumulated from each gewogs were 10 and the total samples gathered were 80.

The samples collected were between the age ranging from 20-70. Most of their living depends upon the agriculture where their monthly salary falls below 15,000.

The question samples were collected from ‘Voters choice and women’s participation in elective offices’ conducted in 2014 by Election Commission of Bhutan and also collected from ‘Women participation in Local Government in Bhutan’ by Mr Dorji Thinley and his group in 2014.

CHAPTER III

- 1. RESULT ANALYSIS**
- 2. OUTCOMES**

CHAPTER III

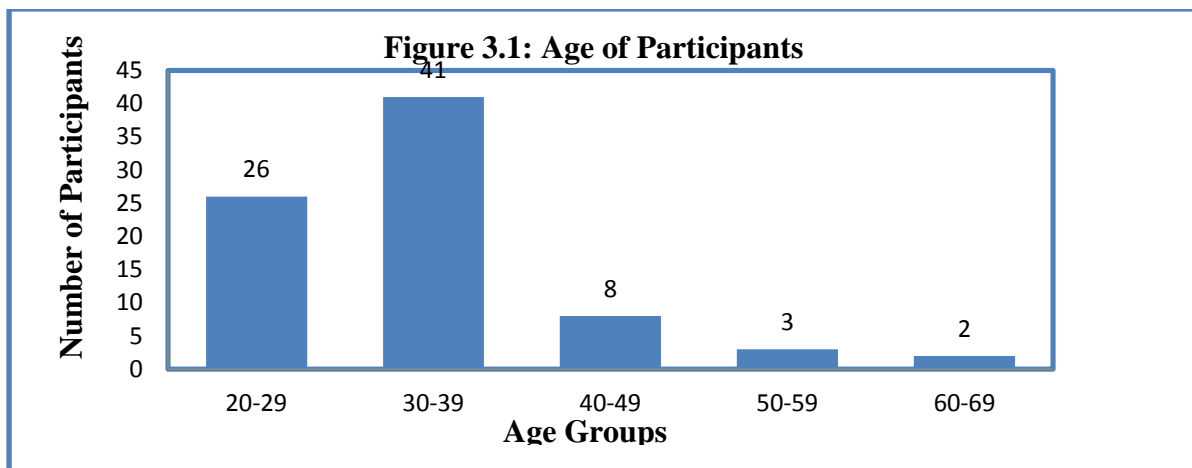
3.1. DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC STATUS

The study on the participation of women in the local government under Sarpang Dzongkhag was carried during the month of June 2017 over the eight Gewogs of the Dzongkhag. 80 samples were collected from these eight Gewogs.

Following information discuss the demographic and economic status of the women who participated in the local government election, 2016.

1. Age of the respondents

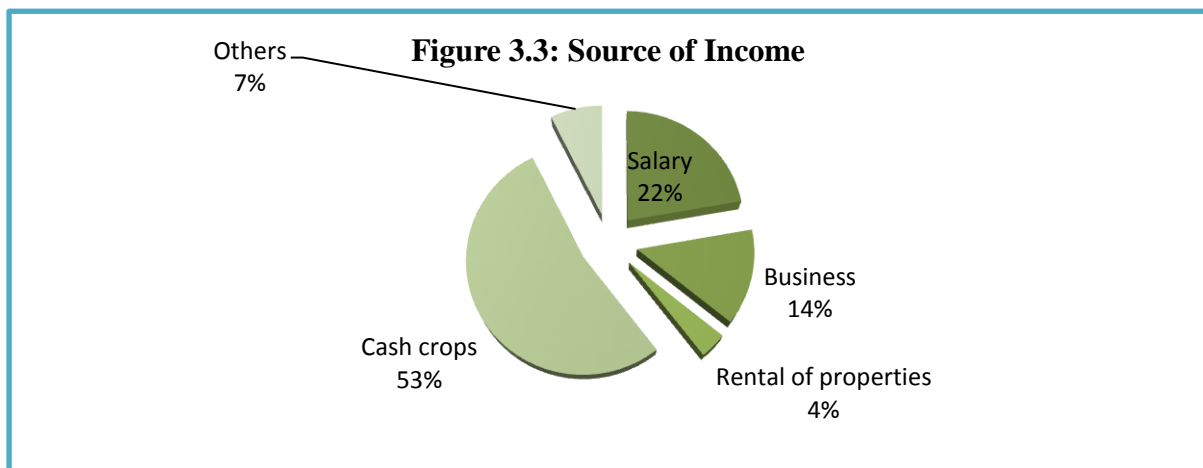
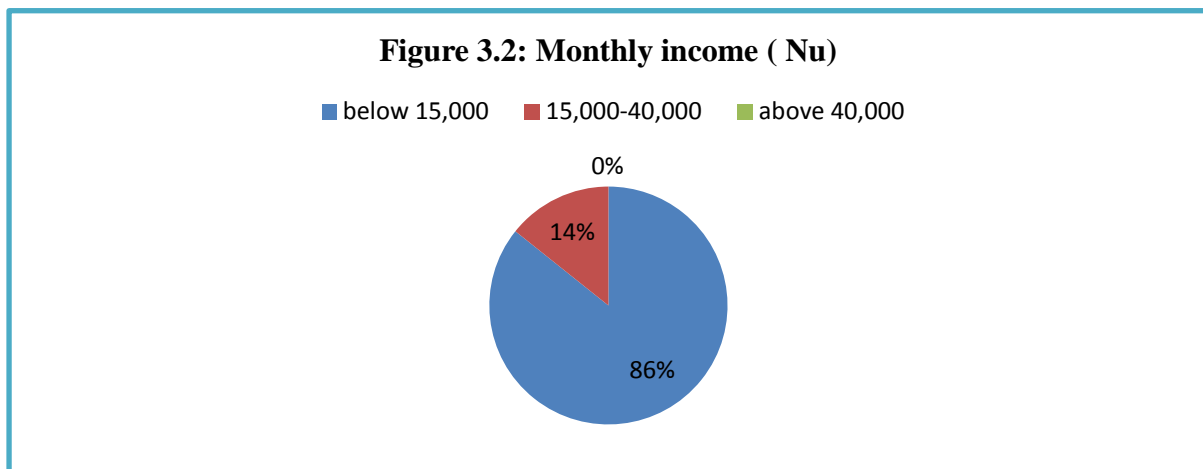
The questionnaires were randomly asked to all the age groups ranging from 20-70. Figure 3.1 highlights the age groups of women who participated in the election. Half of the women fall under the age category between 30-39, followed by 26 of them between 20-29. There were only two women who were between 60-69 age group. The rest were between 40-49 and 50-59.



2. Monthly income and source of the respondents

The monthly salary of the family is also one of the factors which restrict the women coming forward to participate in the election. 86% of the respondents are earning below 15,000 in which more than 50% of the family comprises 4 to 6 members and have to survive solely on the income they receive from the cash crops. In figure 3.2 only 14% of the family gets income in between 15,000-40,000 and none of them gets above 40,000. The major source of income for the family are cash crops which constitute of 53% and rest includes salary,

business, rental properties and others which constitute 22%, 14%, 4% and 7% respectively. (Figure 3.3)



To contest for the Gup, Mangmi or a Tshogpa, the candidate must have a maximum of Nu.50,000 for the election campaign. For Tshogpa it's up to them whether to contest or not but its compulsory for both Gup and Mangmi to run for the campaign. When interviewed the women, mostly they share that they are not able to contest for the election since lack of source though they are interested to contest.

3. Family members and children

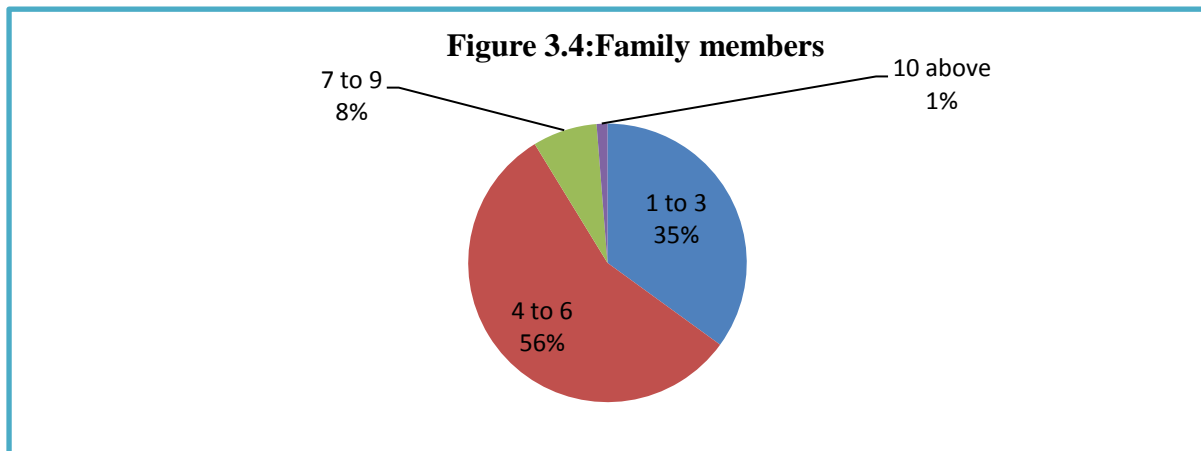
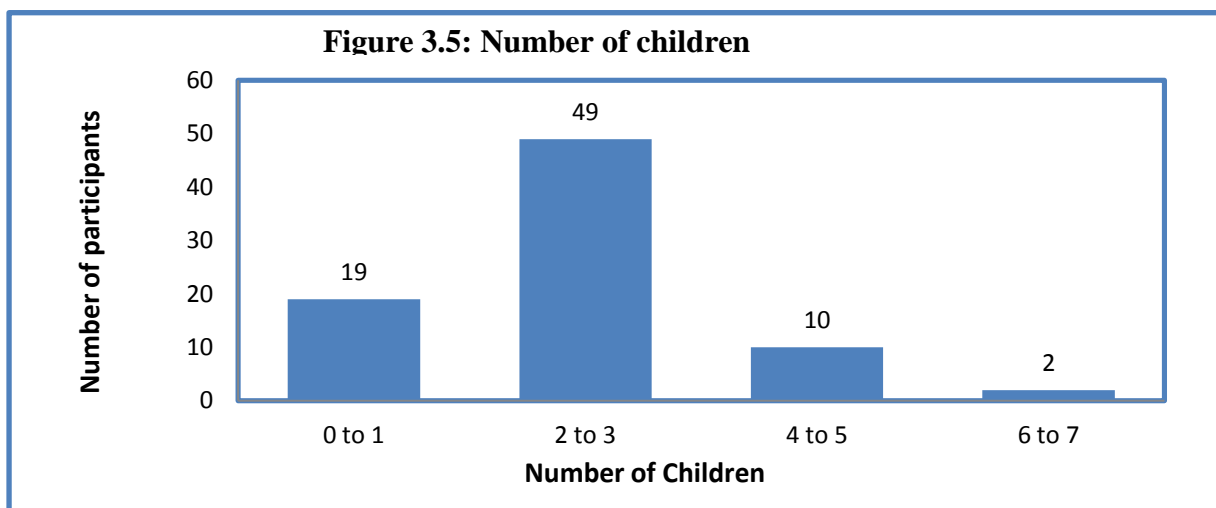
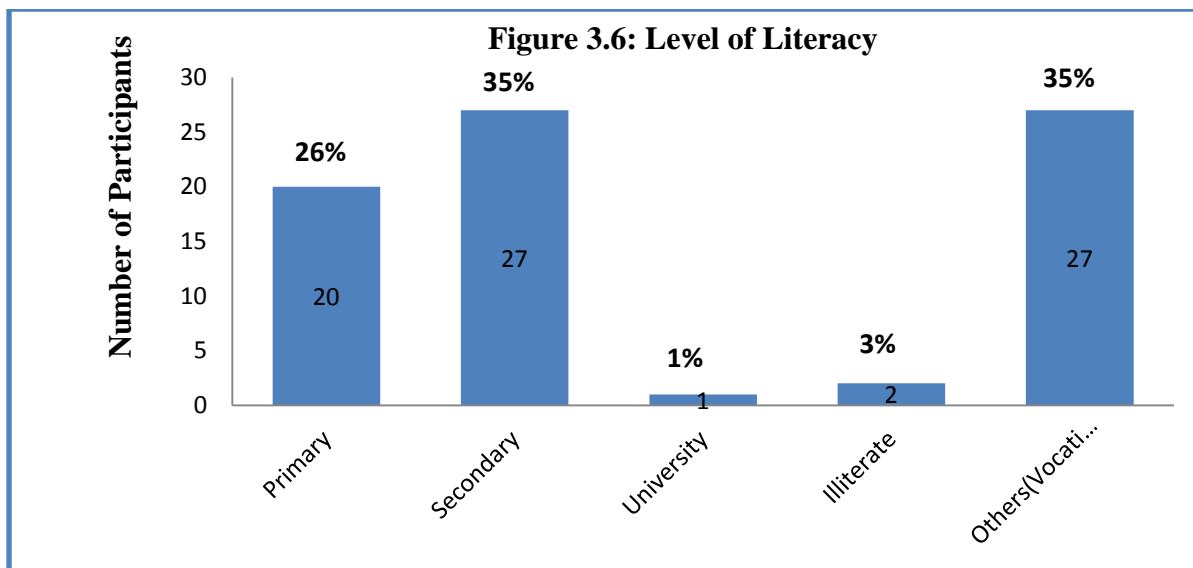


Figure 3.4 above explain about the respondent's family members at present. The diagram depicts that most of the family are a nuclear family. 56% of the family consisted of 4 to 6 members and 35% of 1 to 3 members. The family which consisted of 7 to 9 members represent only 8%. In a nuclear family, women are the sole administrator of the family. They are being dependent fully and wholly on their family members and therefore they don't get any kind of support and encouragement from the members to take up in the election.



49 women out of 80 respondent answered that they are having 2-3 children whereas 19 of them have zero or one child. Only 2 of the women have 6-7 children and 10 got 4-5 children. (Figure 3.5)



The above bar-graph illustrates the literacy level of the respondents. It indicates the equal number of samples who completed secondary level and others which was mostly Non-Formal Education. About 25% of the respondents graduated from their primary level. Only 1% of the sample went to university and the rest 6% were illiterate.

When asked to eight of the women being elected, half of them responded that their relation with the community won them the contest and not because of the high qualification and experiences (Table 3.11). Most of the women elected had completed only Non-formal Education. It is the perception and believes of the contestant that education and experiences don't count for winning the election.

Table 3.1 also further supports this statement, by the responses given by the other women other than elected one, the perceived qualities of a good leader is not based on their qualification and experiences but needed to be fair and just irrespective of their gender. 46% of the respondents claimed that fair and just is the qualities of a good leader, followed by good character and attitude (24%), communication and interpersonal skills lies the third important qualities and least is education and experiences of the candidate.

In table 3.2, it indicates that for the women to be elected as a leader the qualities the public seek is education and experiences which was supported by about 45% of the sample, but the very idea that education and experiences are not worthwhile as a quality of a good leader was explained in table 3.1. This means that for a good leader, education and experience are not that important, but for the good leaders of the local government, the prior important qualities are education and experiences. The next qualities the women contestant should possess are

honesty and integrity which scored 28% and the other quality were leadership and personality which scored around 23%. They consider the religious background as the least important qualities for the women contestant.

Table 3.1: The perceived qualities of a GOOD leader

Perceived qualities of a GOOD leader	Percent (%)
Fair and just	46
Education	5
Communication & interpersonal skills	21
Experience	4
Good character & attitude	24

Table 3.2: Qualities to base decision to vote for women candidate

Qualities to vote for women candidate	Percent (%)
Religion background	3
Honesty & integrity	28
Leadership & personality	23
Educational & experiences	45
Others	1

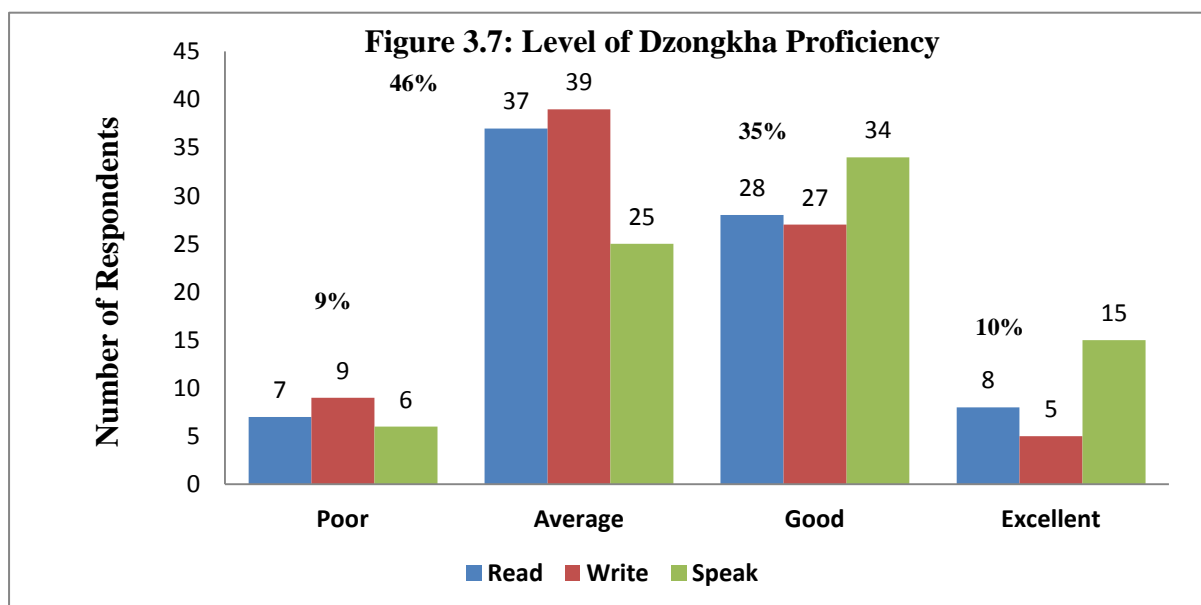


Figure 3.7 represents the literacy level of 80 women. 9% of the women responded that they are poor in Dzongkha, whereas 10% of them said they are excellent in it. About 46% of the women were average in Dzongkha whereas 35% good at it. Almost all the women possess a basic knowledge of how to read, write and speak national language Dzongkha. As the requirement for the contestant to get the nomination process is, one should get through the Functional Literacy Test (FLT). It is tested based on their ability to read and write Dzongkha. Once they get through the test, they are awarded a certificate by the Election Commission to contest for the local government election. And it is the minimum requirement for contesting the local government election. To acquire this ability to read and write, the government has opened numerous Non-Formal Education centres in every Chiwogs.

3.2. MEASURES FOR LESS PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

Table 3.3: The measures for the improvement of women’s participation in the election

Measures for the improvement of women's participation	Percent (%)
More women needed to be trained in building self-confidence	26
Educate more women	11
Give various awareness to the community regarding women are also capable if given the opportunity	31
Give enough training in communication skills/public speaking	32

Table 3.3 talks about the measures on how to influence and encourage more women to take part in the election. 32% of the women said they are needed to provide with enough training in communication skills/public speaking. And similarly, 31% of them said to give various awareness to the community regarding women that they are also capable if given the opportunity. And 26% of them pointed out, more women are needed to be trained in the building of self-confidence. Only 11% said more women are needed to be educated. If all the above-mentioned facilities and remedies are provided timely, then more women are likely to step forward in taking up the important positions in the government.

BNEW worked really hard to make sure that the women from the 20 Dzongkhags get full training to contest in the elections. They organized a program called Potential Leaders Workshop which aimed to inspire women from all across the country to participate and be elected in politics at local government and national levels. The workshop has helped women in gaining the confidence to participate in the Second Local Government Election. BNEW

educates women on the importance of women’s effective participation as voters and candidate. They have trained about 1,474 number of women in the workshop conducted in the 20 Dzongkhags. They began giving training to women from Sarpang Dzongkhag, in which around 58 women participants actively took part in the workshop (Zangmo,2016). There is an increased participation of women in the local government election in the recent election that is held in 2016 as compared to its first election 2011. Therefore it indicates that the various workshops organized by BNEW brought an increasing number of women’s participation in the local government election. It is evident from the table 3.4a given below.

Table 3.4a Local Government election held in the country

Post	2011 election	2016 election
Gups (Chair)	1	2
Mangmis (vice-chair)	12	24
Tshogpas (councilors)	86	129

(source: Study Report,2014; Drude Dahlerup, table 3, pp. 16 and ECB, October 31, 2016, retrieved from <http://www.ecb.bt/?p=3957>)

Table 3.4b Local Government election held in Sarpang Dzongkhag

Post	2011 election		2016 election	
	Contestants	Elected	Contestants	Elected
Gups (Chair)	0	0	2	0
Mangmis (vice-chair)	1	0	5	0
Tshogpas (councilors)	6	4	33	8
Total	7	4	40	8

(Source: Electoral Office, Sarpang Dzongkhag)

Similarly, Sarpang Dzongkhag has witnessed a drastic increase of women participation in 2016 Local Government Election as compared to that of the first election held in 2011. Since there were no written records found pertaining to the participation of women in local government in 2011, the information was collected from the local people of the gewogs. As per the verbal information received, a few women had participated in the post of Tshogpa among which four got elected. They were from Chuzangang, Tareythang, Serzhong and

Umling gewogs. There was no candidate for the post of Gup and for the post of Mangmi, one stood from Senggye gewog but couldn't get through the final round.

The last election held was in 2016 and as per the record 2, 5 and 33 women from the eight gewogs, took part for the post of Gup, Mangmi and Tshogpa respectively from which only 8 Tshogpas got elected. Only a few women got through the final, though the number is less, their participation is increasing in every election held so far, that is in 2011 and 2016. As mentioned above in the first ever election held in 2011, there were only a few candidates who competed for the election and among them, only four got elected for the post of Tshogpa. It is a good amount of number got elected since there were not many women who contested the election. According to the research done by Drude Dahlerup on 'Women's under-representation in politics in the new democracy of Bhutan' the main problem for the under-representation of women is not because of lack of voter's support but it is because of too few women are nominated for political elections-a question of both lack of demand and lack of supply. In 80% of the constituencies in the elections to the National Assembly and the National Council, the voters did not have the choice to vote for a women candidate, since all candidate were men. (Dahlerup, 2014, pp.3)

When the question was asked to the women whether there will be more female candidates in the future or not, more than 50% of them answered positively and only 9% said no. Whereas 21% of them said to some extent there will be while the rest of them said they don't have any idea.(Table 3.5).

In figure 2.8, 96% of the women said, they supported the women candidate whereas 4% of the women said they didn't since no one from their family voted for that candidate, no one was capable, they didn't have any experience at all and another said the other male candidate was his/her family/relative.(Table 3.6).

In table 3.7, 90% of the women said no one forced them to vote, they decided themselves to vote for the right candidate. 5% of the women said, their father decided for them for whom to vote.

Women need to be motivated and triggered off the inferior complex that the people have on them and uncovered their potentiality, the hidden capabilities and ignite the confidence and zeal in them to take part in the decision making bodies so that they work in hand in hand with the male counterpart to bring greater and better development in the community and nation as a whole. BNEW played an important role here, training women in building up their

confidences and educating them the importance of their effective participation and inspiring more women to come forward to participate in the election.

Table 3.5: More female candidate to participate in future elections

Female candidate in future	Percent (%)
Yes	65
No	9
Some extent	21
Don't know	5

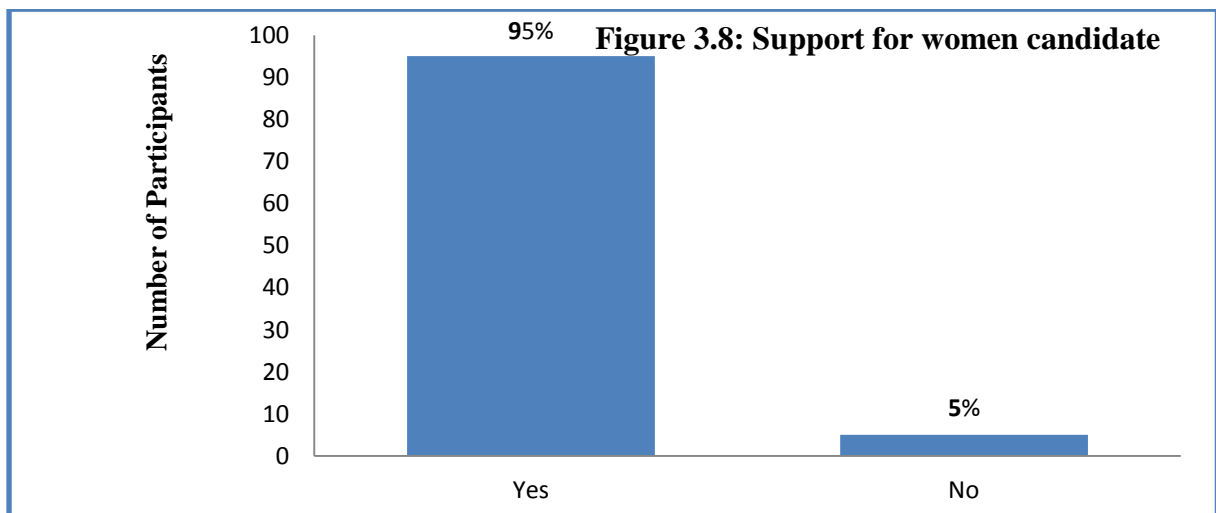


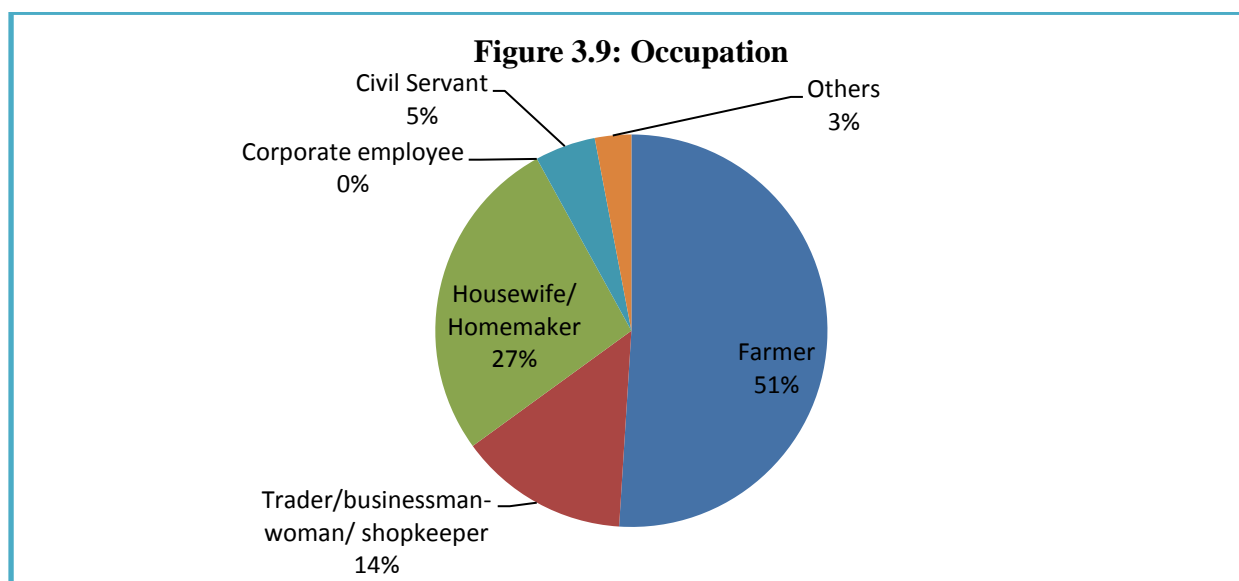
Table 3:6 Reason for not supporting the female candidate

Reasons for not Supporting the female candidate	Number of women
No one from my family voted	1
Not capable	1
I didn't like the candidate	0
No experience	1
No reason	0
Another candidate was my brother/relative	1

Table 3.7: Who decided to whom to vote?

Who decided to vote?	Percent (%)
Mother	1
Father	5
Brother	1
Sister	0
Self	90
Husband	3

3.3. RESPONSES FROM THE WOMEN CANDIDATE



The main occupation of most of the candidates before they contested for the election were farmers. 51% of them responded that they depend on their livelihood on agriculture. And 27% said they were homemakers. There were some women who were also doing business and very few were civil servants. (Figure 3.9)

Figure 3.10, below represent how many women contestant faced difficulties in getting done with the nomination process. More than 50% responded that they faced challenges in travelling long distance to get nomination process done since the majority of the places are mostly scattered and women find difficult to get the Dzongkhag offices. Whereas 30% of them said, they didn't face any kind of challenges and 11% said they don't know anything about it.

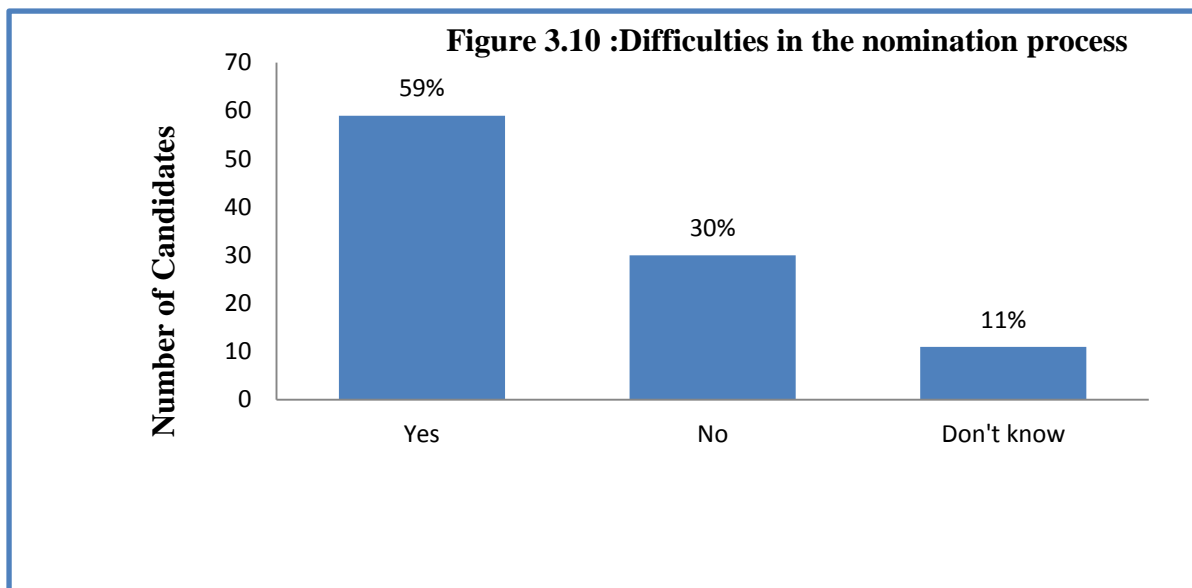
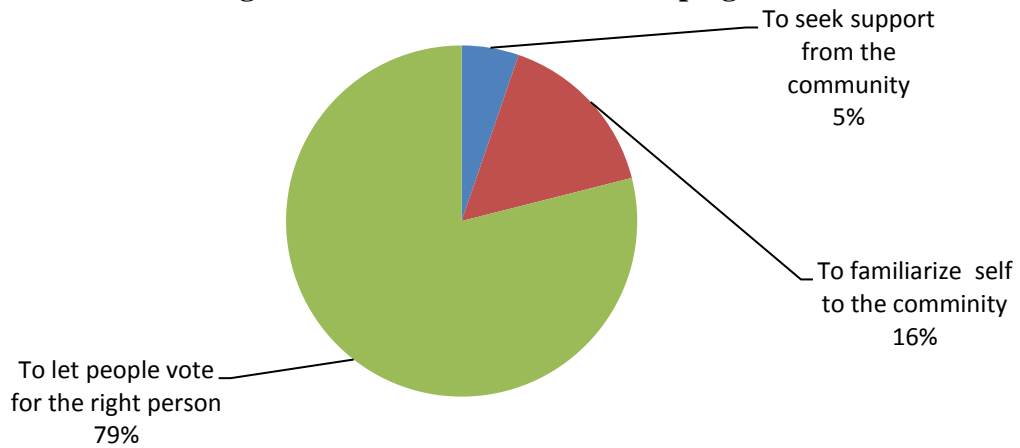


Table 3.7: Campaign for the election

Campaign for the election	Percent (%)
Yes	51
No	49

Table 3.7 shows that 51% of the women candidate went for the election campaign and the rest didn't go. The main reason behind their campaigns was to let people vote for the right person. 79% of the candidates supported this statement. 16% of the candidates just went around familiarizing themselves to their community whereas 5% did it to seek a vote from them. (Figure 3.11)

Figure 3.11: Reasons behind 'Campaign'



The reason behind for not going for any kind of campaigns are, they didn't feel the need and moreover, it was not compulsory for the Tshogpas to carry out the campaign. 33% of them also thought that people of their community knew them very well so thought there was no need for a campaign, and moreover it was difficult for them to manage money themselves as they were not getting any kind of budget separately to run a campaign. Only 5% of them said they were the only candidate. (Figure 3.12)

Figure 3.12: Reason for not going for Campaign

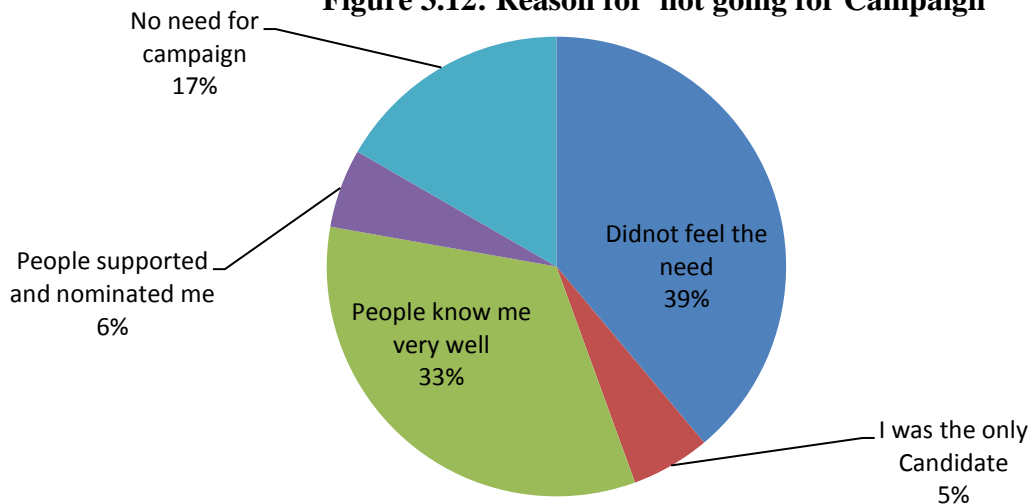


Table 3.8: Challenges faced while running for the election and during the Campaign

Challenges faced	Percent (%)
Lack of support and cooperation	17
Child care	14
Communication skills	0
Lack of confidence	29
Lack of education/training	14
Lack of experience	17
Problems with home/spouse	0
Time management	3
Others	6

The greatest challenges faced by the women contestant while running for the election and during the campaign were the lack of confidence. The table 3.8 reveals that 29% of the women lack confidence. The lack of support and cooperation and lack of experience are the next challenges they faced. 17% of the respondents supported this viewpoint. Whereas 14% of the women pointed out that child care, lack of education and training are other challenges they faced. No women said that they faced any kind of challenges from their home or spouse.

The figure 3.13, below supports the above statement. 38% of the elected women told that they were being inspired by their husband to stand in the election. Their husbands were the driving force behind them. Similarly, the same number of women responded saying nobody inspired them to take part in the election. 38% of the women said they were inspired to bring better changes and development in their community and 19% of them were motivated to gain some experiences and of course it was their personal interest too to take up the post.(Table 3.9)

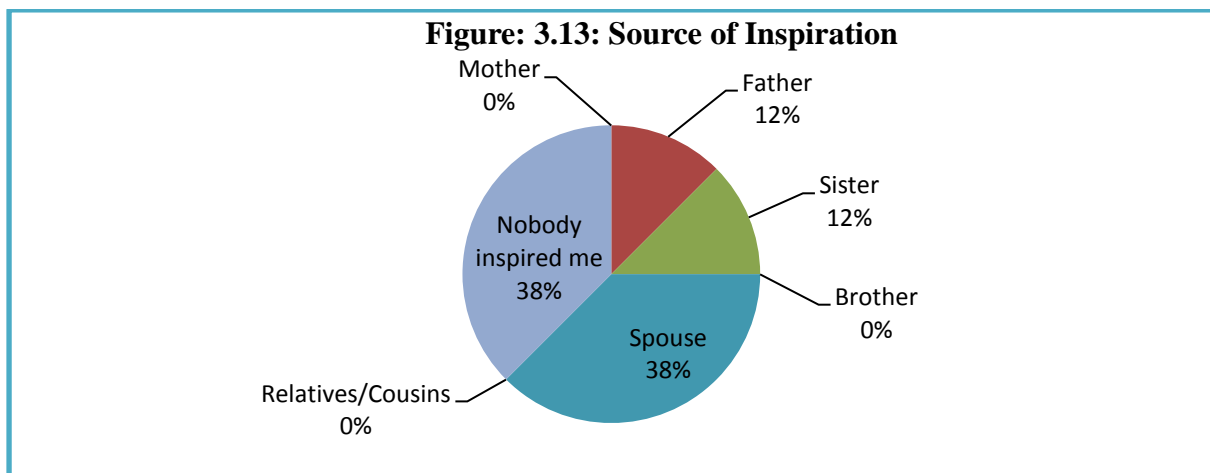


Table 3.9: Motivation to run for the post of Gup/Mangmi/Tshogpa

Motivation	Respondent in %
To develop the community	38
Personal Interest	19
To gain experience	19
To be role model	8
Community support	6
Duty as a citizen	5
Others	5

Table 3.10: Reasons for being elected

Reasons for being elected	Percent (%)
My previous experiences	0
I am trustworthy	25
I am educated	0
My public relation	50
Being the only candidate	25

50% of the women said, their good relation with the public won them the election and not the education and experiences. Similarly, 25% said they won because of being trustworthy and another 25% said, they were the only candidate.(Table 3.10)

Table 3.11: Roles and responsibilities that take up most of the time

Roles and responsibilities that take up most of the time	Percent (%)
Dispute resolution	50
Planning development activities	25
Monitoring and implementing development activities	12
Maintaining law and orders	0
Dissemination of policies, information and Khashos (orders)	13

The above table 3.11 describes the roles and responsibilities they carry out after being elected. Half of them spent their time solving the disputes, 25% spent planning for development activities, whereas 13% of them spent most of the time disseminating the policies, information and orders to the community and 12%, monitors and implement the development activities.

Most women could carry out the responsibilities without any hindrance and problems. 50% of the elected women said they didn't face any kind of challenges so far after being elected. 25% of them said they face challenges in solving peoples' problems/disputes as sometimes they need to go out at odd hours to solve the disputes. It is the biggest challenge they faced so far. Child care and lack of support and corporation from the staffs were also other challenges faced by 12% of the women. (Table 3.12)

Table 3.12: Challenges faced after being elected

Challenges faced after being elected	Percent (%)
Salary not enough	0
Solving people's problem/disputes	25
Understanding/enforcing laws and policies	0
Childcare	12
Lack of support and cooperation(communities)	12
Gender bias	0
Lack of support and cooperation (staffs)	0
No challenges faced so far	50

3.4. PERCEPTION OF WOMEN BY WOMEN AND COMMUNITY

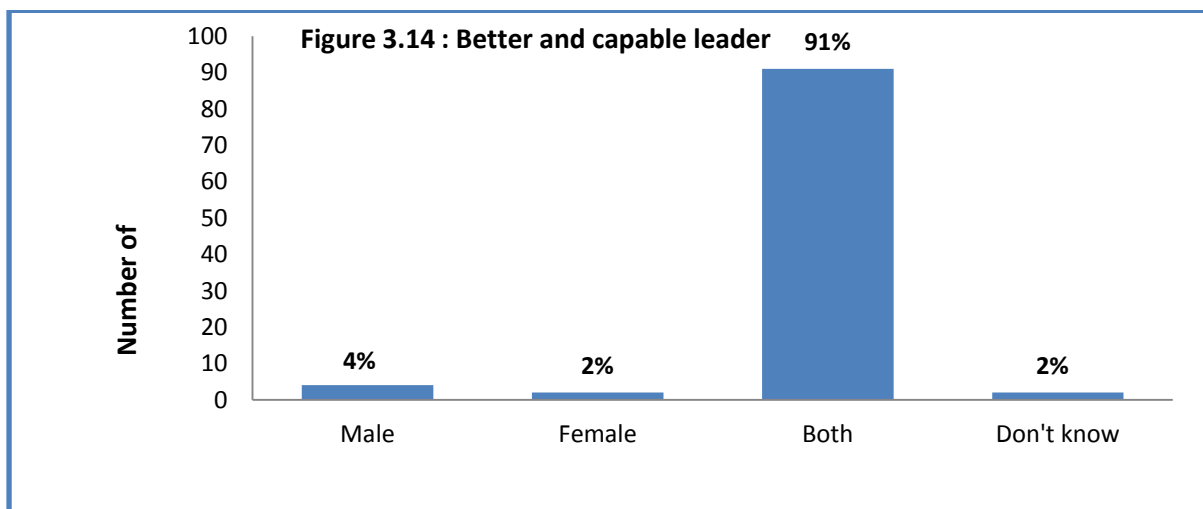
Table 3.13: Prejudices experienced by the female candidate

Prejudices experienced by the female candidate	Percent (%)
Men are better leaders	21
Women cannot run for election	4
Women cannot shoulder responsibilities	22
Women are physically not suitable	5
No prejudices	48

Most of the women said, in the past, they experienced prejudices from the people even among women themselves that they are not as capable as men and they are meant to stay home and look after children and take care of the household chores. Now this kind of notion and approach from the people has decreased though it still exists in small little ways. The consciousness and the awareness created among the masses have changed to some extent the negative mindset of the people. Table 3.13 depicts about 48% of the women don't experience

prejudices. While 22% of the women said, there still exist prejudices regarding, men are better leaders than women and 21% said, women, cannot shoulder responsibilities. Few women said women cannot run for election and is not physically suitable for women to contest in the politics which still perceive that politics are only meant for men.

An article written by Shilpa Rina (2014) on ‘Bhutanese women in politics: Victims of prejudices’, has highlighted about a statement given by Bhutanese filmmaker Kezang Chuki Dorjee, who has documented on women’s participation in the country’s 2013 elections that, “there is no gender discrimination in Bhutan but, when it comes to the representation of women in politics, socio-cultural prejudices prevent them from playing a larger role in policy making’. Further she said, ‘the socio-cultural perception that a women candidate isn’t capable of serving the people, they are only for the kitchen and social service, and general myths like Bhutanese women aren’t interested in politics restrict their participation, and when people come with preconceived notions, it becomes very difficult for people to accept a women a candidate”.



In table 3.13, 21% of the women candidate experienced prejudices like men are a better leader than them. And whereas in figure 3.14 above, 91% of the women themselves feel that as a leader they are equally capable as men. Only 4% of women said the male is more capable than female as a leader. In table 3.14 given below, 40% of the women said, the community view them as less capable than men. What restricts women from participating in the decision making bodies is not only their inferior complexities but also due to the negative perception of people upon the women. So, therefore, people are needed to be made aware and

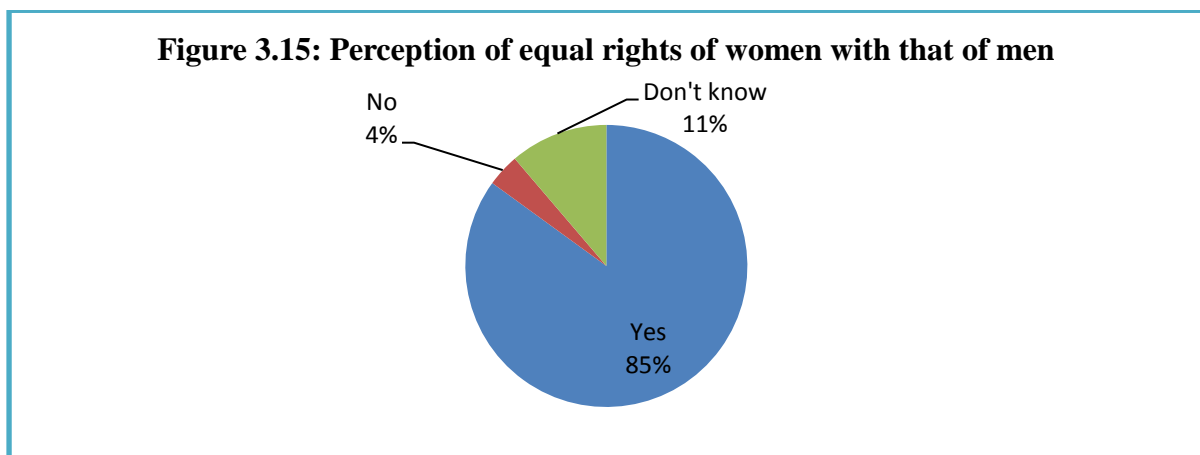
educate on the capabilities of women that they are as capable as men if they were given the opportunity. Table 3.3, 31% of the women supported this point.

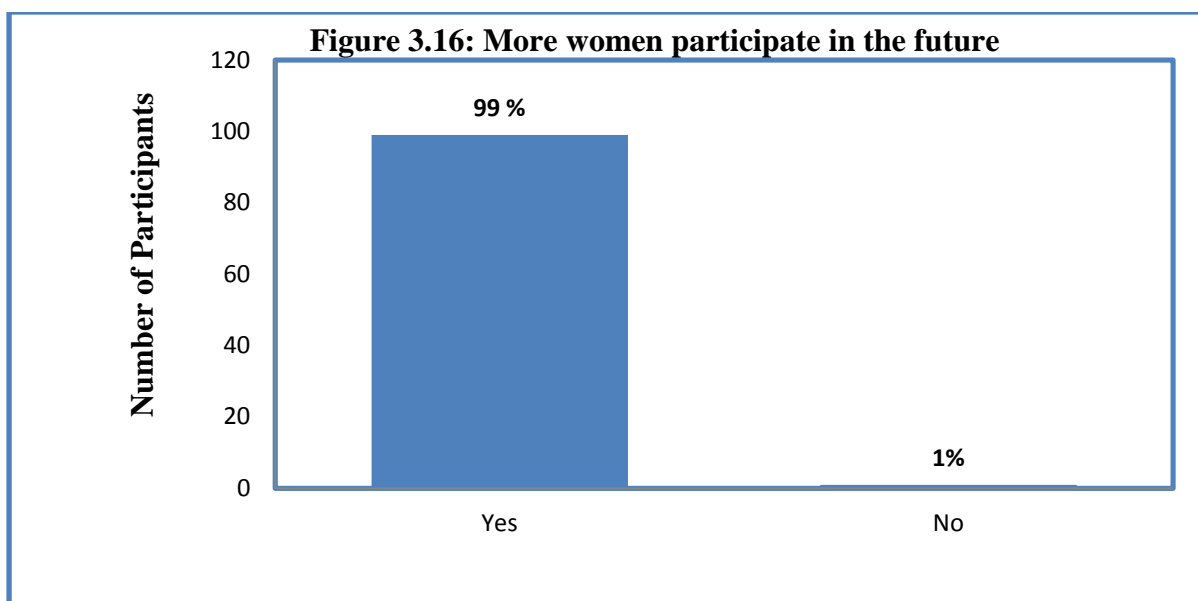
Table 3.14: The perception/belief and views related to women by community

Perception/belief related to women by community	Percent (%)
Women do not have experience and education	5
Not vital in management and government	3
Men and women have different roles	4
Lack of confidence and trust in women	12
Women are considered less capable than men	40
Women are more capable than men	4
Both are capable	32

The perception and views by the communities towards women that is, the notion of being both men and women equally capable and in the other hand, men considering more capable than women weigh almost the same as given in the table 3.14 above. 40% said, people view women as less capable than men and 32% said, both are capable. 12% women said, the community does not trust women and lack confidence in them. Only a few women said, community perceive them as those who have no vital in management and government, men and women have different roles and women do not have experiences and education. But few women about 4% said community perceive them as the one who is more capable than men.

Majority of the women about 85% responded that there is the perception of equal rights of women with that of men. Whereas a less number of women, 4% said that women do not possess equal rights to that of men and the rest 11% were neutral. (Figure 3.15)





When the question was asked on whether more women should participate in the election or not, 99% of the women answered positively whereas 1% of the women said more women shouldn't take part in the election since they are less capable than men.(Figure 3.16)

46% of the women said, in order to promote gender equality they need participate more. 11% of them said, women are capable so they need to participate in the election and another 11% said, women, can understand women's issues. Just 5% each of them said women are less corrupted and politics are therefore better for them. (Table 3.15)

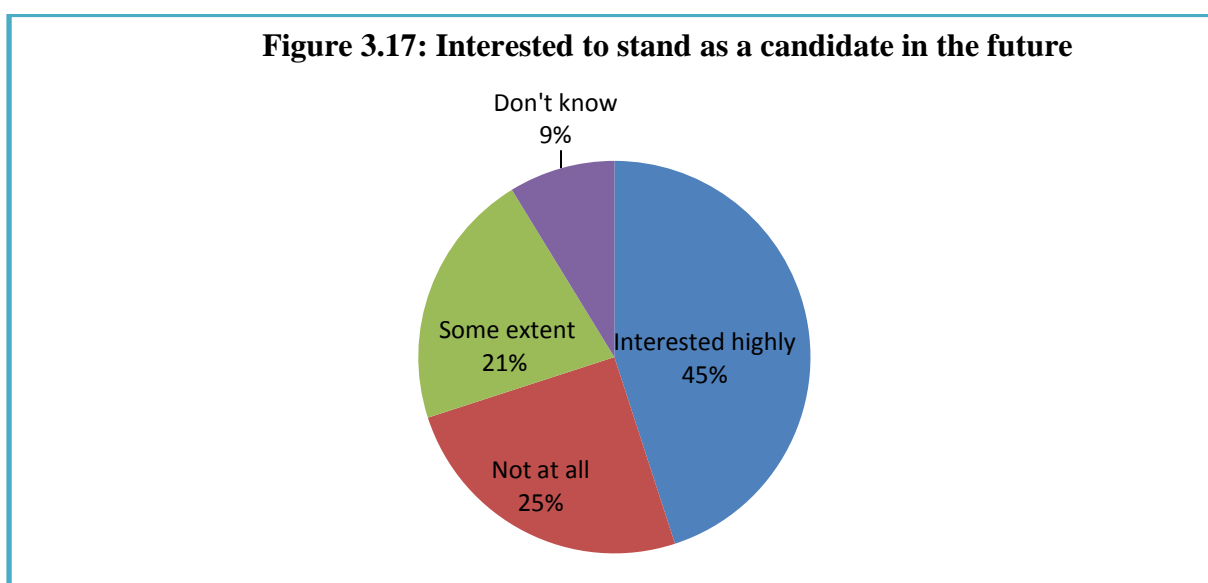
Table 3.15: Reasons behind for more women to participate in the election

Reasons for more women to participate in the election	Percent (%)
Promote gender equality	46
Women are better for the job	5
Women are less corrupt	5
Can be role model for others	8
Women are capable	11
Women understand women's issues	11
Women are educated	6
Women should gain experience	8

Table 3.16: Who is important to have in high decision-making level position?

High decision-making level position	Percent (%)
Male	1
Female	4
Both	95
Don't know	0

The above table 3.16 talks about who should be in the high decision-making level position. 95% of the women said both male and female are equally important to be in the high decision-making level position. 4% of the women said, female are important than male to be at the high level whereas just 1% said the male is more important.



There were about 45% of women who were interested to contest in the next 2021 Local Government election. There were also women about 25% who don't want at all to contest. And 21% of women wanted to contest to some extent while 9% of them don't know whether they wanted to contest or not. (Figure 3.17)

These women (39%) said there are obstacles and restrictions which bar them from taking part in the election while 34% said there are no as such restrictions. As far as women are interested they can take part in the election.(Figure 3.18)

The reasons of restrictions for those 39 % of women are given in table 3.17. 30% of them said, it is mainly because of domestic responsibilities which keep them away from the election. Self-confidence and fear of losing the election was the restriction being pointed out by 28% of the women. While 21% of the women said prevailing cultural attitude restricts

them from contesting the election. Whereas 7% said it is only because of lack of educational qualification that women can't contest.

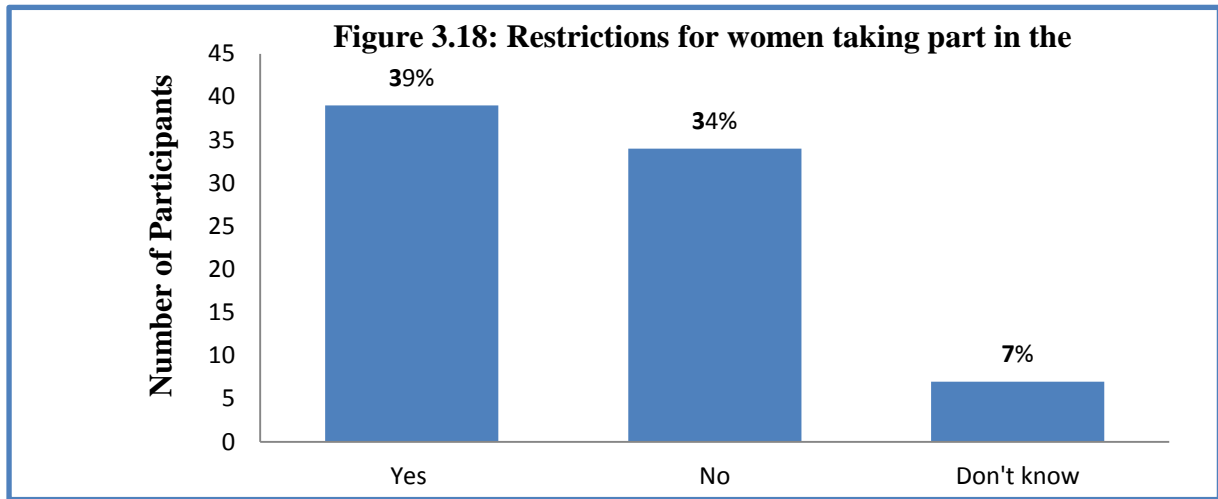
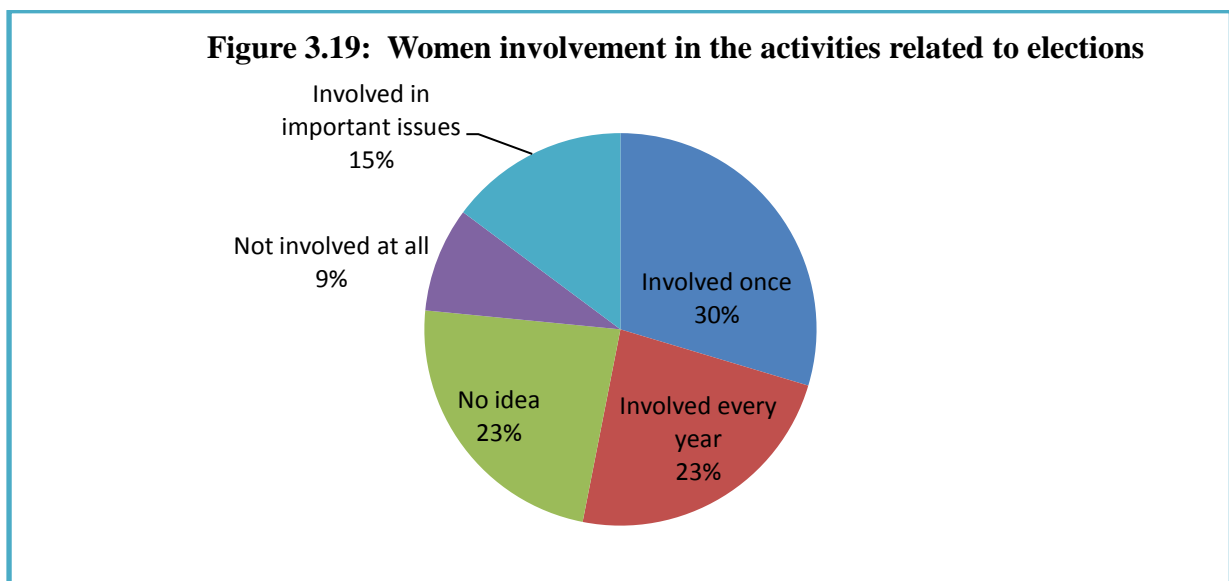


Table 3.17: Reasons for the restrictions

If Yes, what are the restrictions?	Percent (%)
Domestic responsibilities	30
Self-confidence and fearing of losing the election	28
Lack of educational qualification	7
Prevailing cultural attitude regarding women are inferior to men	21
No support from family/ husband	12
Others	2



80 of the respondents were asked whether women were involved in the activities related to elections or not, 30% of them responded that they were involved only once, 23% said they were involved every year and another 23% said they don't have any idea whether women were involved in the activities related to elections or not. 15% of the women said they were involved only in important issues and 9% said they didn't at all got involved in such activities. (Figure 3.19)

When they were asked, how many of women were involved in the activities, 64 of the respondents said very less/ less/ few were involved in the activities. And the very reason for their very less/less/few involvements is shown below in table 3.18. 41% of them said, most of the women were not aware of such activities, otherwise, they could have attended the programme. 31% of them said, because of the family responsibility, only fewer women could take part in such programme.

Table 3.18: Reasons for very less /less/ few involvement of women in the activities

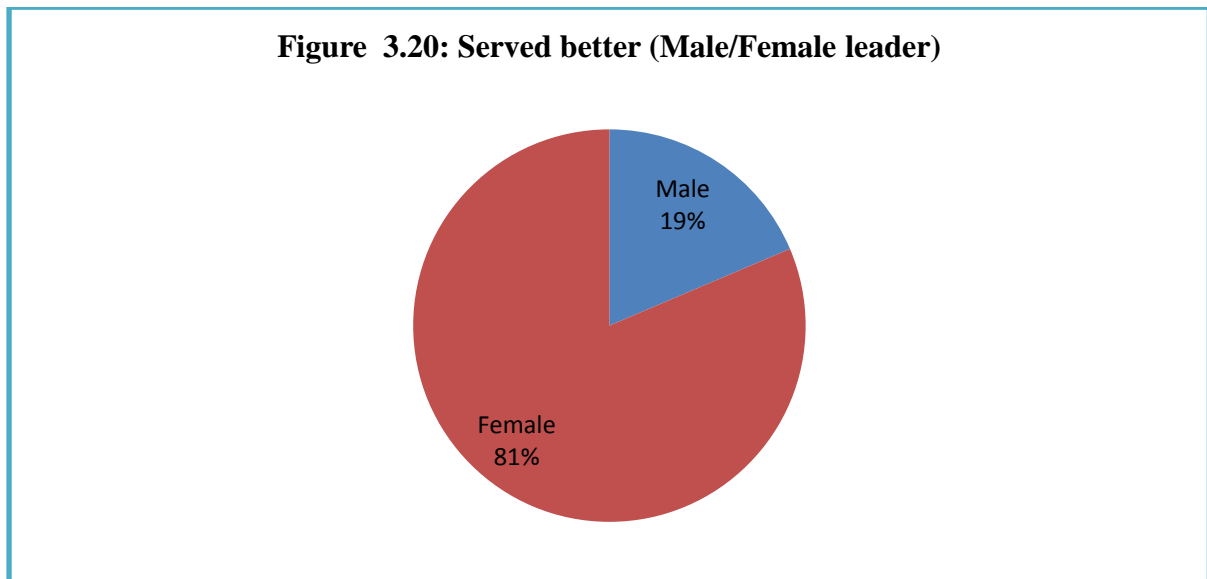
Reason behind less involvement in the activities	Percent (%)
Socio-cultural discrimination	3
Long distance to walk	3
Family responsibility	31
Less competence/ Men are more experienced	17
Wasn't aware of such activities	41
Others	5

Table 3.19: The changes/ development brought by female leader of the given area

Changes brought by the female leader	Percent (%)
Disseminate the information on time	12
Irrigation channels	4
Was fair and transparent	24
Construction and maintenance of farm road	56
Worked actively	4
Resolved disputes	0

The above informations (Table 3.19) were collected from those villages where there are female leaders at present or was in the past. The table shows the changes and the development brought by the female leaders of their locality. 56% of the women responded that the female leader has done the construction and maintenance of the farm road. 24% said,

their female leaders worked fairly and everything was transparent. Whereas 4% said, they brought new irrigation channels and another 4% said their leaders worked actively.



81% of the respondents said female leaders served them better than the male leaders whereas the rest of them said, male leaders served better. (Figure 3.20).

They were asked, how female leaders had served them better than male leaders, half of the respondents said the female leaders are always available to the community. 19% said women leaders are always active, honest and hardworking. 17% of them said, the female leaders solved the disputes more meaningfully and fairly. (Table 3.20)

Table 3.20: How female leader served better than a male leader?

How female served better than a male leader?	Percent (%)
Solved the disputes more meaningfully and fairly	17
Always available to the community	50
Always active, honest and hardworking	19
Always listen to the community and fulfils their demands	14

Table 3.21: Why there is no female representative (Gup/Mangmi/Tshogpa) in the election from your Gewog?

No female representative	Percent (%)
Lack of communication skills	26
Domestic responsibilities	7
Self-confidence and fear of losing the election	44
No support from family/husband	9
Our culture restricts women from participating in election	14

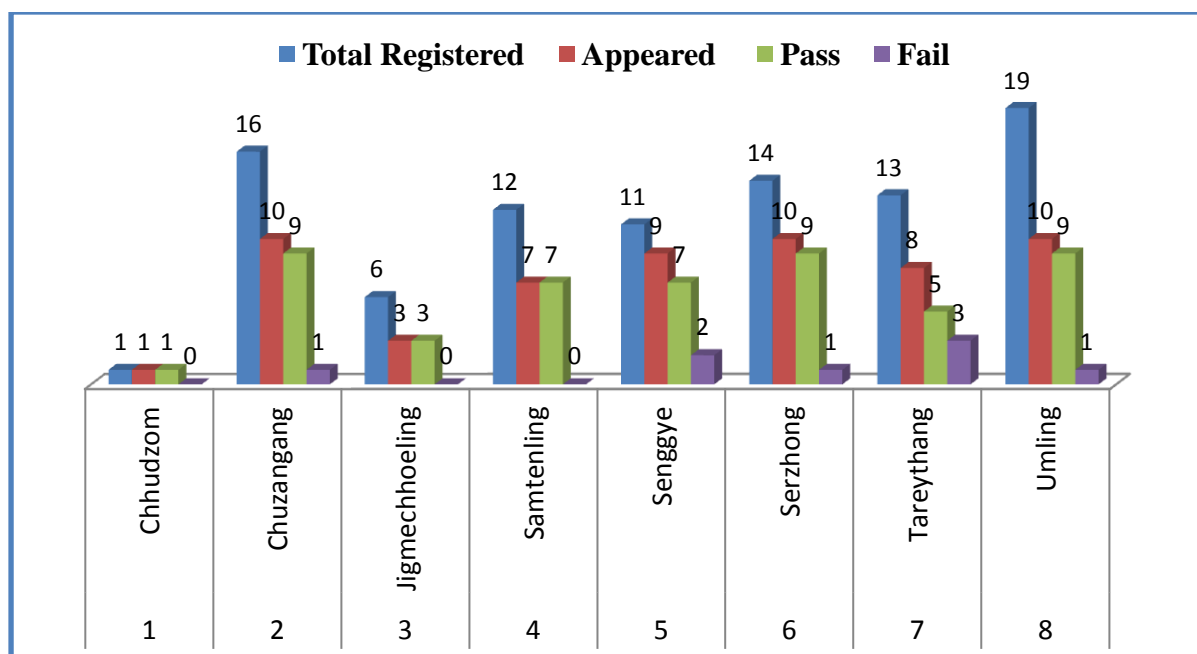
There are many villages where there are no female leaders and the main reason behind for not having, are reflected in table 3.21. 44% of the women said, because of lack of confidence and fear of losing the election. Women bar themselves from taking part in the election. 26% said, its just because of lack of communication skills. 14% of them said, its mainly because, their culture restricts women from participating in the election.

Table 3.22: Functional Literacy and Possession of Skills Test (FLT), Sarpang Dzongkhag, April 30, 2016

Sl.no	Gewog	Total Registered	Appeared 30/4/2016	Pass	Fail
1	Chhudzom	1	1	1	0
2	Chuzangang	16	10	9	1
3	Jigmechhoeling	6	3	3	0
4	Samtenling	12	7	7	0
5	Senggye	11	9	7	2
6	Serzhong	14	10	9	1
7	Tareythang	13	8	5	3
8	Umling	19	10	9	1
	Total	92	58	50	8

(Source: Election office, Sarpang Dzongkhag)

Figure 3.21.FLT, Sarpang Dzongkhag, April 30, 2016



The number of women appearing for FLT in the country has increased from first election 2011 to the last election held in 2016. According to the data from the Election Commission of Bhutan (ECB) ‘over 5,700 registered voters were registered for the test, of which 580 were women’ (BBS, 28 September 2010). According to the ECB, ‘a total of 5,041 had registered for FLT, but only 3,513 actually appeared for the test. Of the successful candidates, 928 are female and 2,182 are male’ (Kuensel, 20 May 2016). This indicates that more women are stepping forward to take part in the decision-making forum.

As per FLT, Sarpang Dzongkhag, 92 women registered for the FLT but nearly half of the women didn’t appear for the test. Out of 58 women who appeared for the test, 8 of them couldn’t qualified for it.(Table 3.22). According to the electoral officer of Sarpang Dzongkhag, Mr Sonam Wangdi, it was a good figure of women participation in FLT compared to the last FLT held. The reasons for not being able to appear for the test was, most women are not that aware of the importance of FLT and also are not confident enough to sit for the test. Therefore in order to attract more women for the test and also to make sure all registered women to appear for the test, they are needed to be educated on the importance of FLT and also their family should provide support, encourage and inspire them in taking the test.

3.5. RESEARCH OUTCOMES

- The monthly income plays a vital role in restricting women from taking part in the election. 86% of the family monthly income falls below Nu.15,000 in which 4 to 6 family members needed to survive their livelihood. It is very much clear that they are being restricted to join election because of lack of resource. Since in figure 3.17, 45% of the women said they are highly interested to contest and 21% said to some extent they are interested, which indicates more than 50% of the women are interested to run for election if some concession is provided to them. The suggestion put forward by them was, if the government allocates them with the budget for running the campaign, they would be able to contest. It was the views shared by almost all the candidates and also by the interested women who wanted to contest in the future election.
- As per the finding, the contestants perceived that education and experiences don't at all count to win the election, even a minimum qualification is enough to run the election and win it. To them, what is all one needed is 'good relationship with the community' and what people perceived as a good leader is 'fair and just'. (Table 3.1 & 3.10). But what the community look for women candidate is the qualification and experiences (45%- Table 3.2). Here the perception of the women candidates for the qualities required for a contestant contradicts with that of what community expects from a women candidate. Therefore the mindset of the contestant women is needed to change for greater opportunity for the people to vote for them.
- Lesser participation of women as compared to men is mainly due to lack of support from the people and moreover, contestants' lack of confidence and fear of losing the election adds more to the problem. (Table 3.8 & 3.17). Most of the women feel that they will be totally discarded by the people. It is supported by the statement, " when women with no electoral experience and lesser educational qualifications fight the elections, the people completely dismiss them". (Raina,2014). Here in this regard, the mindset of the people is needed to change and encourage more women to participate in the election. Table 3.3 supports this statement, about 31% of the women agreed that people should be given various awareness and education about women competence and capabilities.

- More than 90% of the women said, they supported and voted for women candidate. But the outcome of the result unmatched with what they told. (Figure 3.8). Women representation is still far less than what it actually needs to be. According to (Dahlerup, 2014, pp.3), the main reason behind is not because of lack of voter's support but because of only a few women nominations for the political-elections, where people don't get enough choice to vote for the best, and in most cases, they don't even find female nominations.
- Family support, especially the husband has a significant role in inspiring their wives in taking part in the election. Table 3.8 clearly points out that, their husband never restricted them in taking part in the election instead they are the main driving force behind them who encouraged them to participate in the election. (Figure 3.13). Here the 'patriarchal values which existed in massive in the household and community level, not more than a decade ago is now seemed diminishing its value but not totally vanished. It still exists in some ways or the other. Table 3.13, reflects the prejudices faced by the 21% women candidates that men are better leaders and 22% experienced that they can't shoulder responsibilities. But 48% of women said, no prejudices experienced. Though less in number, men consider women equally as capable as them, which is an important sign of change.
- Under the nomination process, the women candidate didn't face much of the problem. Their main problem was the distance to travel to the Dzongkhag centre to get the nomination process done. (Figure 3.10). The villages of Sarpang district are scattered in such a way that most of the villages are very far off the main highway which makes a person especially women difficult to get to the desired place. If election commission could come up with the strategies to conduct nomination process at Chiwog level, this problem could be solved which in turn will encourage more women to join in politics.
- The finding of this research is such that 85% of the women believed that they have equal rights as men (Figure 3.15) and 99% of the women said, more women should take part in the election (Figure 3.16). If more of the women take part in the election, people could have a wider range of choice to choose for the right women candidate, since there lack women candidate and therefore people land up choosing men

candidate which is the main reason for low-representation of women in elected offices.

- 30% of the responses were due to domestic responsibilities which restricted women from participating in the election and this was the variable which scored the highest. (Table 3.17). Women are having the multiple burdens like taking care of household chores, child care, working in the farms, family responsibility, restrict them to take part in the election even though she is interested in it. Family/ husband plays an important role in sharing the work burden of the women.
- One reason behind for the less participation of the women in the election is, most of them failed to take part in activities related to the election. 41% of the women said they weren't aware of such activities. (Table 3.18). Such activities related to elections are usually organized when the election date approaches, which doesn't provide sufficient awareness and motivation to all the women. As women needed to be constantly encouraged and motivated, to let them take part in the election. Therefore it fails to persuade and inspire many of the women in stepping forward to take part in the election. The suggested ideas put forward was, such activities are needed to be organized every once or twice a year so that it can keep women motivated and inspire more women in taking part in the election. Mr. Sonam Wangda, the Dzongkhag Electoral Officer of Sarpang added saying there is a plan coming up in organizing the activity every year to remind and inspire women.
- There were not many changes brought by the elected leaders in their locality since they were not even a year old in service after they were being elected. Even then 56% of the respondent said, they did some construction and maintenance of the road. (Table 3.19)
- The female leader was far better than a male leader in terms of serving the people. 50% of them responded saying they are always available to the community. 19% said, always active, honest and hardworking. Solves the dispute more meaningfully and fairly (17%). (Table 3.20). Men leaders especially Tshogpas and Mangmis, sometimes tend to drink alcohol and fails to carry out the duties entrusted to them by the communities, it was shared by some of the Gewogs women while interviewing them.

- Most of the Gewogs, don't have women leaders, the main reason behind was, women never come forward voluntary to take part in the election because they feel insecure, lack of self-confidence and fear to lose the election. 44% of them supported this statement (Table 3.17). 26% of the women said, they lack in communication (Table 3.8), since in Sarpang district, most of the people in these eight Gewogs are resided by Lotshampas (Southern Nepalese) who are actually not the natives of the place. Therefore they find very tough to communicate in Dzongkha, the national language of the country. These women should be given, ample of training in speaking and developing confidence.

- Since more of the women didn't appear for FLT, more women couldn't take part in the election. Out of 50 women who passed FLT, 40 women participated in the election and 8 were elected. (Table 3.22 & 3.4b). Therefore to make more women participate in the election, firstly they needed to be encouraged to appear for FLT.



CHAPTER IV



CONCLUSION

CHAPTER- IV

4.1. Conclusion

Local government takes every issue of the communities and solves at Gewog level. They also takes issues to the higher authority for proper solutions. It works as per the power and authority granted by “the Local Government Act of Bhutan, 2009”, in implementing the development plan.

A long time before, prior to the introduction of local government in 1991, usually, local leaders were dominated by male representatives. However, in later stages, women too started to show their strength and enthusiasm to participate in local government. Thus, in 2011 local government election that was first held in the country saw 99 elected women and similarly, in second local government election 2016, there were 155 elected women. Even though the number of elected women were less, but their participation was in huge numbers. (Table 3.4a). It also implies same to the Sarpang Dzongkhag local government election, in 2011 the people witnessed 4 elected women out of the few participated women. And in 2016 election, there is drastically increase in the participation of women, about 40 among which 8 were elected. (Table 3.4 b)

The research finding indicates that women’s ability to participate in politics fields of life is equal to that of a man with the passage of time. What women needed was motivation, just infuse in them confidence and make them realize their full strength and power that they can and are not less capable than man.

50% of the women were interested to take part in the future election. The main challenges they faced were, lack of support from the people, domestic responsibilities, lack of confidence and fear of losing the election, financial problem, less involvement of women in various activities related to election and fewer women taking part in FLT.

In order to encourage and inspired more women in the election, the women candidates are needed to be provided with a certain amount of concession to run the campaign and the elected women must be conferred with training and seminars on how to keep up with the political activities. Rest of the women are given enough educations and training in public speaking and building self-confidence and also awareness of the importance of doing

Functional Literacy Test. People are also given some kind of alertness campaign on women capabilities and abilities.

It was pointed out that reservation of seat was one of the solutions to the problem other than providing the women with refreshing programs and courses on building up confidence and capacity in public speaking and providing them with basic education like Non-Formal Education.

Sarpang Dzongkhag will still take a good deal of time to make people fully aware of the women competent and proficient in the election. Women's enthusiastic and willingness will be only possible if, everybody joins hands together and work together in motivating and inspiring them in taking part in the election.

4.2. Recommendation

To improve participation of women in Local government, the following suggestions need to be addressed:

- A long-term training in a regular basis is required to educate women as well as people to improve their attitudes about women's role in public life and to make them aware about the role of women for the improvement of society.
- Provides all women especially interested women with ample of training and programmes in building of self-confidence and in public speaking.
- There need to be the financial support for the women candidates to run for the elections.
- In order to attract more of experienced and qualified women in local government, they needed to be provided with enough incentives and make a condition that they can enjoy their position back if they are not elected for the post.
- The elected women are provided with enough training so that she can be equipped with good leadership qualities and can be set as a good role model for other women.
- The idea of introducing the quota system for the initial years would be better for women so that they won't face challenges in competing with men dominance election.
- An association of women organization in Sarpang Dzongkhag should be formed which mainly deals with the activities and training related to the election.

4.3. Limitation

- The study was limited to eight Gewogs among twelve Gewogs in Sarpang Dzongkhag, therefore the finding does not represent all the Gewogs in the Dzongkhag.
- The study was delimited to 80 women only and these samples of 80 women cannot represent all the women of Sarpang Dzongkhag.
- The time constraint was also a limiting factor in conducting the study.
- The Gewogs have situated away from the highway and was difficult to go from one house to another in collecting of data.
- Since fewer women participated in the local government election, therefore it was difficult to collect enough data for the study.

References

- Choki, S. (2015). *Women in Politics in Democratic Transition: The Case of Bhutan* .pp.3. Retrieved August 21, 2017, from <http://202.144.157.211:8080/jspui/bitstream/1/124/1/Chuki%20sonam.pdf>
- Dahlerup, D. (2014). *Women's Under Representation in Politics in the New Democracy of Bhutan: the need for new strategies*, pp.5-15.
- National Commission for Women and Children.(2012). *Women's Political Participation in 2011 Local Government Elections*, pp. 15-20
- National Commission for Women and Children. (2012). *Women in Politics: Status of Women's Political Participation in Bhutan*. One World South Asia. pp.1-2
- Pratim Basu, S. (2008).The Fleeing people of South Asia. Selection from Refugee Watch in pp.159-161.Anthem Press, New Delhi, India.
- Study of the Determinants of Voter's Choice and Women's Participation in Elective Offices in the Kingdom of Bhutan..* (2014). pp. 11-16. Election Commission of Bhutan, 2014. P.O.Box.No. 2008, Olakha, Thimphu Bhutan. ISBN 978-99936-796-3-9
- Thinley, D. et al. (2014). *Improving Women's Participation in Local Governance an Explorative Study of Women's Leadership Journeys in Eight Districts of Bhutan*. Pp.3-9. Institute for GNH Studies, Royal University of Bhutan, Kuensel Corporation Ltd. ISBN 978-99936-933-0-7
- ## Online Sources
- Bhutan: Study on women's political participation* funded by DIPD. (2014). Retrieved November 28, 2017, from <http://dipd.dk/2014/10/bhutan-study-on-womens-political-participation-funded-by-dipd/>
- Bhutanese local government elections, 2011*. (2017). Retrieved November 27, 2017, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhutanese_local_government_elections,_2011#cite_note-DWW-2
- Choden, R. (2014). *Engaging Women in Bhutan's Growing Democracy*. Retrieved August 25, 2017, from <http://beyondaccess.net/2014/03/05/women-in-bhutans-democracy/>
- Dorji, K. (2010). Encouraging women to join politics.Bhutan Observer. *Bhutan Observer*. Retrieved from <http://bhutanobserver.bt/3115-bo-news-about-encouraging-women-to-join-politics.aspx>
- History of Bhutan*.(n.d.). Retrieved September 17, 2017, from <http://www.bhutantravelpackage.com/history.php>
- Lockard,D.(2008).*Local government. International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*. Retrieved November 14, 2017 from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/political-science-and-government/political-cience-terms-and-concepts/localon>

"Local Government Elections 2011 (Press Release, ECB/NOTIF-01/2011/077)".(2011). *Election Commission*, Government of Bhutan. 2011-07-22. Retrieved November 3, 2017, from <http://www.election-bhutan.org.bt/2011/noti/notFLTEng.pdf>

National Commission for Women and Children.(2008). *Study of Gender Stereotypes and Women's Political Participation (Women in Governance)*
Retrieved 10, October 2017 from,
[http://ncwc.gov.bt/en/files/publication/Study%20of%20Gender%20Stereotypes%20and%20Womens%20Political%20Participation%20\(Women%20in%20Governance\).pdf](http://ncwc.gov.bt/en/files/publication/Study%20of%20Gender%20Stereotypes%20and%20Womens%20Political%20Participation%20(Women%20in%20Governance).pdf)

Raina.S.(2014). *Bhutanese women in politics: Victims of prejudices*. Two Circles.
Retrieved November 14, 2017 from
http://twocircles.net/2014may28/bhutanese_women_politics_victims_prejudices.html

Reservations about reservation for women. (2015). Retrieved November 27, 2017, from
<http://www.bnew.bt/2014/11/10/reservations-about-reservation-for-women/>

Revolvy, L. (n.d.). "*Bhutan*" on Revolvy.com. Retrieved November 27, 2017, from
https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Bhutan&item_type=topicChoden, R.(2014).Engaging

Sarpang District (2016). From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Retrieved September 12, 2017, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sarpang_District

Sherpa.S. (2011). *Bhutan holds first-ever local government elections*. Deutsche Welle online.
Retrieved November 10, 2017 from
<http://www.dw.com/en/bhutan-holds-first-ever-local-government-elections/a-6411665>
editor=Baerthlein, Thomas

Status of Women's Political Participation in Bhutan.(2012). Retrieved September 7, 2017, from <http://unwomen-asiapacific.org/mediaclipings/myFiles/Countries/India/2012/10October/Bhutan-launch-coverage1.pdf>

Wangmo, N.(2016).*Representation of Women in local Government (Block) of Bhutan*.
Retrieved August 12, 2017, from
www.mppg-nsu.org/myresources/item/.../195_d410241fa67fa38eae93aae5

Why less women in politics? (2012). Retrieved November 27, 2017, from
<http://www.bbs.bt/news/?p=10463>

Women in Political Parties in Bhutan. (2017). Retrieved November 28, 2017, from
<http://dipd.dk/2017/03/women-in-political-parties-in-bhutan/>

Women lining up for democracy. (2017). Retrieved November 28, 2017, from
<http://dipd.dk/2017/03/women-lining-up-for-democracy/>

Zangmo. T.(2016). BNEW trains 1,474 women for better participation in upcoming LG polls. *The Bhutanese*. Retrieved September 20, 2017, from
<http://thebhutanese.bt/bnew-trains-1474-women-for-better-participation-in-upcoming-lg-polls/>

QUESTIONNAIRE

The study focuses on the participation of women as leaders and as voters, their experiences as elected leaders and their decision-making processes at the local level that influences their leadership role. Data for the study will be collected only from a female who participated in the election and got elected and as well as from those who were not elected and also from those who participated as voters held in 2016 Local Government Election in Sarpang Dzongkhag. The data will be collected randomly from eight Gewogs of Sarpang Dzongkhag. Your support and cooperation will greatly aid my research work in successfully completing the study. I earnestly request you to respond all these 36 questionnaires with honesty. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. The information that you provide will remain confidential and your identity shall not be revealed.

INSTRUCTIONS:

All the following questions require simply to choose the appropriate answer you feel is the **MOST** correct one. Please, circle or tick against the answer. Few questions require some written response. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Name (Optional)_____ Gender: Male/Female

Age_____

Marital Status_____ Gewog (Block)

:_____

Chiwog/Village(Sub-block): _____

Family Monthly Income in Nu:Below 15,000 15,000-40,000 Above 40,000

Signature and Seal of the head of the Gewog

Section A: This first part of the questionnaire aims to gather more relevant information about the respondent.

Q1. What is your source of income? (**Please tick against the right answer**)

Salary	Business	Rental of properties	Cash crops	Others

Q2. Do you have children? (**YES / NO**) If Yes, How many?

Answer:_____

Q3. How many people(including you) are currently living in your household?(**only members who currently live in the households, and those are temporarily absent for a total duration of fewer than six months must be listed**)

Answer:_____

Q4. What is your level of proficiency in Dzongkha?(**Please tick**)

Sl#		Level			
		1-Poor	2-Average	3-Good	4-Excellent
1	Read				
2	Write				
3	Speak				

Q5. What is your level of education? (**Please Specify**)

i) Primary_____ ii) Secondary_____ iii) University_____

iv) Others (e.g, Vocational Training Institute, Monastic, Non-Formal Education)_____

v) Illiterate

Section B. This part of the questionnaire is about the respondent's experience in participation in the election. The questions are needed to be answered by that female who took part in the election as a candidate both elected(E) as well as Not-elected(NE) So, therefore, answer according to the questions marked against it.

Q1. What motivated you to run for the post of Gup/Mangmi/ Tshogpa? (E/NE)

- i) To develop the community ii) Personal interest iii) To gain experience
- iv) To be a role model v) Community support vi) Duty as a citizen

Other: _____

Q2. What was your main occupation/profession before you contested?(E/NE)

- i) Farmer ii) Trader/ businessman-woman /Shopkeeper iii) Housewife/homemaker
- iv) Corporate employee v) Civil Servant
- vi) others _____

Q3. Did you campaign seriously for the election? (E/NE)

If YES, what are the reasons?

- i) To seek support from the community. ii) To familiarize self to the community.
- iii) To let people vote for the right person. iv) No need for campaign

Others: _____

If NO, what are the reasons? (E/NE)

- i) Did not feel the need. ii) I was the only candidate.
- iii) People know me very well. iv) People supported and nominated me.

Others: _____

Q4. What are the challenges faced while running for the election and during the Campaign?

(E/NE)

- i) Lack of support and cooperation
- ii) Child care(if you have kids)
- iii) Communication skills
- iv) Lack of confidence
- v) Lack of education/training
- vi) Lack of experience
- vii) Problems with home/spouse
- viii) Time management

Others: _____

Q5. Are there any difficulties in the nomination process for a candidate? (E/NE)

- i) Yes
- ii) No
- iii) Don't know

If Yes, what are they?

- i) Nomination form
- ii) Asset declaration
- iii) Affidavit
- iv) Distance to travel
- v) Security clearance certificate

Others: _____

Q6. What were the reasons for being elected? (E)

- i) My previous experiences
- ii) I am trustworthy
- iii) I am educated
- iv) My public relation
- v) Being the only candidate

Others: _____

Q7. Who inspired you to become a leader in your community?(you can choose more than one)(E)

- i) Mother
- ii) Father
- iii) Sister
- iv) Brother
- v) Spouse
- vi) Relatives/Cousins(Please specify) _____
- vii) Nobody inspired me

Q8. What are the roles and responsibilities that take up the most time? (E)

- i) Dispute resolution.
- ii) Planning development activities.
- iii) Monitoring and implementing development activities
- iv) Maintaining law and orders.
- v) Dissemination of policies, information and Khashos (orders).

Others: _____

Q. 9 What are the challenges being faced after being elected? **(E)**

- i) Salary not enough
- ii) Solving people's problem/disputes.
- iii) Understanding/enforcing laws and policies
- iv) Child care
- v) Lack of support & cooperation (communities)
- vi) Gender bias
- vii) Lack of support & cooperation (staffs)
- viii) No challenges faced so far

Others: _____

Section C. This part of the questionnaire can be answered even by those female voters (V) who participated in the election.

Q1. Have you been elected to local government before? **(E/NE/V)**

- i) Yes
- ii) No

If YES, please provide details on the table.

Position	2006 Election	2011 Election	2016 Election
Gup (Gewog headman)			
Mangmi (Assistance gewog headman)			
Tshogpa (village headman)			

Q2. What are the perceived qualities of a GOOD leader? **(E/NE/V)**

- i) Fair & just
- ii) Education
- iii) Communication & interpersonal skills
- iv) Experience
- v) Good character and attitude

Others: _____

Q3. Do you think there will be a more female candidate to participate in future elections? **(E/NE/V)**

- i) Yes
- ii) No
- iii) Some extent
- iv) Don't know.

Q4. What are the prejudices experienced by the female candidate? **(E/NE/V)**

- i) Men are better leaders.
- ii) Women cannot run for election
- iii) Women cannot shoulder responsibilities.
- iv) Women are physically not suitable.
- v) No prejudices

Others: _____

Q5. What are the qualities to base decision to vote for women candidate? (E/NE/V)

- i) Religion background.
- ii) Honesty & Integrity.
- iii) leadership & Personality.
- iv) Educational & Experiences.

Others: _____

Q6. How much influence do you feel women have in community-level decision making processes? (E/NE/V)

- i) High
- ii) Low
- iii) Medium
- iv) No influence

Q7. How are women inferior to men? (E/NE/V)

- i) Decision making.
- ii) Dealing with government officials
- iii) Representing the public
- iv) Taking part in election
- v) Field works/labour force participation
- vi) Business
- vii) No women are inferior to men

Others: _____

Q8. Should more women participate in the election? (E/NE/V)

- i) YES
- ii) NO

If YES, what are the reasons?

- i) Promote gender equality.
- ii) Women are better for the job.
- iii) Women are less corrupt.
- iv) Can be role model for others.
- v) Women are capable
- vi) Women understand women's issues.
- vii) Women are educated
- viii) Women should gain experience

Others: _____

If NO, what are the reasons behind?

- i) less educated than men.
- ii) No experience
- iii) Women are less capable than men

- iv) Greater gender equity
- v) more role models
- vi) Inferior to men

Others: _____

Q9. Did you support for female candidate?(E/NE/V)

- i)Yes ii)No

If **no**,what are the reasons for not voting the female candidate?

- i) No one from my family voted ii) Not capable
iii) I didn't like the candidate iv) No experience
v) No reason vi) Other candidate was my

brother/relative

Others:_____

Q10. How did you decide for whom to vote? (E/NE/V)

- i)Qualification/Experience ii) Promise made to the public
iii)Family members/Relatives/Who are in service iv) Discussed with friends
v) Candidate was my brother/sister/uncle/aunty etc vi) Who is more capable

Others:_____

Q11. Who decided to whom to vote? (E/NE/V)

- i)Mother ii) Father iii) Brother iv) Sister
v)Self vi) Husband

Others:_____

Q12.Are women involved in the activities related to elections such as awareness and campaign in your community? (E/NE/V)

- i) Involved once ii) Involved every year iii) No

idea

- iv) Not involved at all v) Involved in important issues

If Yes, how many women are involved in the activities?(Sarpang Dzongkhag only) (E/NE/V)

- i) Very less ii) Less iii) Few iv)

Many

If very less/less/few are involved in the activities,what could be the reason? (E/NE/V)

- i) Socio-cultural discrimination ii) Long distance to walk
iii) Family responsibility iv) Less competence/ Men are more experenced
v) Wasn't aware of such activities

Others:_____

Q13. Who do you think it is important to have in high decision-making level position?

(E/NE/V)

- i) Male ii) Female iii) Both iv) Don't know

Q14. Would you be interested to stand as a candidate in future? (E/NE/V)

- i) Interested highly ii) Not interested at all iii) Some extent iv) Don't know

If you are not interested as candidate in future, what is the reason?

- i) Lack of family encouragement and support ii) Lack of awareness
iii) Not interested iv) Can't meet educational qualification
v) Look after household work/children

Others: _____

Q15. Are there obstacles/restrictions for women taking part in the election? (E/NE/V)

- i) Yes ii) No iii) Don't know

If Yes, what are they?

- i) Domestic responsibilities ii) Self-confidence and also fear of losing the election
iii) Lack of educational qualification iv) Prevailing cultural attitude regarding women are inferior to men.
v) No support from family/ husband

Others: _____

Q16. What could be the measures for the improvement of women's participation in the election? (E/NE/V)

- i) More women needed to be train in building of self confidence
ii) Educate more women
iii) Give various awareness to the community regarding women are also capable if given the opportunity.
iv) Give enough training in communication skills/Public speaking

Others: _____

Q17. What are the perception/belief and views related to women by community? (E/NE/V)

- i) Women do not have experience and education ii) Not vital in management and government
- iii) Men and women have different roles iv) Lack of confidence and trust in women
- v) Women are considered less capable than men vi) Women are more capable than men
- vii) Both are capable

Others: _____

Q18. Is there perception of equal rights of women with that of men? (E/NE/V)

- i) Yes ii) No iii) Don't know

Q19. Who do you believe is a better and capable leader? (E/NE/V)

- i) Male ii) Female iii) Both iv) Don't know

Q20. What are the changes/ development brought by female leader of your area or by you (Gup/Mangmi/Tshogpa)? (E/NE/V) **{You can answer the question only if there is female leader in your locality}**

- i) Disseminate the information on time ii) Irrigation channels iii) Was fair and transparent
- iv) Construction and maintenance of farm road iv) Worked actively v) Resolved disputes

Others: _____

Q21. Why there is no female representative(Gup/Mangmi/Tshogpa) in the election from your gewog? (E/NE/V)

- i) Lack of Communication skills ii) Domestic responsibilities
- iii) Self-confidence and also fear of losing the election v) No support from family/ husband
- vi) Our culture restricts women in participating in election

Others: _____

