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MINISTER

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ཤེས་རིག་ལྷན་ཁག།  
ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN  
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
THIMPHU: BHUTAN  
*Cultivating the Grace of Our Mind.*

ཤེས་རིག

### Foreword

As an educator, a major preoccupation throughout my working life has been to build a space secure enough for both boys and girls, young women and young men in which to live, learn and develop as fully as their individual talents and gifts allow. Indeed, the governing rationale for the institution of co-education in schools and seats of learning is the need to cultivate mutual respect, learn to honour each other as boys and girls, women and men as nature made us, and to support each other to grow to our fullest potential as human beings.

A common shared physical space, free from obvious or subtle hints for concern or anxiety, is crucial for all human beings in which to bloom and to blossom - each to our capacity. What is even more essential is an accepting and inclusive emotional and psychological space that gives us the freedom to extend the range of our life and to celebrate the process of living.

I have seen shy girls and meek women progress from self-imposed or attributed situations of concern to confident and even assertive positions. They rise to claim their own space intellectually and socially. This is what many of my fellow-teachers and school leaders and their counterparts in other fields have done as they marshal their resources of will to match the demands of their positions.

Women's participation in politics and governance has been much talked about and for the right reasons. I would like to believe that the aim should be more than mere symbolism or token representation. Participation in this hitherto male territory must be a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Women possess unique gifts of affection and care, self-restraint and instinct of preservation, and, above all, the softening graces of filial piety and resolve. The society must benefit from these special gifts.

As the present study has established, Bhutan's women have come a significant way, but there is a longer way to go. That is why there is a need to create not just access or physical space, but more importantly a psychological sphere that recognizes the special gifts and talents of both men and women and enables them to discover and celebrate the best of who they can become.

It is my hope and my prayer that our hardworking and brave women and girls will put their will to gear and that our men will create the enabling space that is their due.

Tashi Delek!

Thakur S Powdyel.

Chair, National Commission for Women and Children

*Thank you, Teacher, I can read this!*



# FOREWORD

Gender-responsive governance is a common and top priority concern within the United Nations System in Bhutan. Thus, the study “Women’s Political Participation in 2011 Local Government Elections,” which outlines the specific issues of concern with regard to women’s participation in elected positions at the local level, is a valuable input to the agenda of promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women in the country. The completion of the study is also timely as the country braces for the final stretch to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015, and as it prepares for the 2013 Parliamentary Elections.

The study, ‘Women’s Political Participation in 2011 Local Government Elections’ was part of the on-going joint partnership between UN Women and the United Nations System in Bhutan, under the programme ‘Promoting Women’s Political Leadership and Governance in India and South Asia’. This programme seeks to strengthen governance structures in the South Asian countries of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal and Pakistan to address women’s concerns. It aims to strengthen women’s role as leaders in governance structures and achieve gender equality. The study in Bhutan was the first activity undertaken under the joint partnership. The findings from the study are insightful and helped shape the contours of the programme as it is being implemented at present.

The Royal Government of Bhutan’s upcoming 11th Five Year Plan has strongly positioned gender equality under the Good Governance Pillar of Bhutan’s Gross National Happiness approach to development. The Plan will specifically address visible gender gaps in the areas of education (tertiary and vocational levels), employment, political representation, and violence against women. By highlighting evidences based on first hand research, this study will contribute to the ongoing efforts to promote gender equality and improve the status of women in elected office in Bhutan and help flag areas where government measures to this end could be strengthened.

The United Nations System in Bhutan highly commends the efforts of the National Commission for Women and Children and the Institute for Management Studies for having completed this study. Under the principle of Delivering as One, the UN in Bhutan is fully committed to support the RGOB in achieving MDG 3, promoting gender equality and empowering women, which can unlock progress across the board.

In the United Nations Development Assistance Framework for 2014-2018, the UN in Bhutan will continue its efforts to address some of the key hindering factors that limit women’s participation in governance and decision-making, for example illiteracy; gender-based violence; and restricting cultural and social norms. The UN Bhutan will help strengthen legal mechanisms and normative frameworks that protect women’s rights.

The UN in Bhutan will continue to assist the RGOB increase its national capacity, in particular that of national mechanisms for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women through strategic entry points that will advance the status of Bhutanese women in all aspects of development.



Delivering as One UN

Anne F. Stenhammer

Regional Programme Director, UN Women South Asia Sub-Regional Office

# WHAT THIS REPORT COVERS

Until recently, the status of women's participation in local governance in Bhutan was hardly known. Relevant literature is scarce, and there is virtually no quantitative documentation. With support of the UN in Bhutan through the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNW), the National Commission of Women and Children (NCWC) commissioned a comprehensive study on the 2011 local government elections in Bhutan. This report, the first of its kind, details the results of this study.

The study is based on an exhaustive survey that was conducted from June to July 2011, by the Institute of Management Studies (IMS). The quantitative phase of the survey entailed using questionnaires for 1536 face-to-face interviews with respondents in their homes. The statistical software package SPSS was used for data management and statistical analysis. The quantitative research was supported by

focused group discussions with selected groups of people from villages, and a substantive literature review.

The main objective of the survey is to establish a strong baseline that indicates the specific issues of concern with regard to women's participation in local governance in Bhutan. The main content of the research has been crystallized into four chapters in this report. Chapter 1 provides a broad overview of the socio-cultural context and the evolution of the political system in Bhutan. It highlights the current status of women's participation in decision-making at both the national and local level, and explains why women's participation is important. Chapter 2 covers objectives of the study and the methodology used. Chapter 3 presents the results of the research in the form of exhaustive data and the main survey findings, while chapter 4 extrapolates these findings to recommendations and conclusions.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Women's empowerment in transit

Political empowerment for women in Bhutan is inevitable in the long run. This report draws attention to the endemic challenges, aspiring and politically motivated women face along the way. Extensive data have been collated that help identify the causes of gender gaps in administrative and political spheres, and biases in the Bhutanese society.

Currently, women's participation in public spaces is in a transitional phase in Bhutan. From traditional gender roles to potential leadership roles in society, women are slowly closing the gap with men.

Nevertheless, for women to fully and meaningfully participate in governance and decision-making, it would mean navigating a complex personal and socio-cultural journey. While there are no ready solutions to fix the lop-sided gender grid in the Bhutanese society, sustained and vigorous gender advocacy at the policy level can definitely make an impact.

However, for a tangible change to take place in the valuation and perception of women in leadership roles, the Bhutanese society needs to: perceive women to be as valuable as men; view women as having similar abilities to lead as men; and be more open to the concepts of gender equality and women's empowerment that provide space for women to lead outside the homes and for men to equally share domestic responsibilities.

In the final analysis, the recommendations outlined in this report prepare the ground for the next critical stage: how to further bolster

women's participation in local governance?

## The survey

The Survey on Women's Participation in Local Governance was conducted from June to July, 2011, by the Institute of Management Studies (IMS). It was designed to establish a strong baseline that lays out the ground realities and the specific issues of concern with regard to women's participation in the local governance in Bhutan.

The study has used a qualitative and a quantitative research methodology. The qualitative method consisted of group discussions with selected groups of people from all villages, and a substantive literature research. The quantitative method of the survey comprised 1536 face-to-face interviews with respondents in their homes using questionnaires. The obtained data have been statistically analyzed using SPSS.

The interviewees comprised 822 women and 714 men aged 18 and above, predominantly from the rural areas (96%), and to a small extent from the urban areas (4%). The survey was conducted in eight *dzongkhags* (districts) in all of the four regions of the country. A multi-stage cluster random sampling procedure was followed, whereby care was taken to have a proportional representation from different *dzongkhags*, and the underlying administrative units of *gewogs*.

## Key findings

Among the key findings of this report are the following:

1. The 2011 local elections provided an opportunity for Bhutanese women to visibly participate in governance both

as voters and prospective candidates. Women participated to a slightly lesser extent than men, and this trend is expected to spill over in the future elections as well. A small percentage of women were elected as administrators at the levels of *Gup*, *Mangmi*, and *Tshogpa*. However, the concerned agencies do not seem to have addressed the question whether the election system and processes have sufficient inbuilt mechanisms to motivate women's participation. Such mechanisms could be gender policy-making, such as specific laws or policies that strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women, measures adopted by Election Commission of Bhutan to encourage women to participate in local elections, and existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB. Their existence is hardly, if at all, known to the public.

2. The issue of women's participation in local governance is not a matter of sufficient women voting. The main issue is the chronically limited engagement of women in public life and politics. The findings indicate that the following five constraining factors are the most relevant here: lack of education and training, lack of functional literacy skills, limited involvement and skills of women in decision-making (both at the household and community level), low self-esteem and poor self-image, and the double or triple burden that women bear as housewives, mothers and income generators. These findings seem to contradict the popular belief that it is mainly the women's 'double or triple burden' that keeps them away from public spaces. Lack of education and training appears to be the main limiting factor, along with three other factors that can all be associated with lack of

education and training. Evidently, education and training affect functional literacy skills, decision-making capacity, self-image and self-esteem.

3. Lack of education and literacy skills had a significantly adverse impact on women's participation in the local government elections. In Bhutan, literacy rates for women are 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas, against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men. Many women did not have the confidence to take part in the education and training programmes or take the Functional Literacy Tests (FLT), the passing of which is a prerequisite for contesting the elections. Furthermore, the standard of the FLT seems to be higher than the learning outcome of the Non Formal Education Program (NFE). The NFE, particularly the Post Literacy Course (PLC), is designed to develop functional literacy skills in the learners. As more female than male aspiring candidates for local governance owe their literacy skills to the NFE, and not to the regular, formal education, the FLT effectively bars these women from participation.

4. Subliminal gender gaps exist in decision-making, both at the household and community level. Though household decisions are generally taken in a pleasantly democratic manner, in traditional Bhutanese society, certain subtle 'patriarchal values' exist, leading men to generally have more say in decisions concerning politics and major household matters. The eastern and southern regions may suffer more strongly from these 'patriarchal values' than the western and central regions. At the community level, decisions are generally taken by local governance position holders (*Gups*, *Mangmis* and *Tshogpas*), in

consultation with the community members. This often involves more men than women. Consequently, it is likely that important community issues that are more specific to women and children are left out of the agenda, or at best, addressed very poorly.

5. In a society where gender stereotypes and attitudes run deep, women are portrayed as less capable than men. There is a pervasive belief that leadership and politics are purely masculine activities. While definitely more men hold such views than women, women also share these misplaced gender beliefs. This leads to women having lower expectations of them-selves, of their leadership capability and their proposed role in politics. A general surmise from the study is that Bhutanese women suffer, in varying degrees, from low self-esteem and poor self-image. Patriarchal values and society's attitude and stereotypes apart, this is most likely due to illiteracy or lower levels of education and training. This, consequently, leads to lack of experience in working in public spaces and, as a result, a lack of confidence. All these, collectively, impede women's participation in local governance, which, without effective interventions in place, can be persistent.
6. Other limitations aside, women's traditional double or triple role as housewives, mothers, and often sharing the burden of income generation definitely limits them in taking part in public life. It leaves them with less time, effectively preventing them from pursuing interests outside the house.
7. Most women face greater socio-economic challenges than men in society, limiting their options to participate in public spaces. Only about 40 percent of the Bhutanese

women may have the economic means to do so. The study also reveals that about one-third of the Bhutanese women do not inherit land and property, putting them at a great disadvantage in society. Furthermore, it is observed that a large proportion of women may be dependent on men for financial means and hence lack of access to and benefits derived from resources.

8. To sum it up, Bhutanese women's lower socio-economic status, multiple roles (as wives, mothers, daughters, and community workers) coupled with little or no education, severely limits their access to formal services and general advancement.
9. Both women and men acknowledge the potential of women to participate in public life, not only as voters but also as local governance position holders. Moreover, there is a general belief among both men and women that women's participation in local governance can bring about a positive impact in their communities. This belief provides a promising premise for closing the gender gap in administration and politics in the future. A sign of a good beginning is also that a large proportion of women (even though significantly less than men) are interested in involving themselves in the decision-making process in their communities.

## Recommendations

In order to enhance women's participation in local governance, the following needs to be addressed:

To improve the election system and process towards larger participation of women in politics, a number of measures can be taken. First of all, the question needs to be addressed

whether the election system and processes have sufficient inbuilt mechanisms to motivate women's participation. For this, NCWC, in collaboration with the ECB, needs to find out in depth: a) the existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women; b) the existence of measures taken by the ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections; c) the existence of gender-sensitive budgeting by the ECB, on the basis of which the shortfalls need to be addressed, in collaboration with ECB and other relevant agencies.

1. Appropriate measures need to be explored and then adopted at the policy making level, to make sure that women are adequately engaged in community decision-making processes. Proportional representation of women attending public meetings at all levels can be made mandatory. As an interim measure, candidate quota for local governance elections can be introduced, separately for Gups and Mangmis, ensuring that women candidates meet a minimum percentage. Also, a number of reserved seats for women can be instituted, to be filled on a rotational basis amongst the *gewogs* within the *dzongkhag*.
2. In order to improve education levels of women, the Ministry of Education can encourage *dzongkhags* to pursue the promotion of NFE programmes with greater vigor than at present, including improving the completion rates of Post Literacy Courses, as well as ensuring progress in the establishment of community learning centres.
3. A review of the standard requirements of FLT versus the language skills developed in the NFE Programme is recommended. This exercise should tell whether the FLT

standard requirement is equivalent to the expected learning outcome of the Post Literacy Course (PLC). If the FLT standard is higher, follow-up action should be taken.

4. It would be useful to institute a system that provides political leadership trainings to politically motivated women on a sustained basis. This system can also include a programme on 'mentoring and coaching' of elected women candidates that can be initiated by DLG.
5. In order to involve all community members, particularly women, in the process of taking community level decisions capacity building at the grass-root level needs to be initiated. It should focus on leadership and management for (aspiring) local governance position holders.
6. In order to address the lack of self-esteem and self-confidence among women, as well as men's attitude towards them, there is a clear need for sustained gender awareness and advocacy programmes. Apart from stressing the importance of including women in decision-making processes, these programmes should also address views, value systems and practices of men that are patriarchal in nature. They should target the *gewogs* and villages in particular, by extensively using both broadcast and print media.
7. In order to relieve women of their workload, the most significant step that can be taken is establishing day care centers in the communities. One such initiative has already been started by the Tarayana Foundation. As extension of this programme to the rest of the country is constrained by lack of funds, the government and development partners should commit to providing financial support for this.

8. The study indicates that female role modeling may work in Bhutan. Hence, provision of support to female leaders (and documentation of their performance) at all levels is a potential solution to increasing women's participation in politics and decision-making. By helping them in achieving the developmental targets and fulfilling community expectations they are more likely to become role models and thereby further the cause of women's engagement in governance and decision-making.
  
9. In order to create a more 'enabling' environment for women participants in the political arena, a number of additional measures can be taken: raise awareness among the elected members of their rights, duties and responsibilities; sensitize elected male members on gender issues; make provisions to protect women who contest elections and those elected to political posts; and provide training on governance. DLG could further initiate a network of women leaders to enable women leaders to support each other, besides sharing ideas and solutions to problems.

# ABBREVIATIONS

<b>APRHD</b>	Asia Pacific Regional Human Development
<b>BCSRR</b>	Bhutan Civil Service Rules and Regulations
<b>BDHRL</b>	Bureau of Democracy Human Rights and Labour
<b>BPA</b>	Beijing Platform of Action
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
<b>DLG</b>	Department of Local Governance
<b>DT</b>	Dzongkhag Tshogdu
<b>ECB</b>	Election Commission of Bhutan
<b>FGD</b>	Focused Group Discussions
<b>FLT</b>	Functional Literacy Test
<b>GNHC</b>	Gross National Happiness Commission
<b>GNH Index</b>	Gross National Happiness Index
<b>GT</b>	Gewog Tshogde
<b>LG</b>	Local Governance
<b>MDGs</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>N</b>	Total Number of Respondents
<b>NCWC</b>	National Commission for Women and Children
<b>Nf</b>	Total Number of Female Respondents
<b>NFE</b>	Non-Formal Education Programme
<b>Nm</b>	Total Number of Male Respondents
<b>NMW</b>	National Minimum Wage
<b>NWF</b>	National Work Force
<b>PLC</b>	Post Literacy Course
<b>PHCB</b>	Population Housing and Census of Bhutan
<b>RAC</b>	Royal Advisory Council
<b>RCSC</b>	Royal Civil Service Commission
<b>RGOB</b>	Royal Government of Bhutan
<b>SAARC</b>	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
<b>SDGs</b>	SAARC Development Goals
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Pro-gramme
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund

# GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Unless otherwise indicated terminologies and definitions are drawn from [www.pcw.gov.ph](http://www.pcw.gov.ph).

## Access vs. Control:

- Access in the development context is the means or right to obtain services, products and commodities. In the context of the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Framework, access to resources and services is an objective of gender equality, while women's mobilization to achieve equality is an element of women's empowerment.
- Control is the ability to direct or influence events so that one's own interests are protected. In the context of the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Framework, women's equality of control with men is the most important aspect of women's development where women ensure that resources and benefits are distributed so that women and men get an equal share.

## Advocacy:

- A conscientization strategy concerned with increasing people's sensitivity to the implications of gender inequality, and demanding that problems of gender discrimination be identified and overcome in policies and programs.
- Advocacy entails an activist and assertive form of gender awareness, vigilance that gender issues are not overlooked, and persistence that gender issues be addressed.

## Affirmative Action:

- A policy action that favors marginalized groups in society, such as women. While it is a special measure, it is not considered discriminatory since it aims to accelerate the attainment of equality between the dominant and marginalized groups.
- Affirmative action should not result in unequal or separate standards and must be continued even when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

## Democratic line of decision making:

- A process of taking a decision based on the principle that all members of family/community have an equal right to be involved in taking a decision (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005).

## Disadvantaged Position of Women:

- Women's social status as a result of their being

marginalized and subordinated.

## Discrimination:

- Overt behavior in which people are given different and unfavorable treatment on the basis of their race, class, sex, and cultural status.
- Any practice, policy or procedure that denies equality of treatment to an individual or group.
- In the terminology of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, it is any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex, which has the purpose or effect of denying equal exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all fields of human endeavor.

## Domestic Work (Mother work, Household work, Other work):

- Domestic work of a housewife would constitute of being a mother or rearing children (mother work), other household work, and most often than not income generation (other work) for the family which prevent them from participating in public life (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2005).

## Double/Multiple Burden:

- A situation referring to the heavy workload of women and the many, overlapping tasks involved, which if computed in terms of hours would total more than 24 hours. This workload consists of unpaid reproductive work, paid productive work, community management, and all other work necessary for the survival of the family. Women's role in constituency-based politics includes participation in decision-making and organizations at all political levels of government and civil society.

## Free and Fair Elections:

- An election is Free and Fair when it meets the following conditions [Fletcher, 2007:2]:
- Impartial administration, to ensure that enrolment is open to all eligible voters and that casting a vote is a reasonably accessible process
- Something approaching universal suffrage, so that all citizens are able to participate
- Freedom from coercion, so that voters are not

coerced in making their choices

- Freedom of expression and association, so that citizens can participate in electoral debate
- A system that ensures that votes are counted fairly and accurately

### Gender Awareness:

- The ability to identify problems arising from gender inequality and discrimination, even if these are not evident on the surface and are “hidden,” or are not part of the general and commonly accepted explanation of what and where the problem lies. Gender awareness means a high level of gender conscientization.

### Gender Equality vs. Gender Equity:

- Gender equality means that women and men enjoy the same status and conditions and have equal opportunity for realizing their potential to contribute to the political, economic, social and cultural development of their countries. They should also benefit equally from the results of development.
- Gender equity moves beyond a focus on equal treatment. It means giving to those who have less on the basis of needs, and taking steps to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity can be understood as the means, and equality is the end. Equity leads to equality.

### Gender Gap:

- The gap between women and men in terms of how they benefit from education, employment, services, and so on.

### Gender Sensitivity:

- The ability to recognize gender issues and to recognize women’s different perceptions and interests arising from their different social position and gender roles.

### Gender Stereotyping (and attitudes):

- Society’s perceptions and value systems that instill an image of women as weak, dependent, subordinate, indecisive, emotional and submissive. Men, on the other hand, are strong, independent, powerful, dominant, decisive and logical. Unexamined images, ideas or beliefs associated with a particular group that have become fixed in a person’s mind and are not open to change. For example, women’s roles,

functions and abilities are seen to be primarily tied to the home.

### Household decisions and Personal decisions:

- Household decisions are those decisions taken which are connected with looking after a house and the people living in it, whereas Personal decisions are those decisions taken by an individual for ones own and not belonging to or connected with anyone else in the family (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2005).

### Marginalization:

- Women being considered a nonessential force in the economy despite their crucial role in production. Their contributions to development remain unrecognized or undervalued.

### Participation:

- The direct involvement of marginalized women in the development process to build their capability to access and control resources, benefits and opportunities so as to gain self-reliance and an improved quality of life.
- In the context of the Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment Framework, having a share and taking part in decision making in how things are done and how re-sources are allocated.

### Patriarchy (and Patriarchal Values):

- The ‘rule of the father,’ or a universal political structure that favors men over women. It was originally used by anthropologists to describe a social structure in which the patriarch has absolute power over everyone else in the family.
- Male domination of political power and domination that maintains an unjust system for the benefit of the rulers at the expense of the ruled.

### Quotas, Seat reservations:

- Quotas in politics is an affirmative measure which establishes a percentage or number for the representation of a specific group, in this case women, most often in the form of a minimum requirement, for example 20, 30, 40 or 50 percent, or as maximum-minimum representation requirements for women or for both sexes. Two most widely used quota systems are (Dahlerup, 2007:78):
- Candidate quotas that certain percentage of candidates on the list of the individual parties in a constituency be women

- Reserved seats quotas that certain number of seats are reserved for women from the districts, if the seats are at the national parliament, and from the blocks, if the seats reserved are at the district level legislative bodies.

### Self-image and Self-esteem:

- Self-image is a person's mental picture of oneself, generally of a kind that is quite resistant to change, that depicts not only details that are potentially available to objective investigation by others (height, weight, hair color, gender, I.Q. score, etc.), but also items that have been learned by that person about himself or herself, either from personal experiences or by internalizing the judgments of others (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-image>).
- Self-esteem is a reflection of a person's overall evaluation or appraisal of his or her own worth. Self-esteem encompasses beliefs and emotions such as triumph, despair, pride and shame(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-esteem>).

### Sex-Disaggregated Data:

- Statistical information that differentiates between women and men and allows one to see where the gaps are in their position or condition.

### Women's Empowerment:

- In the context of development, a tool and a framework where development allows women to be participants in development efforts, and not just beneficiaries. More than this, their level of participation enables them to make decisions based on their own views and perspectives. In the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Framework, the goal and the essential process for women's advancement. It is the process by which women mobilize to understand, identify and overcome gender discrimination so as to achieve equality in welfare and equal access to resources.

### Violence Against Women:

- Any act of gender-based violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.



### 1.1. Introduction: setting the gendered socio-cultural context

Bhutanese society is largely matriarchal.<sup>1</sup> Traditionally, particularly in northern Bhutan, daughters inherit the house and land while sons leave home to settle in their wives' homes. Apparently, women were given these rights of importance because of the belief that they need more economic security than men. It enables them to take care of their parents and raise children, without the need to acquire wealth and property during their productive lives. In line with this, the Gender Pilot Study in 2001 found that 60 percent of the landowners in rural areas were women, even though in urban areas more men (55%) than women (36%) owned property.<sup>2</sup>

In a similar vein, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (BDHRL, 2008) acknowledged that in the traditions of most Bhutanese ethnic groups, women were accorded respect. They participated freely in the social and economic life of the country, a point further stressed by Tshering and Dolma (2008): "unlike most other South Asian countries ... women have equal status to men not only in the eye of the law..."<sup>3</sup> The Bureau also observed that in most Bhutanese traditions the household was run by the most capable member of the family, "which often resulted in the mother or eldest daughter holding this position,"<sup>4</sup> indicating that girls and women were no less capable than men. The Bureau further noted that within the household men and women were relatively equal and that dowries were not customary, even among the

Southern Bhutanese Hindus. Moreover, in the labour exchange culture,<sup>5</sup> which is popular in rural Bhutan, interestingly, the value of work of men and women is considered equal. The value is judged by the need rather than by sex.<sup>6</sup> This portrays Bhutan as a society where the issue of gender equity and equality is almost irrelevant.

However, in spite of the Bhutanese society being largely matriarchal and women enjoying equal status with men, there are certain beliefs and practices that set women apart, resulting in women being disadvantaged in Bhutanese society. For one, BDHRL noted that "Employers generally paid women slightly less than men in unskilled jobs for the same position."<sup>7</sup> This is not surprising. The Gender Pilot Study conducted by the Royal Government of Bhutan (2001) with assistance from the UN system in Bhutan found that the "present socio-cultural perceptions of both men and women see women as less capable and confident than men, especially in matters of governance and interaction with external agencies."<sup>8</sup> The BDHRL also cites that women constituted approximately 30 percent of the formal work force in 2004.<sup>9</sup>

However, it may be noted that there have been no major studies in the Bhutanese context to find gender gaps and biases in major key areas of education, economy, decision-making and political participation.

### 1.2. Evolution of the political system in Bhutan

An organized form of administration and a

system of government in Bhutan date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the time of Zhabdrung Ngawang Namgyel. The Zhabdrung is credited to have unified the country into the present day sovereign state of Bhutan, with its unique national identity. End 1640s, just before the death of the Zhabdrung, the dual system of government (*chösi* – religious and political matters or *chösi nyiden* – dual system of government) had taken a definite form. The Zhabdrung as the head of the theocratic state<sup>10</sup> organized the monk-body under a head-abbot, known as *Je Khenpo*, to look after the monks and ensure discipline and purity of the teachings (*chö*), a system which continues till this day. At the helm of political affairs (*si*) stood the *Desi* (temporal ruler). The other important positions under this system were *drönyer* (chief of protocol, also responsible for justice), *kalön* (minister in the three large regions), *pchila* (universal lama, also called *pönlop* -governor), *drungpas* (deputies, where jurisdiction of a *pönlop* was too large), *dzongpön* (the chief of a *dzong*), and *gups* (elders who looked after several villages).<sup>11</sup> This system of theocratic rule, having seen fifty-four *Desis* from 1651-1907, ended with the people of Bhutan unanimously electing Sir *Gongsa* Ugyen Wangchuck as the first hereditary monarch of Bhutan in 1907.<sup>12</sup>

The seeds of democracy were sown when the far-sighted visionary leader, His Majesty, the Third King, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, established the National Assembly (*Tshogdu*) in 1953. The *Tshogdu* had 150 members, of which 105 were elected representatives of the people, twelve from the monk-body, and thirty-three nominated by the government. During assembly meetings, which were held twice a year, all matters of national importance were discussed and laws were enacted.<sup>13</sup> In 1965, His Majesty the King established a nine-member Royal Advisory Council, six of whom

were people's representatives, two from the monk-body, and one nominee of the King. The council's responsibility was not only to advise the king but also to verify the implementation of the laws passed by the National Assembly. Furthermore, the King established a modern system of judiciary in 1968 with codified laws and a highest court of appeal, the High Court, with the king holding the final power of decision.<sup>14</sup>

The task of further democratization of the country was continued at an accelerated pace by the benevolent, far-sighted visionary leader His Majesty, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo, Jigme Singye Wangchuck. His Majesty the King established the *Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogdu* (Dzongkhag Development Committee) in 1981, and then the *Gewog Yargye Tshogchung* (Block Development Committee) in 1991.<sup>15</sup> With the establishment of these two development committees, the central government's power was effectively decentralized into different layers of local governance, as a mechanism to propel people's participation in the progress of Bhutan.<sup>16</sup> This move has facilitated greater involvement of the people in decision-making.

In 1998, the cabinet, from the old tradition, was dissolved and replaced by an Executive Cabinet, whose members were elected by the National Assembly. This whole process of democratization culminated into the adoption of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, making Bhutan a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy in 2008, which saw the first ever democratically elected government in place. Under the dynamic leadership of His Majesty the Fifth King, Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck, Bhutan now has a three and half year old vibrant bicameral parliament, consisting of the *Gyelyong Tshogdu* (the National Assembly) and the *Gyelyong Tshogde* (the National Council), in

place. The people of Bhutan on June 27, 2011 went to the polls to elect their Local governance leaders, the *Gups*, *Mangmis*, *Tshogpas* as well as *Thromde Tshogpas*.

But what is the level and quality of participation of women in the electoral process? The next section delves into women's participation in the decision-making process in the country.

### 1.3. Women's participation in decision-making: the current scenario

#### Legal framework: the environment

Under the supreme law of the country – the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan – Bhutanese women enjoy full equality, and are protected from any form of discrimination on the basis of their gender. In fact, non-discrimination and the equal rights of women and men are fundamental principles of the Constitution enacted in 2008. Specifically, while the Constitution provides Bhutanese citizens with equal access and opportunity to join the public service under Article 7 (8), Article 7 (6) affirms the right to vote and to exercise adult franchise,<sup>17</sup> provisions of which are reinforced for women under Article 9 (17), which states that “The State shall endeavour to take appropriate measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination and exploitation against women including trafficking, prostitution, abuse, violence, harassment and intimidation at work, in both public and private spheres.”<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, Bhutan, having ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), has harmonized national laws and policies in accordance with the provisions of the Convention.<sup>19</sup> Besides CEDAW, Bhutan is also a signatory to the Beijing Platform of Action

(BPA), and other international development milestones such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), SAARC Development Goals (SDGs) that emphasize and require the country to promote women's empowerment and active participation in all spheres of society including politics.<sup>20</sup>

In addition, the GNHC and NCWC in their National Action Plan for Gender point out that the Election Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan 2008 does not differentiate between women and men, as in, no seats are reserved for women in the National Assembly, nor are political parties required to have a certain proportion of women members or candidates. Similarly, the two agencies point out that the *Chathrims* (this means guidelines) established *Dzongkhag Tshogdues* (DT) and *Gewog Tshogdes* (GT) by making no explicit distinction between women and men in terms of eligibility criteria for DT/GT members, thus making the candidacy open to any Bhutanese citizen so long as the criteria are fulfilled. Likewise, the Bhutan Civil Service Rules and Regulations 2006 (BCSR) does not distinguish between female and male civil servants. Both are accorded equal criteria when considered for selections, appointment, up-gradation, trainings, promotions and transfers, based on their qualifications and merit.<sup>21</sup>

In so far as legal provisions have been made, Bhutanese women have equal right and opportunity, as do men, to participate in political activities. Besides, the GNHC and NCWC acknowledge that “the RGOB has given attention to increasing women's participation in development activities and in public decision making, bringing women into the mainstream; a move that has been further strengthened by the issuance of Royal Decree in 1998, that stressed the importance of women's representation in the National Assembly” (Annex-1). However,

they have reason to complain about affirmative measures, such as quotas or reserved seats for increasing women’s participation in public decision-making, not having received much consideration.<sup>22</sup>

In any case, as noted by the ECB (2010, p. 12), women’s participation in the political arena is dismally low, and their visibility in all key decision-making positions, minimal. This has happened despite the enabling policy environment (GNHC and NCWC, p. 17). Both GNHC and NCWC attribute this situation to the fact that the Bhutanese society still considers family life to be women’s first priority, the impact of which may have contributed to low representation of women in public decision making, especially at higher levels of governance (p. 17). The following sections consider the actual state of women’s participation in the decision-making positions.

### Women’s participation in decision-making at the national level

Before taking stock of the situation of women’s participation in decision-making positions in Bhutan, it is worth taking a snapshot of the situation worldwide. Notably, the table below highlights the various averages of the number of women in parliaments around the world. This has been compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, on the basis of information provided by national parliaments by August 31, 2009.<sup>23</sup>

Even among South-Asian countries, apart from Maldives and Sri Lanka, Bhutan fares very poorly on the issue of women’s participation in the National Parliament. The Parliament of Bhutan, which was elected in 2008, comprises 72 members of whom only 10 (13.89%) are women, 4 (8.5%) in the National Assembly, and 6 (24%) in the National Council, respectively.<sup>26</sup> As

Table 1.1 Percentage of women in parliaments in different parts of the world

Region	Percentage of women MP’s in parliament	
	Percentage of female MPs	Number of female/total MPs
<b>World</b>	18.6%	
<b>Nordic countries</b>	42%	
<b>Americas</b>	22%	
<b>Europe (excl. Nordic Countries)</b>	19.4%	
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	18.6%	
<b>Asia</b>	18.3%	
<b>Pacific</b>	15.2%	
<b>Arab States</b>	9.1%	
<b>South-Asian countries</b>		
<b>Nepal</b>	33.2%	
<b>Afghanistan</b>	27.7% and 21.6%	67/242 and 22/102
<b>Pakistan</b>	22.5% and 17.0%	76/338 and 17/100
<b>Bangladesh</b>	18.6%	64/345
<b>India</b>	10.7%	58/543
<b>Bhutan</b>	8.5% and 24%	4/47 and 6/25
<b>Maldives</b>	6.5%	5/977
<b>Sri Lanka:</b>	5.8%	13/225

Source: Sultana Kamal, 2009, p. 210-211

is evident, the number of women participating in governance in Bhutan is remarkably low.

Table 1.2 shows the members of the National Assembly by gender from 2001 to 2007. The data in the table shows that the proportion of female National Assembly members from 2001 to 2007 actually regressed. This is in sharp contrast with the rest of the world as indicated by Figure 1, wherein the data records a significant gain in women’s participation in national parliaments across regions for more or less the same period. In 2007, women represented only 3% of National Assembly members, which is a decline from 11% representation

in 2001. Similarly, in 2007, there were only 4 women *Chimis*, (people’s representatives) at the National Assembly, a sharp fall from 16 women *Chimis* in 2001. Moreover, even though Bhutan’s first female councilor was appointed in 1971,<sup>27</sup> the second one was appointed only in 2002 to the Royal Advisory Council (RAC). There was only one female councilor between

2001 and 2005. During the same period, no women representatives had been named to the National Assembly, either from the RGOB or the Dratshang. The GNHC and NCWC believe that the absence of women representatives in the government may be closely linked to the low number of women at executive levels in the civil service (p. 19).

**Table 1.2 Members of the National Assembly by gender, 2001-2007**

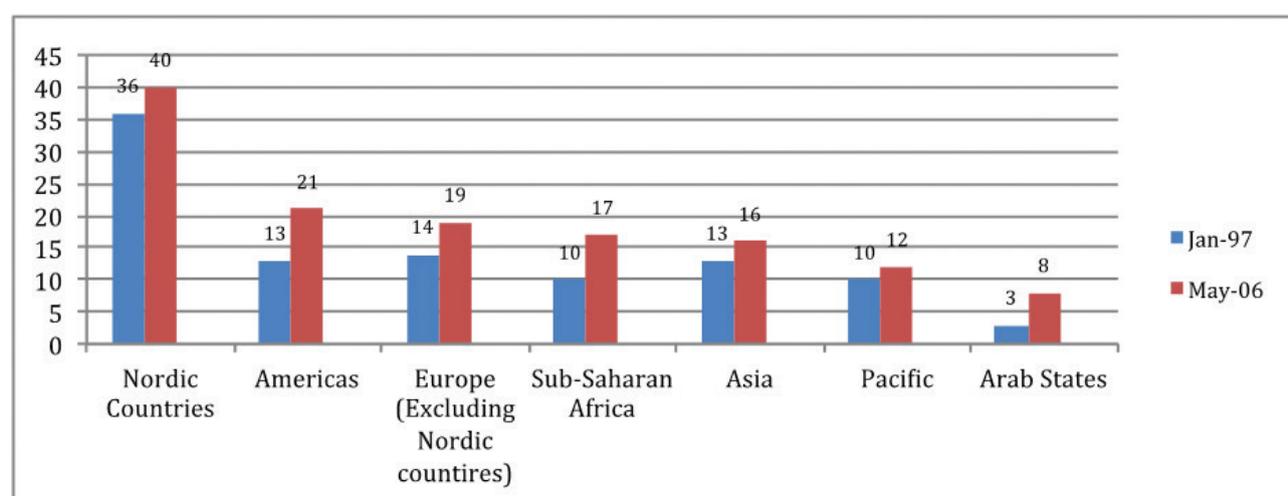
National Assembly Sessions	Government Representatives		Dratshang Representatives		Royal Advisory Councillors		People’s Representatives (Chimis)		Female- Male Ratio of National Assembly Members	Proportion of Female National Assembly Members
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
79 <sup>th</sup> Session	36	0	10	0	6	0	83	16	0.12	11%
80 <sup>th</sup> Session	38	0	10	0	5	1	88	12	0.09	8%
81 <sup>st</sup> Session	38	0	10	0	5	1	85	15	0.12	10%
82 <sup>nd</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	5	1	87	13	0.10	9%
83 <sup>rd</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	6	0	92	8	0.06	5%
84 <sup>th</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	6	0	92	8	0.06	5%
85 <sup>th</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	6	0	96	4	0.03	3%
86 <sup>th</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	6	0	100	4	0.02	3%
87 <sup>th</sup> Session	34	0	10	0	6	0	100	4	0.02	3%

Source: National Assembly Secretariat. In GNHC & NCWC. National Action Plan for Gender 2008-2013, p. 19.

The situation of women’s representation in the civil service, though improving, is far from adequate. Table 1.3 shows the growth of female civil servants for the period 2002 to 2006. According to the RCSC, in 2006, women accounted for 28% of civil servants (or 40 females for every 100 males), up 3 percentage points from 2002 and 12 percentage points from 1996.<sup>28</sup> Women’s representation at Grades 1-3, the top levels in the civil service, account for only 5%, which can partly be

attributed to the late participation of women in the education process. On the other hand, women’s representation in the civil service is highest at Grades 9-13, accounting for 32%, indicating that younger women are entering the civil service, and that they are on their way up to higher grades.<sup>29</sup> This trend is further supported by Figure 1.1, which shows that women’s representation is highest in Grade 8, followed by Grades 9 and 10.

Figure 1.1 Women's participation in national parliaments across regions in percentage



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union database on 'Women in National Parliaments' <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>. In UNICEF (2006). Chapter 4. *Equality in politics and government*. In *Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality. The state of the world's children 2007*. UNICEF, New York. December 2006, p. 56.

Table 1.3 Representation of women in the civil service

Grade	Date: 30/9/2002		Date: 30/6/2006	
	Female-Male Ratio of Civil Servants	Proportion of Female Civil Servants	Female-Male Ratio of Civil Servants	Proportion of Female Civil Servants
1-3	0.03	3%	0.05	5%
4-8	0.27	21%	0.34	25%
9-13	0.40	29%	0.47	32%
14-17	0.28	22%	0.37	27%
Total	0.33	25%	0.40	28%

Source: RCSC. In GNHC & NCWC. National Action Plan for Gender 2008-2013, p. 21. And: PC (2007). *Bhutan Millennium Development Goals: Needs assessment and costing report 2006-2015*, p. 32.

As of June 2011, women constituted 31.62% of the total civil servants (23,161), which is an increase of 3% from 2006, and 6.62% from 2002, in a period of 9 years. This slight increase is mainly because of increase in the professional management, supervisory and support, and operational categories. From 2008 onwards, there has been a gradual decrease recorded in the proportion of female civil servants in executive positions. The proportion has actually decreased to 3.33% from 5.3% in 2008, and 5% in 2006. One reason may have been the creation of a specialist category parallel to the executive level. But having mentioned that, it has been

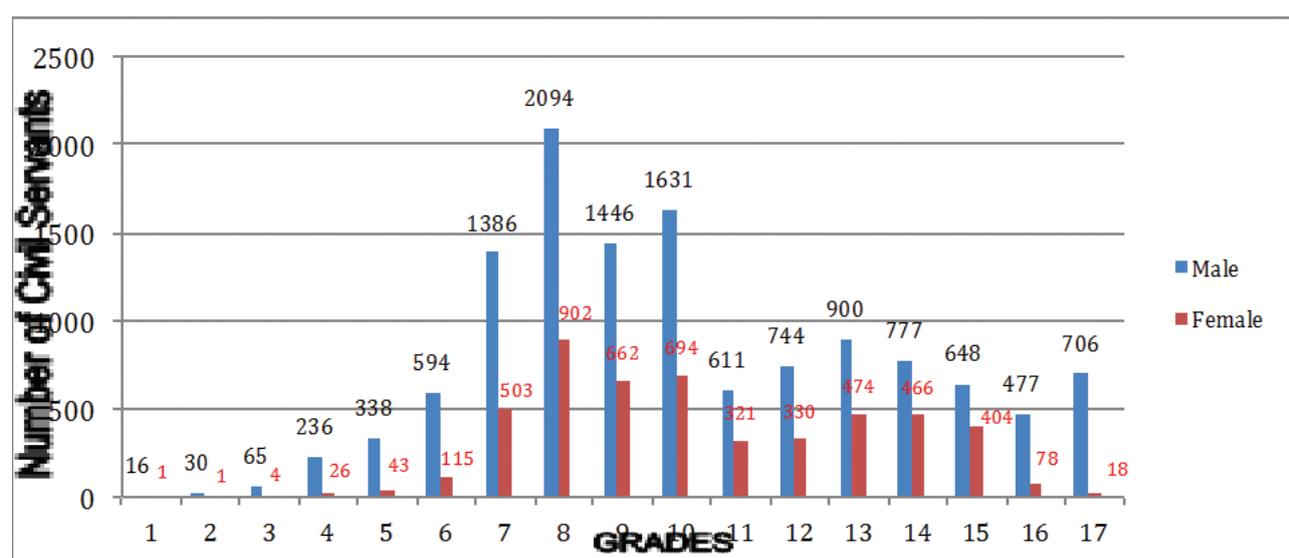
found to be not the case as the proportion of female civil servants under the specialist category too has fallen from 12.5% to 9.89% (a 2.61% reduction), even though the number of specialists has actually increased during the same period (Table 1.4 and Figures 1.2 & 1.3, Annex-2). Also, the proportion of female civil servants in executive and specialist positions are not likely to change substantially in the next several years as the bulk of female civil servants are at position level P5 (Figure 1.4), the entry level to the Professional and Management Category.

Table 1.4 Proportion of female civil servants by position levels

	Date: June 2008* <sup>30</sup>		Date: 30 June 2011**	
Position Levels	Female/male Ratio of Civil Servants	Proportion of Female Civil Servants	Female/male Ratio of Civil Servants	Proportion of Female Civil Servants
Ex1–Ex3	0.05	5.3%	0.05	3.33%
Es1–Es3	0.14	12.5%	0.11	9.89%
P1–P5	0.43	30.33%	0.46	31.65%
S1–S5	0.46	31.71%	0.53	34.82%
O1–O4	0.24	19.86%	0.26	20.79%
<b>Total</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>29.5%</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>31.62%</b>

Source: \*RCSC, June 2008. In GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013, p. 22; and \*\*RCSC as received in mid-July 2011.

Figure 1.2 Number of civil servants by gender and grad. June 30, 2006

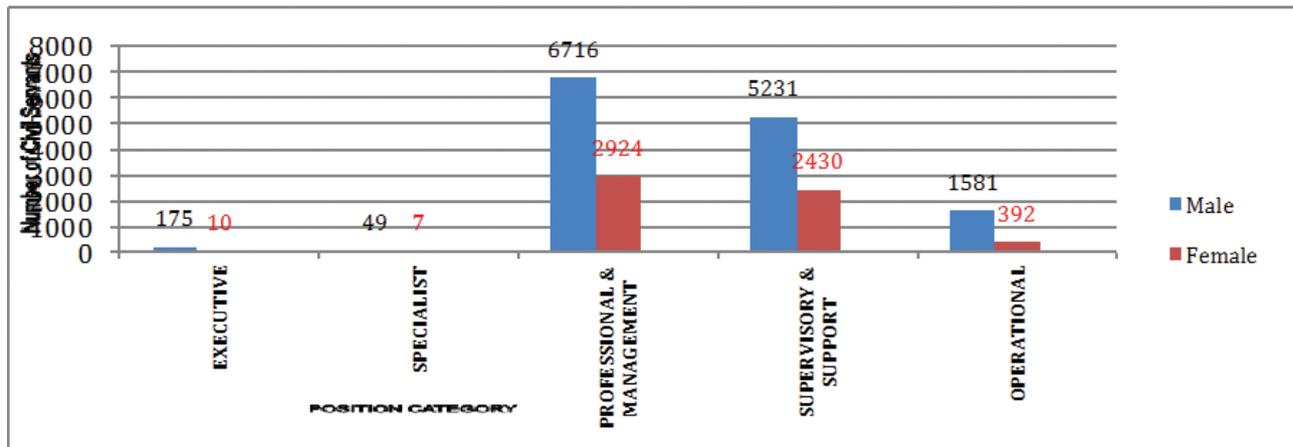


Source: RCSC. In GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013, p. 21.

As presented in Table 1.4, as of June 30, 2011, women constitute only 31.61% of the total of 23,161 civil servants. Table 1.5 shows that their leadership representation is very low with only

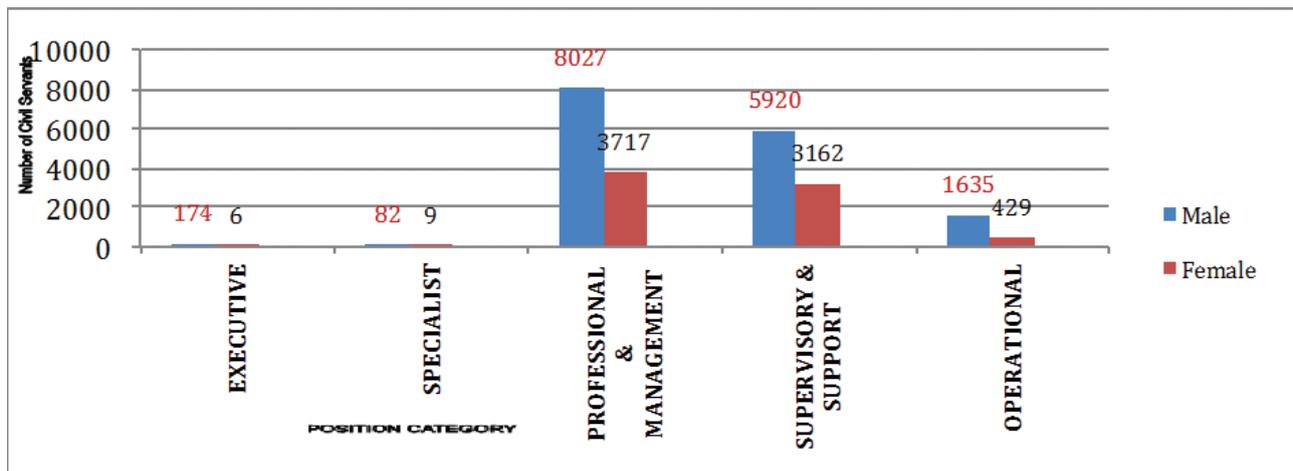
3.85% as Secretaries (1 out of 26), 3.25% as Directors and/or Director Generals (5 out of 154), and none as Ministers, Ambassadors and Dzungdags (see also Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.3 Number of civil servants by gender and position levels. June 30, 2008



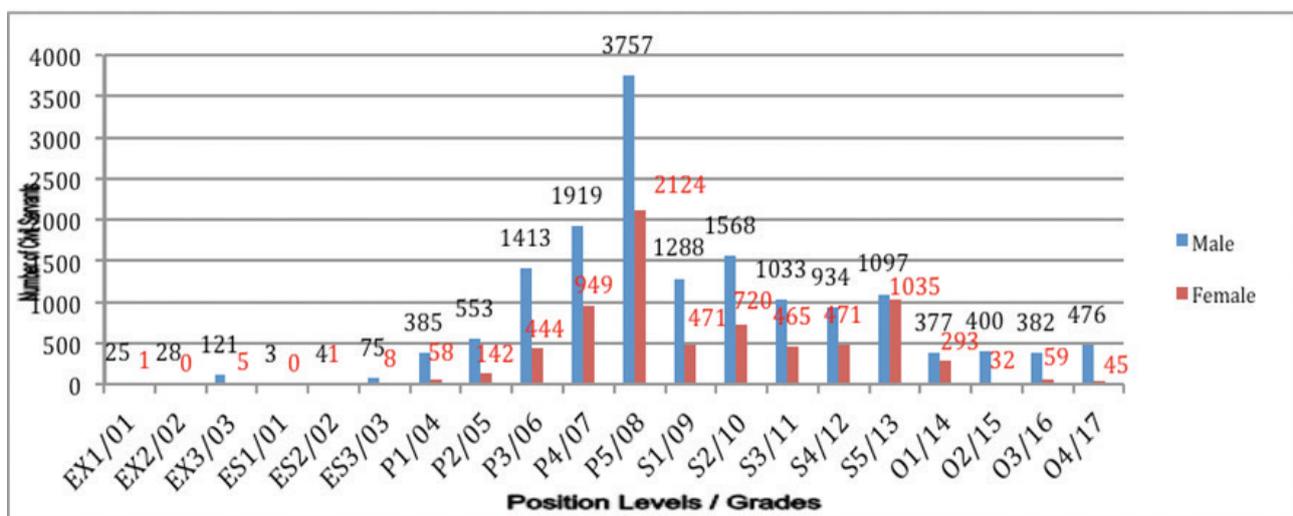
Source: RCSC. In GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013; p. 22.

Figure 1.4 Number of civil servants by gender and position levels, June 30, 2011



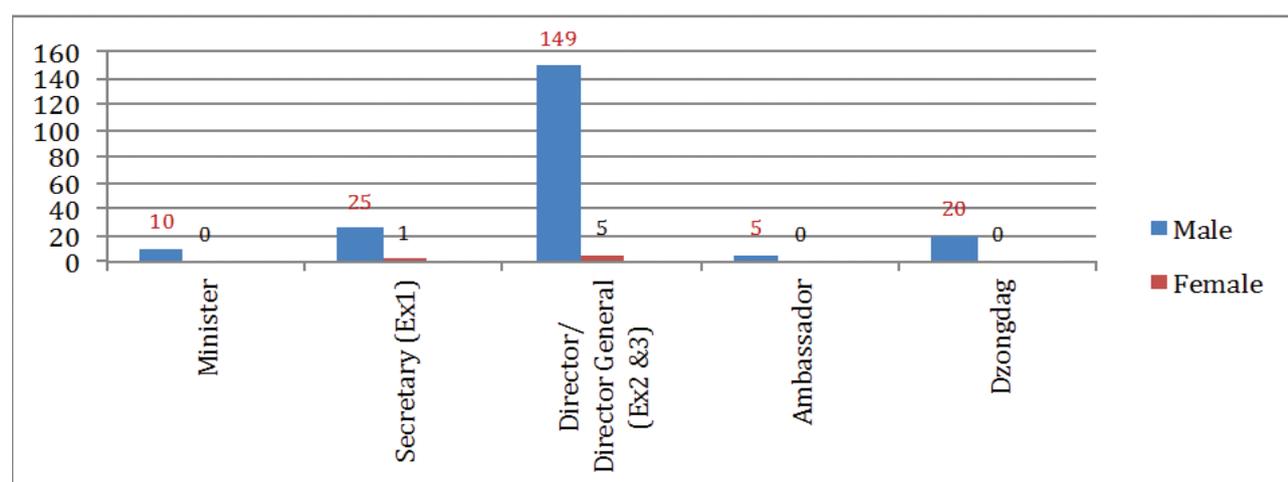
Source: As received from the RCSC in mid-July 2011.

Figure 1.5 Number of civil servants by gender and position levels. June 30, 2011



Source: As received from the RCSC in mid-July 2011.

Figure 1.6 Representation of Women in Leadership Positions. June 30, 2011



Source: As received from the RCSC in mid-July 2011 for Ex1-Ex3.

Table 1.5 Composition of women in leadership positions. June 30, 2011

Designation	Year	Total	Male	Female	Female (%)
Minister	2011	10	10	0	0%
Secretary (Ex1)*	2011	26	25	1	3.85%
Director (Ex2 &3)*	2011	154	149	5	3.25%
Ambassador	2011	5	5	0	0%
Dzongdag	2011	20	20	0	0%

Source: \*As received from the RCSC in mid-July 2011.

Additionally, as compared to 5.3% of men recorded to be unemployed in the urban areas, there are 9.5% unemployed women. At the college level enrolment, the ratio is 49 girls for every 100 boys. Only 39% of the teachers are women.

The situation is similar in the judiciary. As of December 2008, women's overall representation was low at barely 6 percent, with proportionately higher representation in the lower grades.

GNHC and NCWC attribute this to the stringent requirements of availing Government Scholarships for law degrees, and acquiring high pass marks in Dzongkha. Another reason could be that women are generally not interested in postings outside Thimphu. Although, Table 1.6 shows that women accounted for only 3% of Drangpons, and 4.2% of Drangpon Ramjams, women's representation as Registrars stands at 30% (i.e. 3 of the 10 Registrars are women).

Table 1.6 Female representatives in the judiciary

	Female: Male Ratio	Proportion of Women
Drangpon	0.03	3%
Drangpon Ramjam	0.04	4.2%
Registrar (includes Registrar General and Deputy Registrar General)	0.3	30%

Source: Royal Court of Justice, December 2008. In GNHC & NCWC, National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013, p. 20.

Judging from the above mentioned, it can be said that while there is a supportive legal and policy environment to encourage women's participation in development activities and decision-making, women are still poorly represented in the legislative, judiciary, and executive branches of the government.<sup>1</sup>

### Women's participation in decision-making at the local level

With the view to decentralize the decision-making process to the grassroots, the government established the *Dzongkhag Yargye Tshogdu* (now called *Dzongkhag Tshogdu*) in 1981, wherein the responsibilities of the twenty *dzongkhags* (districts) fell on their own respective administrations. A *Dzongkhag Tshogdu* (DT) consists of all *Gups*, *Mangmis* and *Chimis*<sup>2</sup> of the *dzongkhag*, all of whom are elected members from their respective constituencies. Since 2007, the proceedings of a DT have been convened under the chairmanship of one of the members, either a *Gup* or a *Mangmi* (usually a *Gup*), elected by its members through a secret ballot.<sup>3</sup> Till 2007, the *Dzongdags* (District Commissioners) had convened all DT proceedings as the Chair.

The year of 1991 took the decision-making process deeper to the grassroots in 205 *gewogs* (block – a group of villages). A *Gewog Tshogde* (GT) consists of the *Gup* as the Chair supported

by the *Mangmis* and the *Tshogpas* of the *gewog*, all of whom are elected members from the *gewog*. All members, including the *Gup* and the *Mangmi*, have voting rights. A GT is the lowest rung of the local government.

Despite an overall, relatively favourable situation for gender relations in society, local government offices such as the *Gup*, *Chimi*,<sup>4</sup> *Mangmi* and *Tshogpa* are held, overwhelmingly, by men. GNHC and NCWC in their *National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013* report that the data collected from 20 *dzongkhags* reveal that out of the total of 2,117 elected representatives in the country, only 4 percent are women (p. 24). In addition, of the 4 %, the majority are *Tshogpas* and *Chimis*. They further note that the first female *Gup* of Bhutan was elected only in November 2005. Till then, the local government's highest office, the *Gup's* office, had been all male. Following the election of the first female *Gup*, the second female *Gup* was elected in April 2006. This constitutes a mere 1% for the female *gup* representation. Table 1.7 provides an overview of female representatives in the local government as of June 2006.

By 2010, women's representation in local governance had hit an all time low. Table 1.8<sup>5</sup> shows that at the local level, women's representation as *Gup* is at a stark low of 0.49% with a meager 2% as *Mangmi*, and 5% as *Tshogpa*.

Table 1.7 Women's elected representatives in local governance

	Female: Male Ratio	Proportion of Female Elected Representatives
Gups	0.01	1%
Chimis	0.04	4%
Mangmis	0.03	2.5%
Tshogpas	0.04	4.2%

Source: NCWC (status as of March-June 2006) In GNHC & NCWC National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013 (p. 25).

Table 1.8 Representation of women in the local government, 2010

Dzongkhag	Est. population		Gup		Mangmi		Tshogpas	
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bumthang	17256		4	0	4	0	26	10
Chhukha	79942		11	0	8	3	123	1
Dagana	24578		14	0	14	0	152	4
Gasa	3346		4	0	3	0	21	0
Haa	12397		6	0	6	1	42	1
Lhuentse	16301		8	0	8	0	58	1
Mongar	39922		17	0	17	0	74	5
Paro	39118		11	0	10	0	91	10
Pemagatshel	23478		11	0	11	0	113	5
Punakha	25205		11	0	11	0	95	3
Sarpang	40436		12	0	12	0	75	1
Sjongkhar	36608		10	0	11	0		0
Samtse	64314		14	1	15	0	213	5
Thimphu	101884		8	0	8	0	27	3
Trashigang	51781		15	0	15	0	118	2
Trashiyangtse	18994		8	0	8	0	54	10
Trongsa	14448		5	0	5	0	51	3
Tsirang	19933		12	0	12	0	64	2
Wangduephodrang	33668		15	0	15	0	96	8
Zhemgang	19797		8	0	8	0	62	2
Total	683407		204	1	201	4	1555	76
<b>Total %</b>	<b>M52.28%</b>	<b>F47.72%</b>	<b>99.51%</b>	<b>0.49%</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>5%</b>

Source: Strategy Development in Gender Support for Local Elections 2010.

Table 1.9 provides a snapshot of *dzongkhag* and *gewog* wise proportion of female voting members. As compiled by NCWC from the 20 *dzongkhags* from March to June 2006, the female voting members comprise the *Gups*, *Chimis*, *Mangmis* and *Tshogpas*, in *Dzongkhag Tshogdus* and *Gewog Tshogdes*.<sup>43</sup>

As per the information in this table, the overall pro-portion of female voting members in the *Dzongkhag Tshogdus* is a paltry 2%, with

Gasa having the highest percentage of voting members with 10%, and 12 of the 20 *dzongkhags* with no female voting members at all. Likewise, even though Bumthang and Pema Gatshel have 21 percent each of the proportion of female voting members in the *Gewog Tshogdes*, the overall proportion of female voting members in all *dzongkhags* is a scant 3.8%. As is evident, the situation is slightly better in the *Gewog Tshogdes* as compared to *Dzongkhag Tshogdus*.

Table 1.9 Proportion of female voting members (Gups, Chimis, Mangmis and Tshogpas) in DTs and GTs

Dzongkhag	Proportion of Female Voting Members in DTs	Proportion of Female Voting Members in GTs
Bumthang	0	21%
Chukha	8%	2%
Dagana	7%	1%
Gasa	10%	10%
Haa	8%	2%
Lhuentse	5%	0
Mongar	5%	2%
Paro	0	6%
Pema Gatshel	0	21%
Punakha	0	5%
Samtse	3%	2%
Samdrup Jongkhar	0	1%
Sarpang	3%	5%
Thimphu	0	5%
Tsirang	0	3%
Trashigang	0	2%
Trongsa	0	6%
Wangduephodrang	0	5%
Trashiyangtse	0	5%
Zhemgang	0	1%
<b>All Dzongkhags</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>3.8%</b>

Source: Compiled by NCWC from 20 dzongkhags. Status as of March-June 2006. In GNHC & NCWC National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013, p. 25.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the RGOB and the Donor Agencies (2008) in the Local Governance Support Programme (LGSP): Joint Programme Document, pointed out that despite the limited number of women holding decision-making offices at the DT and/or GT levels of local governance, women do participate in the meetings, held in their villages, called Dzomdus, often representing up to 70 percent. The agencies found this trend encouraging enough to realize the importance of identifying and addressing the cause for women's low participation in the decision-making bodies of GTs and DTs (p. 22).

## Local Government Elections 2011

### LG elections 2011 – The overall results

The 2011 Local Government Election polls were successfully conducted on June 27, 2011, and the ECB happily reported that the "Governance Structure under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan will now be complete with the critical component, the Local Governments, in place, while elections for the remaining vacancies shall be conducted at a more conducive time."<sup>1</sup>

The Election Commission reported that a total of 1,102<sup>2</sup> out of the 2,185 candidates, who contested, were successfully elected in the polls, declaring that the 205 *Gewogs*

of the 20 *dzongkhags* now have an elected *Gewog Tshogde* and *Dzongkhag Tshogdu* each. The press release highlighted that 8 of the 16 *Dzongkhag Thromdes* have successfully elected their *Thuemisto* the respective *Dzongkhag Tshogdu*, as well as have filled four of the vacant *Thromde Tshogpa Demkhongs* in Phuentsholing and Thimphu. The poll day on June 27, 2011 witnessed the election of 202 *Gups*, 204 *Mangmis*, 684 *Gewog Tshogpas*, 8 *Thromde Thuemis*, and 4 *Thromde Tshogpas*. There are still a total of 373 vacant positions, which include positions for 3 *Gups*, 1 *Mangmi*, 360 *Gewog Tshogpas*, 8 *Dzongkhag Thromde Thuemis*, and 1 *Thromde Tshogpa*. Elections for these vacant positions will be conducted in due course of time, informed the Press Release.<sup>3</sup> A total of 194,357 out of the total of 347,938 registered voters cast their votes with the overall voter turn-out of 56% for the Local Government Elections 2011.

The Local Government Elections 2011 were conducted deploying 5,822 officials. This excluded the huge security personnel from the Royal Bhutan Police and Royal Bhutan Army, and the few female civil servants that in turn included 20 Chief Election Coordinators, 35 Deputy Chief Election Coordinators, 190 Assistant Chief Election Coordinators, 47 Returning Officers, 55 Assistant Returning Officers, and 5,475 Polling Officers. In addition, the elections were observed by 47 National Observers, 8 Micro-Observers, 3 International Observers (DANIDA – 1, Japan – 1, UK – 1), and one exchange student from Canada at Sherubtse College. Also involved were 12 accredited media agencies and 227 media personnel being coordinated and monitored by the Media Arbitrator supported by the Media Team. The ECB press release stated that the Local Government Elections 2011

were conducted with an estimated financial expenditure to the tune of Nu. 225.461 million.

### Women's share in the LG election results

The Local Government Elections 2011 were successfully conducted in so far as it elected 1,102 (1,104 as per the press release of 'Kuensel,' July 2, 2011) out of a total of 2,185 registered contesting candidates. But it cannot be denied that women's representation in the Local Government Elections 2011 was dismally low. The Tables 1.10 and 1.11 below substantiate this. Women's representation as *Gups* at a stark low of 0.50%, remained the same for the period of March-June 2010 at 0.49%. However, there is a slight improvement in women's representation with *Mangmis* and *Gewog Tshogpas* at 5.88% and 8.92% respectively, which, as of March-June 2010, was a meager 2.0% and 5.0% respectively.

Table 1.11 shows that, of the 22 female *Gup* candidates registered, only 1 (or 4.55%) was elected. On the other hand, of the 556 male *Gup* candidates registered, 201 (or 36.15%) of them got elected as *Gups*. Two *Thromde Thuemi* female candidates registered lost to 8 (or 40.0%) of the 20 male candidates for the same positions. Similarly, while 12 (28.57%) of the 42 female *Mangmi* candidates registered were elected as *Mangmis*, 192 (35.42%) of the 542 male *Mangmi* candidates were elected. However, the scenario was slightly different for the position of *Tshogpas*, whether of *Gewogs* or *Thromdes*. Of the 97 female candidates registered, 61 (or 62.89%) were elected as *Gewog Tshogpas*, which is quite close to the male registered candidates' performance at 69.22%, i.e. 623 out of 900 were voted in. As to the *Thromde Tshogpa* candidates, 2 male and 2 female candidates were elected.

Table 1.10 Number of female representatives elected in the LG elections 2011

	Female/male Ratio	Proportion of Female Elected Representatives
Gups	0.01	0.50%
Mangmis	0.06	5.88%
Tshogpas	0.10	8.92%
Thromde Thuemis	0.00	0.00%
Thromde Tshogpas	1.00	50.00%
Overall	0.07	6.90%

Source: Election Commission of Bhutan, July 2011.

Table 1.11 Percentage of male and female elected of the registered contesting candidates

		Female			Male		
		Registered	Elected	% Elected	Registered	Elected	% Elected
Gewog	Gups	22	1	4.55	556	201	36.15
	Mangmis	42	12	28.57	542	192	35.42
	Tshogpas	97	61	62.89	900	623	69.22
Thromde	Thuemis	2	0	0.00	20	8	40.00
		2	2	100.00	2	2	100.00
	<b>Overall</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>46.06</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>1026</b>	<b>50.79</b>

Source: Election Commission of Bhutan, July 2011.

## Analysis of women's performance in LG Elections 2011

The above data show that while voters have voted more or less equally for both female and male candidates for the positions of *Gewog* and *Thromde Tshogpas*, they have voted significantly more for male *Mangmi* candidates, and not at all for female *Gups* and *Thromde Thuemis*. This strongly indicates that while voters are willing to vote for female candidates at the lowest positions in the local government offices, there is a very high reluctance on the part of the same voters to elect female candidates for the more coveted local government positions of *Gups*, *Thromde Thuemis* and *Mangmis*. Also, of a total of 165 female candidates registered for the Local Government Elections 2011, 76 or 46.06 per-cent of them have been elected

to the local government offices, whereas 1,026 of a total of 2,020 registered male candidates, which stands at 50.79 percent, won the same elections into various offices. This shows that while the percentages of female and male registered candidates winning the Local Government Elections 2011 are very close at 46.66% and 50.79%, there is a wide discrepancy in the number of women and men contesting the elections. For the 2011 Local Government Elections, the ratio of female and male candidates stood at 0.08, and the proportion of female candidates registered remained unacceptably low at 7.55 percent against the overwhelming majority of male candidates at 92.45 percent. It was perhaps, this factor alone that played a major role in favour of the male candidates in the results of the Local Government Elections 2011.

Table 1.12 Overall FTL results by gender

	Female				Male				Grand Total
	Registered	Pass	Fail	Absent	Registered	Pass	Fail	Absent	
Total	829	564	60	205	6,226	4,390	588	1,248	7,055
Percent	100	68.03	7.24	24.73	100	70.51	9.44	20.04	
Percent pass/fail excluding absentees		90.39	9.61			88.19	11.81		

Source: Election Commission of Bhutan, July 2011.

Of the 829 women candidates who registered for the FLT tests, 68.03% passed and 7.24% failed, while 24.73% of the registered abstained from the tests. Similarly, of the 6,226 male candidates who registered for the FLT tests, 70.51% passed, 9.44% failed, and 20.04% abstained from the tests. If the pass and fail percentages are calculated on the basis of those who participated in the tests alone, women fared slightly better than men with a pass percentage of 90.39 with 9.61% failing, while for male candidates, 88.19% passed and 11.81% failed. If everything remains almost the same, what is different, is the number of candidates who registered for the tests, and percentages of those who refrained from participating in the tests. That is, while only 829 women registered for the FLT tests, 6,226 males registered for the same tests. Again, numbers seem to play a significant role for both males and females. On the other hand, a significant percentage of females refrained from participating in the tests as compared to males. What drove almost a fourth of the women who registered for the tests to absent themselves from the actual tests? Was it lack of confidence? Or was it something else? Whatever was the cause, abstention from the tests seems to have had a significant bearing on women’s participation in the local elections.

#### 1.4. Women’s participation in decision-making: why is it important?

“Political decision-making touches all areas of human development and many aspects of people’s daily lives. Access to the political arena is essential for men and women to articulate and shape solutions that unleash progress for themselves and society at large.” [APRHDR2010: 81].

The Asia-Pacific Regional Human Development Report 2010 (UNDP, 2010: 81) provides broad compelling reasons with moral and practical dimensions as to why women’s political participation is important.<sup>1</sup> The same report, while in draft form (in 2009), was referred to extensively by Tamesis (2009: 218),<sup>2</sup> based on which he offered the following summary as being the three good reasons why women’s political participation is important:

“Gender equality in the political arena has a widely recognized moral dimension: it is socially just for women to participate in decisions that affect them. A democracy where half the population cannot participate contradicts current understanding of the term.

“Broad-based participation in politics, also has a clear practical dimension – and a development rationale. It supports efficiency – more sources of information make political decision-making more informed and responsive to diverse realities on the ground. Women, as a group, have different experiences than men. While some men may

support women's issues in the halls of power, a more typical pattern is that without women expressing their own perspectives, they mostly go unnoticed.

"Women's political participation also feeds into social stability and harmony, which is basic to sustainable development. When most people feel they have a voice and a stake in development, and know they may reap some benefit from it, they are far more likely to invest their lives in achieving it."

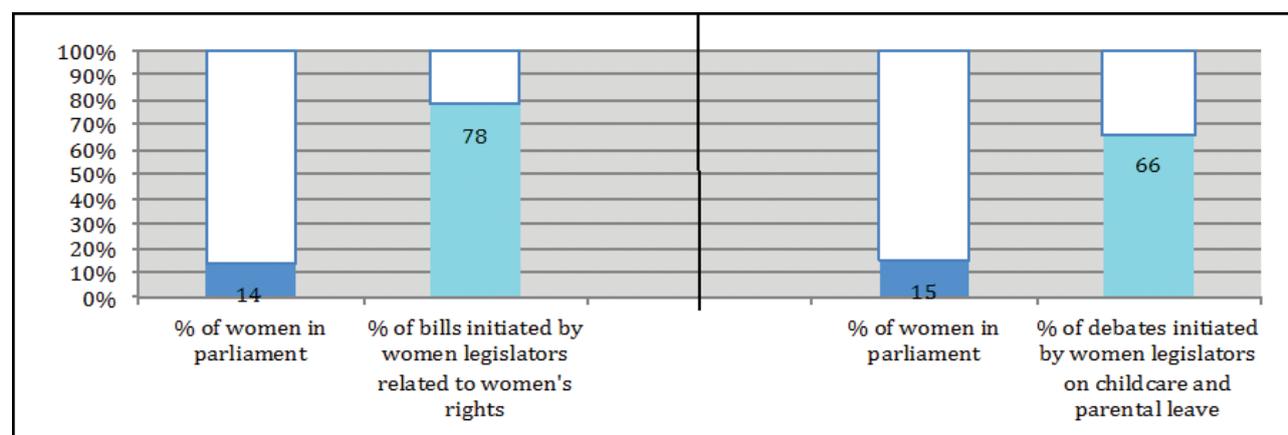
APRHD2010(UNDP,2010:102),<sup>3</sup>recognizingthat women's representation boosts effectiveness, notes that while no assumptions can be made about women politicians as individuals, some general patterns do emerge in two areas of 'issues' and 'leadership and decision-making'. In terms of the 'issues', for one, the report highlights the findings of a recent global survey by the Inter-Parliamentary Union wherein they found that women parliamentarians as a whole tended to emphasize issues such as childcare, equal pay, parental leave and pensions, reproductive rights, physical safety and gender-based violence, human development, the alleviation of poverty, and service deliveries. The report also notes similar patterns in study findings in the Asia-Pacific. Furthermore, a study carried out over 25 years in New Zealand tracked parliamentary debates on childcare and parental leave, a period that coincided with the increase in proportion of women in Parliament from 4% in 1975 to 29% in 1999. Figure 1.7 supports this trend. The study found that,"women were far more likely than men to prompt parliamentary debates on these issues,

and at times were the only representatives calling attention to them." The same study found that "a decline in discussion of the two issues was noted when the number of women representatives dipped as well." But, New Zealand women parliamentarians have not always voted for 'childcare and parental leave' issues. For instance, women representatives have helped to shoot down the '1998 Paid Parental Leave Bill', which would have put New Zealand in line with international standards for paid leave.

The APRHD 2010 report highlighted that in India, studies comparing how local councils functioned in the states of West Bengal and Rajasthan showed, for example, that more women than men complained about water resource management. The study, besides finding the number of drinking water projects which were 60% higher in female-led than male-led councils, found in West Bengal, that female-led councils undertook road-building projects at a higher rate than male-led councils as the jobs were more likely to be taken up by females.

In another study in India, undertaken by the society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), it was found that men in local councils generally welcomed attempts to meet women's needs arising from the gendered division of labour, such as access to land and water. But the same council members were resistant when other gender issues such as the prevalence of domestic violence were questioned, the report noted.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 1.7 Bill sponsorship in Argentina and New Zealand (women in parliament were more likely to support children's and women's rights)



Source: UNICEF calculations for women's parliamentary representation and patterns of bill sponsorship in Argentina are based on Jones, Mark P., "Legislator Gender and Legislator Policy Priorities in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and the United States House of Representatives", *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1997, pp. 613-629.

UNICEF calculations for women's parliamentary representation and patterns of bill sponsorship in New Zealand are based on Grey, Sandra, "Does Size Matter? Critical mass and New Zealand's women MPs", *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 55, no. 1, January 2002, p. 6. Although the study covered the period 1975-1999, the data were for the period 1987-1992. In UNICEF (2006). Chapter 4. Equality in politics and government. In *Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality. The state of the world's children 2007*; UNICEF, New York. December 2006, p. 53.

The same report also mentions a local woman politician in western Rajasthan who reported, "I was beaten by...when I prevented him from beating his wife ... I raised this in the Gram Sabha, and the members said that this is not the place to raise personal issues and waste the precious time of the Panchayat."<sup>1</sup> The APRHD 2010 report points out that "the anecdote illustrates not only how patterns of gender discrimination continue to operate, but also how male-dominated groups find it natural to dismiss or ignore issues that challenge their authority or are not relevant to their concerns."<sup>2</sup>

Coming to the second area of 'leadership and decision-making', the APRHD2010 report noted that research on diverse groups in general showed women tended to make better decisions, drawn multiple sources of talent, and had a better understanding of risks. In fact, when women were involved, their decisions did not always conform to gender stereotypes on the style of women's leadership, or that of automatically pursuing more 'feminine' or 'pacifist' policies.<sup>3</sup>

The report highlights<sup>4</sup> a survey on local women leaders from Asia-Pacific countries, which found that many of these respondents characterized their leadership style as being more inclusive, consultative and collaborative than that of men who traditionally dominated politics. These women local leaders perceived themselves to be more tolerant of different points of view, people-oriented and encouraging of participation, with a focus on issues instead of personalities. Two other studies, the first one in Bangladesh, found that people reported to have a higher rate of satisfaction with the decisions made by local women representatives with regard to distribution of resources and allocation of projects. The second study in India revealed that men believe women's participation leads to greater transparency in local governance and that women generally appear to be more honest and hardworking.

The State of the World's Children 2007 report<sup>5</sup> (UNICEF, 2006) points out that women's political participation is a millennium objective in its own right. It notes that empowering women

in the political arena can lead to evolution of society. One could not agree more that women's involvement in governing bodies at the national and local levels leads to policies and legislation that are focused on women, children and families, the summary of which is reproduced here below:<sup>6</sup>

- "A growing body of evidence which suggests that women in politics have been principally effective advocates for children at all levels, sponsoring legislation and fostering tangible changes in policy outcomes that reflect the rights, priorities, experiences and contributions of women, children and families."
- "The participation of women in local politics can have an immediate impact on outcomes for women and children, particularly in the distribution of community resources and in promoting provisions for childcare."
- "Women's participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction is vital to ensure the safety and protection of children and other vulnerable populations. Yet women's role in most peace processes remains, at best, informal. While governments and other political actors appear content to encourage engagement between women's groups that often cut across conflict lines, women rarely make it to the peace table."
- "Despite limited participation in national and local politics and in post-conflict reconstruction, women in politics and government are helping change the political environment. Their influence is not just being felt in stronger legislation for children and women; they are also helping decision-making bodies become more democratic and gender sensitive."
- "Increasing women's participation in politics is vital to promote gender equality, empower women and fulfill children's rights."

Source: UNICEF (2006). Equality in politics and government. In *Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality*.

*The state of the world's children 2007*, Dec 2006, p. 50.

Furthermore, Kamal (2009:209) is convinced that whether or not women will play a critical role in politics, is no longer a matter of discussion. He reminds that "struggles and movements for women's rights over many decades<sup>7</sup> have marked women's political empowerment as a high priority." He argues that as long as women remained excluded from participation in parliaments, from political processes, and therefore from making or amending legislation, they have to depend on male legislators' agreement to legislate in favour of women, which in history has failed to bring about any desired change in women's lives. He points out that in most cases, the analysis of the position of women from the others' point of view, particularly informed by patriarchal values, have lacked a holistic vision leading to fragmented, partial and monolithic attempts to remedy the disadvantage, discrimination and exploitation suffered by women. Kamal, however, notes that the world at large has now realized "that without a strong voice in the decision-making processes, no matter how much income a woman earned or how highly she was educated, exploitation of and discrimination against women would not see its end." (209)

Cognizant of the importance of women's participation in political arena and other public decision-making bodies, international governing bodies and nations across the globe have, in varying degrees, endeavoured to address the issue, because of which Bhutan has national and international obligations to uphold. Under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, Article 9 (3) states that "*The state shall endeavor to create a civil society free of*

*oppression, discrimination and violence, based on the rule of law, protection of human rights and dignity, and to ensure the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people.”* (p. 18) and Article 9 (17) states that *“The state shall endeavour to take appropriate measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination and exploitation against women including trafficking, prostitution, abuse, violence, harassment and intimidation at work in both public and private spheres.”* (p. 20) Further, while the Constitution provides Bhutanese citizens with equal access and opportunity to join the public service under Article 7 (8), Article 7 (6) affirms the right to vote and to exercise adult franchise (p. 14).

The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Bhutan has ratified, Article 7 states that *“State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; and (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.”*<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, Bhutan has the obligation to address the gender gap in the political sphere with efforts aimed at enhancing women’s participation in politics.

In addition, the Beijing Platform for Action 1995 (BPA) declared that the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women’s perspective at

all levels of decision making (Faisal Bin Majid & Priyanka Kabir, Eds, 2008:10). The same platform for action, Section 181 states that *“Women’s equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women’s interest to be taken into account,”* which was further reaffirmed and elaborated in the 58<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly in 2004 vide Resolution 58/142 which states that *“ Women’s full and equal participation in the political process and decision making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society, is needed to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning, plays a pivotal role in furthering women’s equal status, including improving women’s socio-economic status, and contributes to re-defining political priorities and providing new perspectives on political issues.”*<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Bhutan is also signatory to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and SAARC Development Goals (SDGs) that emphasize and require the country to promote women’s empowerment and active participation in all spheres of society including politics<sup>10</sup>.

Furthermore, Bhutan’s obligation to address the gender gap in the political sphere with efforts aimed at enhancing women’s participation in politics is further stressed by the UN Security Council’s Resolution 1325 (2000), the landmark document on women, peace, and security which specifically urged the *“Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.”*<sup>11</sup>

The Beijing Declaration on Women goes further by linking women’s political participation to

transparency and accountability in government and to sustainable development. It specifically recommends the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision-making structures and recommends that governments set a target of 30 percent for women in national parliaments.

And in 2000, all 191 UN member states adopted the Millennium Declaration, outlining their commitment to achieving eight core development goals by 2015. In this document, UN member states resolved, "to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to (Source: 20, p. 27) combat poverty, hunger, and disease, and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable." One indicator of progress towards goal three—women's empowerment and gender equality—is the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament.

### **1.5. Statement of the problem**

Besides the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, which guarantees basic human dignity and rights and political freedom and equality, Bhutan is signatory to various other related regional and international conventions and covenants. It is evident that the government and several other relevant organizations are marshalling their energies and resources to design policies and strategies to identify gender gaps and biases and intervene accordingly. However, despite this support and the general environment, that is apparently favourable for women to take up leadership roles and participate in key decision-making forums, women still have some way to go before they are truly politically empowered.

Against this backdrop and understanding that women's participation in decision-making

and leadership is central to the progress of a society, this study is both important and timely. By identifying the causes of gender gaps and biases, intervention strategies can be designed to empower women with leadership roles as aspired by Bhutan's guiding development philosophy of "*Gross National Happiness*."

# 2

## The study: Women's participation in local governance

### 2.1. Objective

The broad objective of the study is to establish a strong baseline that indicates the specific issues of concern with regard to women's participation in local governance in Bhutan.

Specifically, the key objectives of the study are to:

1. document the 2011 Local Governance election process, in order to understand the major issues and challenges that exist at the local politics level;
2. document institutional, community and individual perception of women leadership; the existing role of women in decision making processes; and specific issues and challenges faced by women leaders and aspiring women leaders;
3. generate disaggregated data by sex, age, education, profession, etc. on women's participation in local governance; and
4. create a baseline on women's participation in local governance that will effectively promote gender advocacy in future, besides significantly impacting women's empowerment at leadership positions in society.

### 2.2. Study methodology

#### Scope and data collection

This study adopted both quantitative methods, in the form of literature review and interviews, as well as quantitative methods, in the form of a questionnaire yielding quantitative data that were analysed statistically.

#### Literature review

There is hardly any literature available on women's participation in local governance elections. Whatever scant material is available, is in the form of reports, official documents and other related publications. This has all been reviewed. It included exploring publications on culture, religion, folklore, proverbs,<sup>1</sup> beliefs<sup>2</sup> and songs of Bhutan, in order to get an idea of the general attitude of society towards women. The emphasis has been on capturing the socio-cultural and religious perspectives on leadership of women.

Local newspapers, especially *Kuensel's* reports on local elections vis-à-vis women's participation, have been used as a complementary source in this report.

#### Interviews

Interviews were held with people from vastly diverse age groups, professional backgrounds and gender, including women leaders, religious personalities, rural habitants, students, business people, ECB officials and civil servants. This deliberately diverse group of interviewees generated a wide range of firsthand information in the form of views and opinions, based on personal experiences.

#### Questionnaire

Although a qualitative approach was adopted as the main method, a survey questionnaire (Annex-4) was developed and subsequently used as a quantitative tool to gather objective data. This helped in supporting information gathered from the interviews.

From the results of the interviews a series of gender-related topics was derived, to be included in the questionnaire. Subsequently, the questionnaire was finalized by involving NCWC and other stakeholders. The identified topics are:

- a) Double or triple burden
- b) Attitudes and stereotypes
- c) Patriarchal values
- d) Self-image, self-esteem
- e) Decision-making
- f) Socio-economic barriers
- g) Election system and processes
- h) Functional language skills
- i) Education and training
- j) Enabling environment for women's empowerment

### **Observation**

Observing community meetings at the village level can afford an incisive insight into women's leadership roles at the village community level. The level of their participation in the decision-making process can be gauged quite effectively. Unfortunately, no such community-level meetings were conducted during the survey period, as people were either busy planting paddy in the fields or preparing for the coming election. However, this situation presented a fair opportunity to observe and assess the pre-election and, later, the post election atmosphere in villages where women candidates ran for the local governance posts. Consequently, this helped in fostering a better understanding of the opinions expressed by local people when the women candidates contesting from their villages won or lost.

### **Case study**

Three intriguing election stories of three women leaders have been included in this report as part of a case study. Two of the women leaders were elected as *Gup* and *Tshogpa* respectively,

while the third woman ran for the post of *Gup* but was not elected.

### **Development of enumerators' guide**

To ensure consistency in enumeration and survey tool administration, an enumerators' guide was developed, that incorporated all the important points of enumeration and survey administration.

### **Pre-testing of questionnaires**

Before commencement of the actual field survey, the survey questionnaire was pre-tested on June 16, 2011, in one of the villages in Khasadrapchu, Thimphu Dzongkhag. This helped to identify shortcomings in the questionnaire, with the result that there was more clarity in the approach than before.

### **Training of enumerators**

Following the finalization of the questionnaire, the enumerators were trained on the conduct and process of carrying out the survey. The training mainly focused on the following aspects:

- Discussion on the indicators in the questionnaire
- Discussion on the terms and terminologies
- Conduct and process of carrying out the survey
- Pre-testing of the survey questionnaire

### **Field visits**

A significant number of field visits were made in accordance with both qualitative and quantitative approaches of data collection.

### **Data management, processing and analysis**

A good part of data management included reviewing the questionnaires obtained from the field for omission and clerical errors. For subsequent processing of the data, data

punchers were trained to enter and clean the field data. The final data analysis and cross tabulation were done using the SPSS program.

### Interpretation and comparison

This research study has adopted both descriptive and comparative approaches. The descriptive part contains details from the field and the literature review. These details have been used to bolster the comparative analysis of existing gender policies and the ground reality of gender issues in both rural and urban settings.

### Sample size and type

#### Scope

The scope of this study includes all the urban and rural areas of Bhutan, in all the 20 *dzongkhags* (districts).

### Frame for the survey

For study purposes, the 20 *dzongkhags* have been grouped into four regions viz. West, Central, South and East, along with the number of voters in each district. Table 1 shows the grouping of the *dzongkhags* along with their voter numbers. The number of voters is as per the voter list released by the Election Commission of Bhutan. In this sampling frame, *dzongkhags* and *gewogs* are considered to be Primary Sampling Units (PSUs), and eligible voters from the *dzongkhags* and *gewogs*, from both urban and rural areas, as Secondary Sampling Units (SSUs).

Table 2.1 Regional grouping of dzongkhags with number of voters

West		Central		South		East	
Dzongkhag	Number of voters	Dzongkhag	Number of voters	Dzongkhag	Number of voters	Dzongkhag	Number of voters
Gasa	1757	Bumthang	6463	Chukha	19841	Lhuntse	13879
Haa	6323	Dagana	19660	S.Jongkhar	19372	Mongar	28483
Paro	15019	Trongsa	7606	Samtse	39592	Pemagatsel	19353
Punakha	13306	W.Phodrang	15284	Sarpang	23132	Trashigang	38407
Thimphu	5024	Zhemgang	15301	Tsirang	18785	T.Yangtse	14975

### Sample size

The sample size has been determined using the standard formulae wherein the sampling error is taken at 0.05 and the Standard Normal Distribution value of 1.96 for significance level at 0.025, and the proportion at a maximum variability of 0.5 for each region.

The total sample size for the survey, applying the above standard formulae, for each of the four re-gions is 384 eligible voters, based on

which a total of 1536 eligible voters have been interviewed for the survey. Table 2.2 shows the probability of selection and corresponding weights, of two *dzongkhags* and four *chiwogs* from these *dzongkhags* in each region.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \frac{\alpha}{2} p(1-p)}{e^2}$$

Table 2.2 Dzongkhags & chiwogs: probability of selection and corresponding weights

Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from West					
Selected dzongkhag	Punakha	Selected chiwog 1	Tamigdamchhu Thangbji	Selected chiwog 2	Sirigang wakoo Damchhu
Number of voters	13306	Number of voters	304	Number of voters	644
Probability of selection	0.64	Probability of selection	0.05	Probability of selection	0.01
Sampling weight(w1)	1.56	Sampling weight (w2)	21.43	Sampling weight (w2)	10.12
Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from Central					
Selected dzongkhag	Paro	Selected Chiwog 1	Gaupel	Selected Chiwog 2	Kempa Kuduphoog
Number of voters	15019	Number of Voters	141	Number of voters	300
Probability of selection	0.73	Probability of selection	0.02	P0.04robability of selection	
Sampling weight (w1)	1.18	Sampling weight (w2)	52.87	Sampling weight (w2)	24.85

Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from Central					
Selected dzongkhag	Zhemgang	Selected chiwog 1	Dakphel Tali	Selected chiwog 2	Wamling
Number of voters	15301	Number of voters	512	Number of voters	542
Probability of selection	0.48	Probability of selection	0.04	Probability of selection	0.07
Sampling weight (w1)	2.1	Sampling weight (w2)	14.94	Sampling weight (w2)	14.12
Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from South					
Selected dzongkhag	Dagana	Selected chiwog 1	Panga Patala	Selected chiwog 2	Lhamoi Dzingkha
Number of voters	19660	Number of voters	341	Number of voters	559
Probability of selection	0.61	Probability of selection	0.04	Probability of selection	0.06

Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from South					
Selected dzongkhag	Samtse	Selected chiwog 1	Namgay-chhoeling	Selected chiwog 2	Dangling Gangjoog
Number of voters	39592	Number of voters	407	Number of voters	408
Probability of selection	0.66	Probability of selection	0.02	Probability of selection	0.02
Sampling weight (w1)	1.52	Sampling weight(w2)	47.09	Sampling weight(2)	46.98
Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from South					
Selected dzongkhag	Tsirang	Selected chiwog 1	Dzamling Zor	Selected chiwog 1	Neymedsa
Number of voters	18785	Number of voters	321	Number of voters	362
Probability of selection	0.31	Probability of selection	0.03	Probability of selection	0.04
Sampling weight (w2)	3.21	Sampling weight (w2)	29.26	Sampling weight (w2)	25.95

Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from East					
Selected dzongkhag	Pemagatsel	Selected chiwog 1	Khar Yagyur	Selected chiwog 2	Dechhenling Goenpawoong
Number of voters	19353	Number of voters	612	Number of voters	816
Probability of selection	0.34	Probability of selection	0.07	Probability of selection	0.09
Sampling weight (w1)	2.97	Sampling weight (w2)	14.83	Sampling weight (w2)	11.12
Selected dzongkhags and chiwogs from West					
Selected dzongkhag	Mongar	Selected chiwog 1	Bainangri	Selected chiwog 2	Kognala Ya Ragla
Number of voters	24843	Number of voters	187	Number of voters	215
Probability of selection	0.5	Probability of selection	0.01	Probability of selection	0.02
Sampling weight (w2)	2.02	Sampling weight (w2)	76.16	Sampling weight (w2)	66.24

### Sample allocation to the selected chiwogs

The sample allocation to the *chiwogs* in each of the eight *dzongkhags* is detailed in Table 2.3.

### Household selection

The stratified sampling, or sub-sampling, of house-holds was carried out by field supervisors in the field. The household register maintained by the Gup's office was used to locate the minimum number of eligible voters required for each of the gewogs given in Table 3. One or more respondents were selected from the selected households. The selection was determined by the number of house-holds and the number

of eligible voters in the family. The selection of respondents was such that both sexes got equal coverage.

### Survey control

Survey control was well achieved through the training of the enumerators, pre-testing of the survey questionnaire, and training of data punchers. After finalizing the questionnaire, the enumerators were trained on the conduct and process of carrying out the survey. Similarly, before commencement of the actual field survey, the survey questionnaire was pre-tested on 16 June 2011 in a village in Khasadrapchu, Thimphu.

Table 2.3 Sample allocation to the chiwogs

Region	Dzongkhag	Chiwog	Sample size
West	Punakha	Tami Damchu Thambji	96
		Sirigang Wakoo Damchhi	96
	Paro	Gaupel	96
		Kempa Kuduphoog	96
Central	Zhemgang	Dakphel Tali	96
		Wamling	96
	Dagana	Pangna Patala	96
		Lhamoi Dzingkha	96
South	Samtse	Namgaychoeling	96
		Daangling Gangjoog	96
	Tsirang	Dzamling Zor	96
		Neymedsa	96
East	Pema Gatsel	Khar Yagur	96
		Dechhenling Goenpa	96
	Mongar	Bainangri Nyamla	96
		Kognala Ya Ragla	96
<b>Total</b>			<b>1536</b>

# 3

## The Survey Findings

### 3.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

#### Age, gender and type of residential location

Of the 1536 respondents, 822 (53.5%) respondents were females and 714 respondents (46.5%) were males, constituting almost 50:50 representation, although the southern region showed a female-male ratio of 58%(223 respondents), 42%(161 respondents), which was mainly offset by respondents from Samtse Dzongkhag (65% = 125 female respondents; 35% = 67 male respondents). The representativeness was not applied when determining the sample sizes for the type of residential location of the respondents as Bhutan is largely a rural population. The sample therefore included 83.5% (1283 respondents) either from semi-remote or remote locations, while the remaining came from difficult (less accessible) places (12.5% = 160 respondents), semi-urban (3.8% = 48 respondents) and urban areas (0.2% = 3 respondents), with more or less equal distribution of male and female across different types of locations. Essentially, the respondents constituted the rural population (96% = 1475 respondents), i.e. if put together from semi-remote to difficult places. Only 4% (61 respondents) came from semi-urban or urban areas. The age group composition of the respondents was more or less evenly distributed amongst 18-25 years (19.9% = 306 respondents), 26-35 years (25.3% = 389 respondents), 36-45 years (20.5% = 315 respondents), and 46-55 years (16.0% = 246 respondents), as well

as with significant representation from 56-65 years (11.9% = 183 respondents) and 66 years and above (6.3% = 97 respondents). However, in terms of the regions and *dzongkhags*, in South and Central regions, 70% (1075 respondents) of the respondents constituted an age group of 18-45 years with Tsirang Dzongkhag being at 86% (1321 respondents) in the same age range; Pemagatshel Dzongkhag had the lowest proportion of respondents in this age range at 49% (753 respondents). In terms of gender, while the percentage of female respondents was slightly more than the males in the lower age groups (18-25 and 26-35 years), percentage of male respondents tended to be slightly higher in the higher age groups (36-45 years onwards) (Tables 3.1 - 3.3 and Figure 3.1).

Table 3.1 Age, gender and residence of respondents by type of location

N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Male/female Ratio: 46.5%/53.5%			
Type of Residential Location	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Urban	0.2	0.0	0.4
Semi-Urban	3.8	4.1	3.5
Semi-Remote	41.5	40.1	43.0
Remote	42.0	43.9	39.8
Difficult Place	12.5	11.8	13.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Age Group of Respondents	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
18-25 years	19.9	23.0	16.4
26-35 years	25.3	28.0	22.3
36-45 years	20.5	19.1	22.1
46-55 years	16.0	15.8	16.2
56-65 years	11.9	10.2	13.9
66 years and above	6.3	3.9	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Figure 3.1 Respondents by location, age group and gender

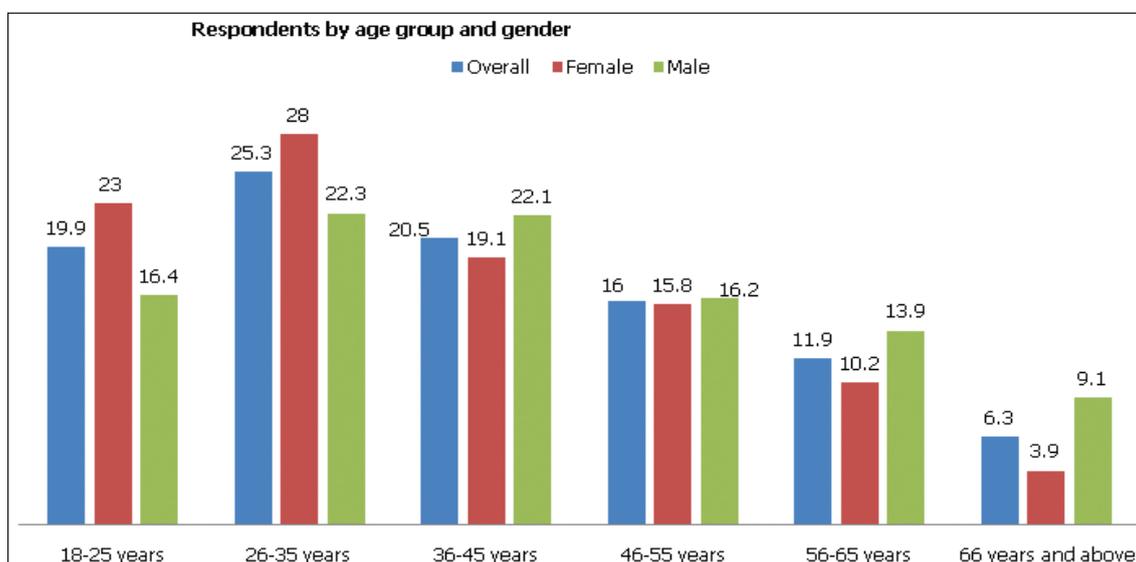
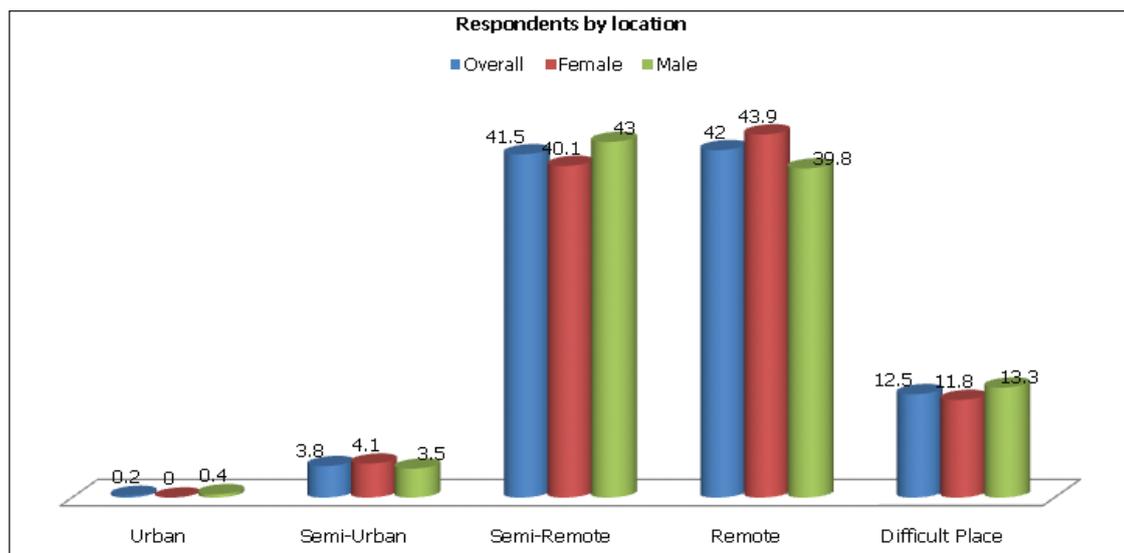


Table 3.2 Respondents by gender, region and dzongkhag

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Regions	East	51%	49%	100%
	West	53%	47%	100%
	South	58%	42%	100%
	Central	52%	48%	100%
Dzongkhag	Punakha	51%	49%	100%
	Paro	54%	46%	100%
	Zhemgang	51%	49%	100%
	Tsirang	53%	47%	100%
	Dagana	52%	48%	100%
	Samtse	65%	35%	100%
	Monggar	53%	47%	100%
	Pemagatshel	50%	50%	100%

Table 3.3 Age group of respondents by region and dzongkhag

		Age group						Total
		18-25 years	26-35 years	36-45 years	46-55 years	56-65 years	66 & above	
Regions	East	18%	20%	18%	17%	17%	9%	100%
	West	32%	18%	16%	15%	11%	8%	100%
	South	17%	30%	23%	18%	9%	4%	100%
	Central	13%	33%	24%	14%	11%	4%	100%
Dzongkhag	Punakha	22%	22%	15%	17%	14%	10%	100%
	Paro	41%	13%	18%	13%	8%	6%	100%
	Zhemgang	14%	19%	23%	19%	17%	8%	100%
	Tsirang	13%	47%	26%	8%	5%	1%	100%
	Dagana	9%	27%	28%	20%	13%	4%	100%
	Samtse	24%	33%	18%	17%	5%	3%	100%
	Monggar	19%	25%	20%	16%	13%	7%	100%
	P/gatshel	17%	16%	16%	19%	21%	12%	100%

### Education and occupation of respondents

Table 3.4 shows the educational background and occupation of respondents. An overwhelming 48.8% (750respondents), composed of 51.7% (425respondents) females and 45.5% (325respondents) males, have no education at all. Compared to these respondents with no education at all, the West (46% = 177respondents) and Central (48% = 184respondents) regions are only slightly better off than the South

(50% = 192respondents) and East (51% = 196respondents) regions. Zhemgang Dzongkhag (58% = 111respondents) is the worst followed by Punakha (55% = 106respondents), Dagana (54% = 104respondents), and Pemagatshel (53% = 101respondents) dzongkhags. Paro (38% = 73respondents) and Tsirang (39% = 75respondents) are comparatively better off (Table 3.5 and Figure 3.2). Almost half of the rest (44.2% = 679respondents) is composed of respondents having achieved educational levels

that include non-formal education (14.5% = 223 respondents), primary and lower secondary (15.5% = 238 respondents) and middle and higher secondary education (14.2% = 218 respondents), with more or less equal proportions of male and female. More female respondents (17.4% = 143 respondents) were found to have a non-formal education background than the male respondents (11.1% = 79 respondents). While Monggar Dzongkhag has the highest proportion of respondents with NFE background (26% = 49 respondents) followed by Tsirang (19% = 36 respondents), Paro Dzongkhag has the highest proportion of respondents with Class X and XII educational background (42% = 80 respondents). Monggar (7% = 13 respondents) and Zhemgang (7% = 13 respondents) have the least proportion of respondents with Class X and XII educational backgrounds, followed by Tsirang (8% = 15 respondents) and Pemagatshel (9% = 17 respondents). While only 2.5% (38 respondents) are with Bachelors or Masters Degree qualifications (1.4% = 11 female respondents; 3.5% = 29 male respondents), the remaining small percent of the respondents was composed of vocational (0.7% = 10 respondents) and monastic (4.0% = 61 respondents; 0.5% = 4 female respondents and 8.1% = 58 male

respondents) educational backgrounds.

In terms of occupation, almost eighty percent of the respondents (79.3% = 1218 respondents) comprised of 83.2% (684 respondents) female and 74.8% (534 respondents) male were farmers; added to it are another 2.4% (37 respondents) comprising 1.3% (11 respondents) females and 2.8% (19 respondents) males, which is composed of community leaders (*Gup, Mangmi, Tshogpa*, etc) who are essentially farmers themselves. Monggar (92% = 177 respondents) had the highest proportion of respondents with farming backgrounds, followed by Zhemgang (90% = 173 respondents), while 46% (88 respondents), 28% (54 respondents) and 11% (21 respondents) of the respondents from Paro Dzongkhag were composed of farmers, students and the business community respectively (Table 3.6). The remaining respondents were mostly composed of civil servants (4.0% = 61 respondents; 2.7% = 22 female respondents and 5.5% = 39 male respondents), business community (4.7% = 72 respondents; 4.3% = 35 female respondents and 6.4% = 46 male respondents), and students (7.6% = 116 respondents) with parliamentarians, corporate employees, and monks constituting the rest (2.0% = 30 respondents).

Table 3.4 Education and occupation of respondents by gender

N=1536/ Nf =822/Nm =714

Educational Attainments of the Respondents	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
No Education	48.8	51.7	45.5
Non-Formal Education	14.5	17.4	11.1
Below class VI	10.9	10.0	11.9
Below class VII	4.6	4.0	5.3
Below class X	6.3	6.8	5.6
Below XII	7.9	7.7	8.1
Bachelors	2.0	1.3	2.7
Masters and above	0.5	0.1	0.8
Vocational Education	0.7	0.5	0.8
Monastic Education	4.0	0.5	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Occupations of the Respondents	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Parliamentarian	0.3	0.1	0.4
Civil Servant	4.0	2.7	5.5
Government Corporate Employee	0.8	0.7	0.8
Private Corporate Employee	0.7	0.2	1.1
Private Business	4.7	4.1	5.3
Gup	0.1	0.0	0.3
Mangmi	0.3	0.0	0.6
Tshogpa	1.0	0.4	1.7
Chupon	0.6	0.4	0.8
Local Community Leader	0.3	0.5	0.1
Farmer	79.3	83.2	74.8
Monk	0.5	0.1	0.8
Student	7.6	7.5	7.6
Village Health Worker	0.1	0.0	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Figure 3.2 Respondents by education

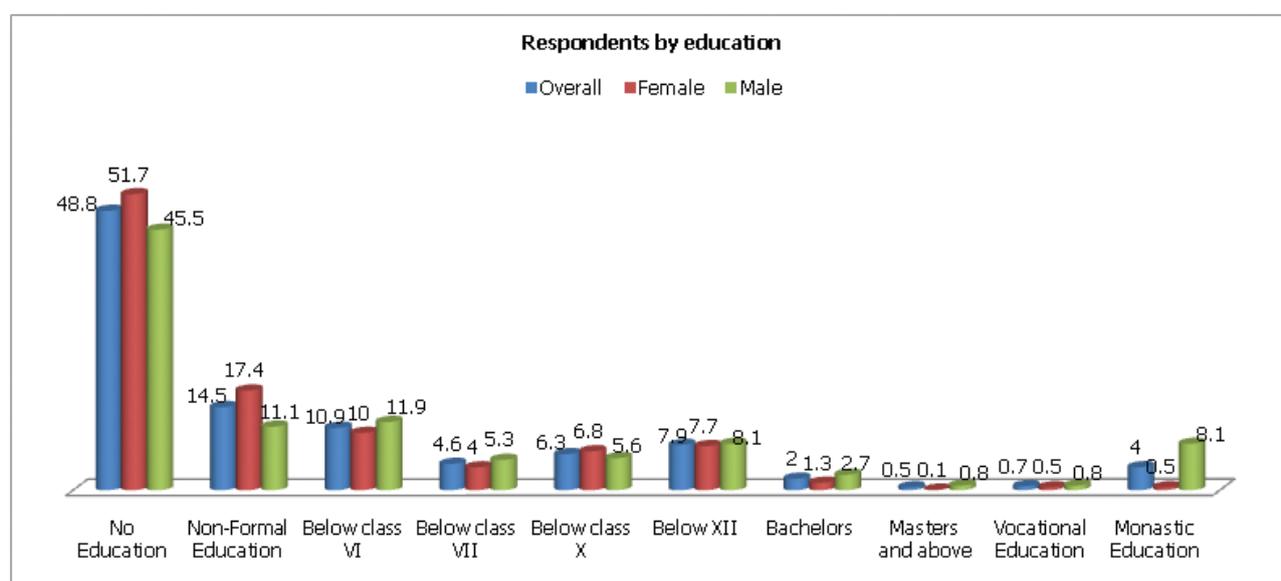


Table 3.5 Educational levels by region and dzongkhag

		No Edn.	NFE	Below class VI	Below class VII	Below class X	Below class XII	Bachelors	Masters & above	V. Edn	Mon. Edn	Total
Four Regions	East	51%	19%	10%	5%	4%	4%	1%	0%	1%	5%	100%
	West	46%	10%	6%	3%	9%	17%	3%	1%	1%	4%	100%
	South	50%	14%	11%	5%	8%	7%	4%	1%	0%	1%	100%
	Central	48%	14%	17%	5%	4%	3%	1%	1%	1%	7%	100%
Dzongkhag	Punakha	55%	15%	7%	4%	6%	6%	1%	0%	1%	6%	100%
	Paro	38%	6%	5%	3%	13%	29%	4%	2%	1%	1%	100%
	Zhemgang	58%	9%	8%	4%	5%	2%	0%	0%	1%	13%	100%
	Tsirang	39%	19%	27%	5%	3%	5%	2%	1%	1%	0%	100%
	Dagana	54%	12%	14%	6%	6%	6%	3%	0%	0%	0%	100%
	Samtse	46%	17%	8%	5%	9%	8%	5%	1%	0%	2%	100%
	Monggar	49%	26%	11%	4%	5%	2%	1%	0%	0%	3%	100%
	P/gatshel	53%	13%	9%	6%	4%	5%	1%	0%	3%	7%	100%

Table 3.6 Respondents' occupation by region and dzongkhag

		Parliam-entarian	Civil servant	Govt corp em- ployee	Pvt corp employee	Pvt business	Gup	Mangmi	Tshogpa	Chupon	Local Comm. Leader	Farmer	Monk	Student	Village Health worker	Total
Four Regions	East	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	89%	1%	5%	0%	100%
	West	0%	5%	3%	2%	9%	0%	0%	2%	1%	1%	62%	1%	16%	0%	100%
	South	0%	8%	0%	0%	7%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	77%	0%	7%	0%	100%
	Central	1%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	89%	0%	3%	0%	100%
Dzongkhag	Punakha	0%	6%	2%	1%	6%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	78%	1%	4%	0%	100%
	Paro	0%	5%	3%	3%	11%	0%	0%	2%	0%	2%	46%	0%	28%	0%	100%
	Zhemgang	1%	2%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	90%	1%	2%	1%	100%
	Tsirang	1%	2%	1%	0%	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	89%	0%	4%	0%	100%
	Dagana	0%	5%	0%	1%	7%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	83%	0%	1%	0%	100%
	Samtse	0%	10%	0%	0%	7%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	70%	0%	13%	0%	100%
	Monggar	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	92%	0%	5%	0%	100%
	P/gatshel	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	3%	0%	86%	2%	5%	0%	100%

### Income by gender

An overwhelming majority of 42.6% (654 respondents) of the respondents comprising 47.7% female (392 respondents) and 36.7% male (262 respondents) have a monthly income below Nu.1,500. While 28.5% (437 respondents) of the respondents fall within the monthly income bracket of Nu.1,500

– 3,000, 6.3% (96 respondents) of male and female respondents do not have any income at all. Keeping the Category V of the National Work Force (NWF) wage of Nu.100 per day as the base (valid till July 31, 2011; gets revised to Nu.165 per day for the same category effective from August 1, 2011), and keeping aside the percentage of respondents with no income at all, 71.1% (1092 respondents) of the

respondents' income falls largely below the National Minimum Wage (NMW) for category V of NWF. But, effective from August 1, 2011, this percentage would increase to 79.8%(1225 respondents) of the respondents. In view of this and in terms of regions, Central region (93% = 357 respondents) would be worst off followed by Eastern region (90% = 346 respondents) in terms of income capability. In terms of Dzongkhags, Zhemgang Dzongkhag would be worst off (97% = 186 respondents) followed by Pemagatshel (94% = 361 respondents).

However, it must be noted that while this is the reported cash income of the respondents, subsistence farmers largely depend on the produce from their own agricultural farms. All in all, except for the lowest income group wherein falls 47.7%(392 respondents) of the female respondents, as compared to 36.7%(262 respondents) males, which is a significant margin, male respondents are only slightly better off than the female respondents in the other income groups. (Refer Table 3.7 and 3.8]

Table 3.7 Monthly income of respondents, overall and by gender

N=1536/ Nf =822/Nm =714

Monthly income	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Below 1500	42.6	47.7	36.7
1500-3000	28.5	27.7	29.4
3000-5000	8.7	6.3	11.5
5000-10000	6.4	6.2	6.7
10000-15000	2.8	2.3	3.4
15000-20000	1.9	1.2	2.7
20000-30000	1.8	1.5	2.2
Over 30000	0.9	0.7	1.1
No Income	6.3	6.3	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.8 Monthly income (Ngultrum) by region and dzongkhag

		Monthly Income (Ngultrum)								Total	
		Below 1500	1500-3000	3000-5000	5000-10000	1000-15000	1500-20000	20000-30000	Over 30000		No Income
Four Regions	East	39%	35%	11%	6%	1%	1%	1%	1%	5%	100%
	West	33%	21%	10%	9%	5%	3%	4%	2%	13%	100%
	South	52%	22%	5%	9%	3%	2%	2%	1%	5%	100%
	Central	47%	35%	9%	2%	3%	1%	0%	0%	2%	100%
Dzongkhag	Punakha	26%	33%	18%	14%	2%	3%	2%	1%	2%	100%
	Paro	40%	9%	3%	4%	8%	4%	6%	3%	23%	100%
	Zhemgang	71%	19%	6%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	100%
	Tsirang	23%	52%	13%	3%	5%	1%	1%	0%	4%	100%
	Dagana	52%	32%	4%	5%	3%	1%	3%	1%	1%	100%
	Samtse	52%	13%	5%	14%	3%	3%	1%	1%	9%	100%
	Monggar	51%	22%	7%	7%	2%	2%	2%	2%	6%	100%
P/gatshel	27%	48%	15%	5%	1%	1%	0%	0%	4%	100%	

### 3.2. Double or triple burden

Of the total respondents, 61.7% (948 respondents; 62.6% = 514 female respondents and 60.8% = 434 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' (18.6% = 286 respondents) or 'agreed' (43.1% = 662 respondents) that women face 'double or triple burden' of being a mother, having household work and income generation responsibility as well, that prevents them from participating in public life. This has been largely agreed with by respondents in the South (66.8% = 257 respondents) followed by East (63.3% = 243 respondents). This has been agreed with more by respondents in Pemagatshel Dzongkhag (71.4% = 137 respondents) followed by Samtse (69.5% = 133 respondents). While 23.4% (359 respondents; 22.3% = 183 female respondents and 24.7% = 176 male respondents) have remained 'neutral', 14.8% (227 respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that women face 'double or triple burden'. Surprisingly, percentage of disagreement is slightly more from females (15.1% = 124 respondents) than from male (14.4% = 103 respondents) respondents on the issue of women facing 'double or triple burden'.

Of the three specific burdens mentioned in the survey, 63.0% (968 respondents; 63.3% = 520 female respondents) and 62.7% = 448 male respondents) of the respondents either 'strongly agreed' (12.0% = 184 respondents) or 'agreed' (51.0% = 783 respondents) that "Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers", followed by "Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life," (57.0% = 876 respondents; 58.3% = 438 female respondents and 55.6% = 397 male respondents) and "Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life." (55.4% = 851 respondents; 57.6% = 473 female respondents and 55.1% = 393 male respondents). Women respondents'

views on these areas of work being a burden on them are slightly higher than those of the male respondents. It may be noted that of the six FGD reports considered, three each of women and men, only one women's group mentioned that their 'household responsibilities' were a barrier to their participation in the local governance.

Whether or not, "Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of home", 49.8% (765 respondents; 50.8% = 418 female respondents and 48.8% = 348 male respondents) of the respondents either 'strongly agreed' (15.0% = 230 respondents) or 'agreed' (34.8% = 535 respondents) with the statement. However, while 19.2% (294 respondents) of the respondents remained neutral, 31% (476 respondents; 32.9% = 270 female respondents and 28.7% = 205 male respondents) of the respondents either 'disagreed' (22.5% = 346 respondents) or 'strongly disagreed' (8.5% = 130 respondents) with the statement.

Further, an overwhelming 78.9% (1211 respondents; 79.5% = 653 female and 78.3% = 559 male) of the respondents either 'strongly agreed' (17.8% = 273 respondents) or 'agreed' (48.4% = 743 respondents) that "Women can participate, not only as voters, but also as tshogpas, mangmi, gups, etc". In doing so, however slightly, more women (68.0% = 559 respondents) than men (64.3% = 459 respondents) feel that "Women need to strike a balance between family and public life," (Tables 3.9 – 3.15).

During FDGs with women, they said that they work at home while men attend meetings, most of the time largely because when men stay at home, they are not able to complete the daily chores. From this, it may be construed that men and women complement each other's work, rather than compete, bringing in harmony in the household.

### Conclusion 1

Both women and men acknowledge the potential of women to participate in public life,

not only as voters but also as local governance position holders such as *Tshogpas*, *Mangmis* and *Gups*. However, women's participation in public life is constrained by their traditional functional roles as housewives and mothers, and more often than not, the need to generate

income as well. Thus, faced with this double or even triple burden, they have less time and energy to partake in public life than men, who often have only one task, generating income. This discourages and prevents women from engaging in politics.

Table 3.9: Women face double or triple burden – overall

N=1536

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	15.0	34.8	19.2	22.5	8.5	100.0
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	12.0	51.0	20.9	12.2	3.8	100.0
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	13.0	44.0	29.0	12.1	1.9	100.0
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	13.3	42.1	29.7	12.3	2.7	100.0
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	40.6	38.3	14.6	4.9	1.6	100.0
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	17.8	48.4	27.3	5.0	1.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.6</b>	<b>43.1</b>	<b>23.4</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.10 Women face double or triple burden – women's perspective

Nf=822

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	15.5	35.3	16.3	23.7	9.2	100.0
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	11.2	52.1	20.7	12.5	3.5	100.0
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	11.6	46.7	26.9	13.6	1.2	100.0
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	13.6	42.0	30.5	11.3	2.6	100.0
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	40.3	39.2	14.2	5.4	1.0	100.0
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	18.9	49.1	25.3	5.5	1.2	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.5</b>	<b>44.1</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.11 Women face double or triple burden – men’s perspective

Nm =714

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women’s roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	14.6	34.2	22.5	21.0	7.7	100.0
Women’s participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	13.0	49.7	21.1	11.9	4.2	100.0
Having to make a choice between ‘mother-work’ and ‘other-work’ discriminates women from public life.	14.7	40.9	31.4	10.4	2.7	100.0
Women’s double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	12.9	42.2	28.7	13.4	2.8	100.0
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	41.0	37.3	15.0	4.3	2.4	100.0
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	16.7	47.6	29.7	4.5	1.5	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.8</b>	<b>42.0</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.12 Women face double or triple burden – respondents from the eastern dzongkhags

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Women’s roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	29%	40%	16%	10%	5%	100%
Women’s participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	22%	45%	21%	7%	4%	100%
Having to make a choice between ‘mother-work’ and ‘other-work’ discriminates women from public life.	26%	39%	23%	10%	3%	100%
Women’s double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	23%	30%	34%	10%	3%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	45%	28%	22%	5%	1%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	26%	27%	40%	6%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>28.5%</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>MONGAR</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	14%	48%	24%	12%	2%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	14%	47%	29%	10%	1%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	15%	43%	28%	14%	1%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	15%	32%	41%	12%	1%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	32%	30%	32%	6%	1%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	12%	30%	52%	6%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>38.0%</b>	<b>34.0%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Pema Gatshel</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	43%	32%	8%	8%	9%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	31%	44%	13%	4%	8%	100%
Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.	38%	34%	18%	6%	5%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	32%	28%	27%	8%	6%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	58%	26%	11%	4%	1%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	40%	24%	29%	6%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>31.2%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.13 Women face double or triple burden – respondents from the western dzongkhags

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>WESTERN DZONGKHAGS</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	14%	26%	24%	22%	14%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	11%	46%	16%	19%	7%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	14%	43%	21%	19%	3%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	16%	37%	20%	22%	5%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	54%	27%	7%	8%	4%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	19%	49%	21%	7%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>38.0%</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>16.2%</b>	<b>6.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Punakha</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	24%	24%	21%	20%	11%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	14%	53%	16%	13%	4%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	15%	50%	15%	19%	2%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	15%	41%	18%	22%	4%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	60%	21%	5%	11%	3%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	15%	54%	19%	9%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>40.5%</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Paro</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	5%	28%	28%	23%	16%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	9%	39%	16%	25%	10%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	13%	37%	27%	19%	5%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	17%	34%	22%	21%	6%	100%

Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas, mangmis, gups</i> , etc.	49%	33%	9%	4%	6%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	23%	45%	24%	4%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>36.0%</b>	<b>21.0%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.14 Women face double or triple burden – respondents from the southern dzongkhags

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	8%	33%	13%	33%	13%	100%
Women's participation in public life is pre-vented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	7%	61%	15%	13%	4%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	5%	57%	23%	15%	1%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	7%	63%	16%	11%	3%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas, mangmis, gups</i> , etc.	34%	50%	11%	3%	2%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	13%	63%	19%	4%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>54.5%</b>	<b>16.1%</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Dagana</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	8%	30%	14%	34%	13%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	9%	54%	17%	15%	5%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	6%	49%	29%	15%	2%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	10%	56%	19%	12%	3%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas, mangmis, gups</i> , etc.	38%	45%	15%	1%	2%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	16%	58%	19%	4%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>48.6%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>13.5%</b>	<b>4.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Samtse</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	8%	35%	12%	32%	12%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	5%	68%	14%	11%	2%	100%

Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	4%	65%	17%	15%	1%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	4%	69%	14%	11%	3%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmis, gups, etc.	30%	55%	8%	6%	2%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	10%	67%	19%	4%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>59.5%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>3.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.15 Women face double or triple burden – respondents from the central dzongkhags

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	9%	40%	24%	25%	3%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	7%	52%	31%	10%	0%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	7%	37%	50%	5%	0%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	7%	39%	48%	6%	0%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmis, gups, etc.	29%	49%	18%	4%	0%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	14%	54%	29%	3%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>45.2%</b>	<b>33.3%</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Zhemgang</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	17%	63%	5%	15%	1%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	14%	61%	8%	16%	1%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	14%	27%	51%	8%	1%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	14%	29%	48%	8%	1%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmis, gups, etc.	39%	51%	5%	5%	0%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	12%	69%	15%	4%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Double or Triple Burden	Strongly Agree Percent	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree Percent	Total Percent
<b>Tsirang</b>						
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	1%	17%	42%	35%	5%	100%
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	0%	42%	54%	4%	0%	100%
Having to make a choice between 'mother-work' and 'other-work' discriminates women from public life.	14%	27%	51%	8%	1%	100%
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	0%	48%	48%	4%	0%	100%
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas</i> , <i>mangmis</i> , <i>gups</i> , etc.	19%	47%	32%	3%	0%	100%
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	15%	40%	43%	2%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>36.8%</b>	<b>45.0%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.3. Attitudes and stereotypes

Gauging attitudes and stereotypes against women, 47.5% (730 respondents; 47.8% = 393 female and 47.1% = 336 male) of the respondents believe the attitudes and stereotypes that society holds against women is a constraining factor in women's participation in public life, particularly in leadership positions. This view comes strongly from respondents from South (58.6% = 225 respondents) and East (50.9% = 195 respondents) regions. In terms of Dzongkhags, respondents' views are strong from Pemagatshel Dzongkhag (60.2% = 115 respondents) followed by Dagana (59.0% = 113 respondents) and Samtse (58.4% = 112 respondents) Dzongkhags. However, while 24.0% (369 respondents; 23.6% = 194 female and 24.4% = 174 male) have not taken any positions, 28.6% (439 respondents; 28.6% = 235 female and 28.5% = 203 male) of the respondents refute such beliefs. This has been refuted strongly by respondents from the West (40.3% = 155 respondents) with Paro Dzongkhag (42.4% = 81 respondents) leading followed

by Zhemgang (39.3% = 75 respondents) and Punakha (37.5% = 72 respondents) Dzongkhags. Upon closer look, 61.4% (943 respondents; 60.1% = 494 female and 62.9% = 449 male) of the respondents perceive that "Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak," which may be a potentially detrimental factor in women's participation in public life. Women themselves tend to hold such an attitude. 47.6% (731 respondents) of the respondents either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that women being 'portrayed as less capable than men' in society has a negative impact on their public participation. This is agreed with by more female respondents (51.4% = 423 respondents) than the males (43.0% = 307 respondents); reverse is true for the disagreement wherein more male respondents (32.8% = 234 respondents) than females (28.5% = 234 respondents) have disagreed. In terms of "Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics," more males (42.5% = 303 respondents) than female respondents (32.9% = 270 respondents) have agreed with the statement, while on the

other hand 33.9% (520 respondents) of the respondents do not agree with the statement. On the perception that “*Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities,*” fewer females (36.7% = 302 respondents) than male respondents (40.1% = 286 respondents) agree, and almost the same proportion of respondents (32.3% = 496 respondents) disagreed with the

statement. Of the six FGD reports considered, one women’s group mentioned ‘husbands’ understanding’ and ‘people’s views’, and one men’s group mentioned ‘attitude’ of society being the barrier to women’s participation in local governance. Box 3.1 is a good example of people’s attitude towards women (Tables 3.16 – 3.22).

### Box 3.1

#### **Out of the kitchen and into the campaign: women find it hard going into the rough and tumble of politics**

The mother of two is all geared for the upcoming local government elections. She is up against three male contestants.

But Tshering Wangmo, 32, who is running for the post of *Gup* in Guma gewog, Punakha, recalls having a rough ride right from the moment she stepped into the election process. At one time, she almost gave up her candidature.

“From the start, I’ve constantly been reminded of being a woman,” Tshering Wangmo said. “Many feel women aren’t fit to become leaders. Some said it to my face.”

She said her opponents were using the gender card to campaign against her. “But there’s nothing a woman can’t do,” she said.

But Tshering Wangmo is one of the lucky ones. There are those, who could not stand the heat.

Dechen Choden, who could not make it from the nomination round, while attempting for a *gup’s* post in Talo *gewog*, said being a female proved to be a major drawback.

“I have no evidence to show, but so much negative campaigning went on,” said Dechen. “People were made to believe that women have no place in decision making positions.”

Dechen predicts it will be an arduous journey for women candidates in this election process. “Everyone says there’s equal opportunity for men and women, but the ground reality is different,” she said.

Although further breakups are not available, of the 2,194 candidates contesting for various local government posts, names of female candidates sparsely punctuate a long list of male contestants.

And going by what they have to say, it appears like the handful of female candidates remaining are not having an easy time.

In Punakha, Tshering Wangmo said her friends in other *gewogs* suffered, owing to so-called traditional requirements. “As per the tradition, *gups* play a major role during occasions like *dromchoe* (annual festival) and ride horses,” she said. “Many believe women *Gups* can’t, at any rate, perform such rituals.”

In Tsirang, *Gup* candidate Leki Dema said there were elections rules that were not suitable for women.

“For one, we were asked to travel alone while campaigning,” the 27-year old said. “This would deter many women from

participating in future, because it’s about one’s safety.”

Almost 800 women had registered for the functional literacy tests that the election commission conducted, but about 50 percent had not turned up for the tests. Even lesser had decided not to participate in the elections.

Observers, following the elections closely, attributed this to the failure of concerned agencies to address the practical side of issues women faced, despite having the policies in place.

“While there could be other reasons, it’s definitely not easy for women to step outside their homes to assume a public role,” one said. “They have to consider family and household responsibilities they shoulder.”

Against all these, government’s national plan of action for gender reveals a target of achieving five percent female *Gup*, another five percent *Mangmi* and seven percent *Tshogpa* representation in the local government by 2013.

Until 2006, female representation comprised of one percent *Gup*, 2.5 percent *Mangmi* and 4.2 percent *Tshogpa*.

Some said having more women at the *Tshogpa* level was obvious since nobody wanted the post. *Gup* and *Mangmi* posts, on the other hand, came with attractive incentives but women were expected to encounter fiercer competition.

While National Commission for Women and Children officials are well aware that achieving the set target would be difficult, they said initiatives that enabled women to come into the public sphere were well underway.

“This is the first local government elections of its sort, so people will be skeptical to join,” one official from the commission said, adding however, that to study the behavioral pattern of elections, including women’s participation, it was an international norm to study at least three elections.

But some observers asked whether numbers, in terms of female representation, really mattered.

While some argued that, in a democracy, it was about making the voices heard, which was determined by the right number, or the majority, others said it was about representation in the right forum, which need not necessarily be gender driven.

Parliament member, Tashi Wangmo said that while women’s physical representation was pushed mostly as a western ideology, in Bhutan, it is more important for genders to complement each other and take care of such issues.

“But yes women always have to be mindful of who’ll take over other responsibilities they have when they step out to take up public roles,” she said. “Unless men are willing, it’s not going to be easy for them.”

Source: Kezang Dema. LG Elections. Kuensel, Saturday June 4, 2011, p.1-2.

## Conclusion 2

In a society where gender stereotypes and attitudes run deep, women are portrayed as less capable than men. This is accepted by a large majority of women themselves. It also leads to women having lower expectations of them-selves, of their leadership capability and their proposed role in politics. This low self-esteem is derived from the pervasive belief in

society that leadership and politics are purely masculine activities.

While definitely more men hold such views than women, it is significant to note that women also share the misplaced gender beliefs that persist in society. Without effective interventions in place, such persistent views can make it very difficult for women to participate in public life.

### Box 3.2

#### “Less support from men caused my downfall”

Her initial interest was to contest for the post of a *Tshogpa* of Dzamlingzor *Chiwog* but after attending the leadership course offered by the Institute for Management Studies with support from Liaison Office of Denmark, Tashi was inspired to contest for the post of a *Gup* of Mendrelgang *Gewog* of Tsirang Dzongkhag.

Though there was support from her family, there was very little encouragement from men, especially the elders.

When asked why there are only few women candidates, Tashi says that the immediate cause could be the household responsibility and lack of support from their husbands could be the other main reason. Then she adds, “Of course, there are also other factors such as lack of confidence and experience and gender discrimination by elders.”

She had three competitors and all of them were men. “Right from the start, I knew I would lose as there was very little support, especially from men and even women from the older generation, but I was inspired to participate,”

remarks Tashi. “Now I understand that my ‘guess was right’ for less support from men caused my downfall,” she states regretfully.

She suggests that the government should publicize the importance of women’s participation in the media as effectively as possible. In her *chiwog*, there are only about 60% of people who do not indulge in gender discrimination. “One way of encouraging women to participate is to provide education and training, and to support the elected women candidates so that they become role models for other women and motivate them to participate in future elections. Gender sensitization programmes should also be strengthened,” Tashi recommends.

“People do not accept when women talk in a meeting or at any kind of gathering,” Tashi reports. She has even heard people saying, “*No-naap gi De-kha ley, No-maap Then-mey.*” (translation – black sheep amongst the herd (you’re an odd ball).

Tashi is 45 years old, mother of 4 children and the wife of a taxi-driver.

Table 3.16 Attitudes and stereotypes by overall respondents

N=1536

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	10.4	37.2	22.0	23.1	7.4	100.0
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	6.1	32.2	29.4	23.4	8.9	100.0
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	15.5	45.9	21.1	13.6	3.9	100.0
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	6.8	35.9	23.4	27.5	6.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>37.8</b>	<b>24.0</b>	<b>21.9</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.17 Attitudes and stereotypes: women's perspective

(Nf =822)

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	11.3	40.1	20.1	20.8	7.7	100.0
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	5.1	31.6	30.3	23.2	9.7	100.0
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	15.3	44.8	21.8	13.6	4.5	100.0
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	6.6	36.3	22.4	27.4	7.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>38.2</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.18 Attitudes and stereotypes: men's perspective

Nm =714

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	9.2	33.8	24.2	25.8	7.0	100.0
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	7.3	32.8	28.4	23.5	8.0	100.0
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	15.7	47.2	20.3	13.6	3.2	100.0
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	7.1	35.4	24.5	27.6	5.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>37.3</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.19 Attitudes and stereotypes: perspectives from the eastern region

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree	Agree Percent	Neutral Percent	Disagree Percent	Strongly Disagree	Total Percent
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	21%	39%	21%	15%	4%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	14%	29%	26%	18%	13%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	19%	39%	26%	14%	3%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	9%	34%	29%	24%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.7%</b>	<b>35.2%</b>	<b>25.4%</b>	<b>17.7%</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	12%	28%	35%	22%	3%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	19%	28%	42%	11%	1%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	20%	24%	39%	16%	1%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	9%	24%	36%	30%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	<b>38.0%</b>	<b>19.6%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	29%	50%	6%	9%	6%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	8%	31%	10%	25%	26%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	17%	54%	13%	11%	4%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	8%	43%	22%	18%	8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>44.6%</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>15.8%</b>	<b>11.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.20 Attitudes and stereotypes: perspectives from the western region

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	8%	25%	23%	31%	13%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	4%	23%	27%	35%	10%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	21%	34%	20%	17%	7%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	9%	21%	23%	36%	11%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>25.8%</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>30.0%</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	11%	28%	23%	31%	7%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	6%	19%	20%	45%	10%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	28%	46%	13%	12%	2%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	6%	28%	22%	36%	7%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>30.3%</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	5%	22%	23%	31%	18%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	3%	28%	33%	25%	10%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	15%	22%	28%	22%	13%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	11%	15%	24%	35%	15%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>21.8%</b>	<b>27.2%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>	<b>14.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.21. Attitudes and stereotypes: perspectives from the southern region

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly )	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	11%	45%	18%	19%	7%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	6%	42%	18%	25%	9%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	16%	54%	14%	11%	4%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	8%	52%	15%	21%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>48.3%</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>19.1%</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	15%	44%	19%	16%	6%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	8%	42%	20%	18%	12%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	16%	54%	18%	10%	2%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	7%	50%	17%	21%	5%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>47.5%</b>	<b>18.5%</b>	<b>16.2%</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	7%	47%	16%	22%	8%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	4%	42%	15%	33%	6%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	17%	55%	11%	12%	5%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	9%	53%	14%	21%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>49.2%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>5.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.22 Attitudes and stereotypes: perspectives from the central region

Attitudes and Stereotypes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly )	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	2%	39%	26%	27%	6%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	1%	34%	47%	15%	3%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	5%	56%	24%	12%	2%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	2%	37%	26%	29%	6%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>2.5%</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>30.8%</b>	<b>20.8%</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	2%	41%	7%	41%	9%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	1%	27%	47%	21%	4%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	11%	62%	10%	14%	3%	100%

Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	3%	20%	11%	54%	11%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>37.6%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	2%	38%	45%	14%	3%	100%
Leadership and politics are seen as masculine activities.	0%	42%	47%	9%	3%	100%
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	0%	50%	38%	10%	2%	100%
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	2%	53%	40%	5%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>45.2%</b>	<b>42.4%</b>	<b>9.4%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.4. Patriarchal values

All in all, 42.4% (651 respondents; 41.9% = 344 female and 43.0% = 307 male) of the respondents perceive that there are no strong 'patriarchal values' in the Bhutanese society (disagree: 30.9% = 475 respondents; strongly disagree: 11.5% = 177 respondents). However, it is significant that 33.4% (513 respondents; 34.2% = 281 female and 32.6% = 233 male) of the respondents believe that 'patriarchal values' do exist in the Bhutanese society (strongly agree: 5.9% = 91 respondents; agree: 27.5% = 422 respondents). 24.1% (370 respondents; 23.8% = 196 female and 24.5% = 175 male) of the respondents have remained 'neutral' on the issue under consideration. However, perceptions differ from region to region as well as amongst the *dzongkhags*. While respondents from the East (41.9% = 161 respondents) and South (44.9% = 172 respondents) regions believe there exists 'patriarchal values' in the Bhutanese society, respondents from the West (59.6% = 229 respondents) and Central (47.4% = 182 respondents) do not believe such values exist. Eastern region's perception in the existence of 'patriarchal values' is mainly influenced by respondents from Pemagatshel Dzongkhag (51.0% = 98 respondents). Similarly, respondents from Dagana (46.2% = 89 respondents), Tsirang (44.2% = 85 respondents), and Samtse (44.0%

= 84 respondents) dzongkhags perceive the existence of 'Patriarchal values' in the Bhutanese society. However, the existence of 'Patriarchal values' in Bhutanese society is strongly refuted by respondents from Zhemgang Dzongkhag (81.8% = 157 respondents), followed by Punakha (64.0% = 123 respondents) and Paro (55.5% = 107 respondents) Dzongkhag.

Taking a closer look, five of the six statements intended to gauge the extent of the existence of 'patriarchal values' in Bhutanese society have been responded to with more 'disagreements' than 'agreements', ranging from marginal to significant differences. Specifically, comparison of responses that are 'disagree/strongly disagree' (DA) and 'agree/strongly agree' (A) are: "Men are leaders and women have to follow" (DA: 49.4% = 759 respondents; A: 30.8% = 473 respondents); "Women are restricted from public spaces" (DA: 48.2% = 740 respondents; A: 28.2% = 433 respondents); "Women are restricted to form groups" (DA: 45.6% = 700 respondents; A: 29.9% = 459 respondents); "Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society" (DA: 42.3% = 650 respondents; A: 28.5% = 438 respondents); and "Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men" (DA: 38.9% = 598 respondents; A: 38.3% = 588 respondents). While the results of the responses may be indicative of the denial that

'patriarchal values' exists in Bhutanese society, a significant proportion of the responses have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' to the same statements which indicate that some form of traditional values in some subtle forms may exist that are 'patriarchal' in nature. However, 45.2% (694 respondents; 44.3% = 364female and 45.2% = 323male) of the respondents have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with having "not many role-models for women to look up to," that adversely affects women's participation in public life, particularly in leadership roles.

Upon asking "Where do you go on your own?", while 21.4% (153 respondents) of the males responded as 'Everywhere I want to', only 16.2% (133 respondents) of the female respondents expressed that they could go anywhere they wanted to. This may indicate presence of 'patriarchal values' in the Bhutanese society( Tables 3.23 – 3.31)

The above finding that 'patriarchal values' may be present in Bhutanese society, though in some subdued forms, the following extract, from one of the FGD reports with the men's group, supports the presence of 'patriarchal values' in Bhutanese society that has hindered women's participation and development in Bhutanese society. The following quote from the report reveals amply:

"While it was certainly the fear of the male dominated society that restricted women from contesting in the first historic local governance elections, men feel that in the subsequent years, women should assert themselves and contest in the elections. Men feel that it would be quite a challenge to overcome the barrier posed by men, but with time, those barriers would not only be overcome but that the monopoly that men have enjoyed for the last many centuries would be let loose. It would be as if the society is freed of the yoke that it has been carrying for so long. "The

society itself has not comprehended well the role of women and the lack of confidence was another factor that made most women shy away from the elections. But, five years along the line of democracy, I feel the society will understand our women folk better, their contribution as leaders and thus be able to contribute meaningfully and equally in our community. By then the common view of women as creatures to be led would certainly have diminished, giving them a better edge over the aggressive men folk."

### Conclusion 3

From the findings, it may be concluded that existence or non-existence of 'patriarchal values' in Bhutanese society is a regional and/ or *Dzongkhag's* specific concern. Two of the regions (East and South) may suffer from strong 'Patriarchal values' while the other two (West and Central) may be comparatively free of such values, notwithstanding the existence of differences even within the specific regions. It may also be concluded that certain subtle and subdued forms of patriarchal values do exist in the Bhutanese society which are evident through certain traditional values that are patriarchal in nature. Findings from the FGDs further confirm its existence, in fact in some dominant ways. Such values could potentially bar women from participating in public spaces.

Table 3.23 Patriarchal values by overall respondents

N=1536

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	7.2	23.6	19.9	31.4	18.0	100.0
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	7.6	30.7	22.8	27.8	11.1	100.0
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	8.8	36.4	24.7	24.0	6.1	100.0
Women are restricted to form groups.	4.1	25.8	24.5	35.6	10.0	100.0
Women are restricted from public spaces.	3.5	24.7	23.6	35.5	12.7	100.0
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	4.6	23.9	29.2	31.0	11.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>27.5</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>30.9</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.24 Patriarchal values: women's perspective

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	7.2	24.1	19.1	30.4	19.2	100.0
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	7.4	30.5	21.3	28.6	12.2	100.0
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	7.9	36.4	24.8	24.1	6.8	100.0
Women are restricted to form groups.	4.1	27.5	24.6	33.6	10.2	100.0
Women are restricted from public spaces.	4.0	26.5	22.7	36.0	10.7	100.0
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	4.4	25.7	30.3	27.5	12.2	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.25 Patriarchal values: men's perspective

N<sub>m</sub> =714

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	7.3	23.0	20.7	32.5	16.5	100.0
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	7.7	31.0	24.5	26.9	9.9	100.0
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	9.8	36.4	24.6	23.8	5.3	100.0
Women are restricted to form groups.	4.1	23.9	24.4	38.0	9.7	100.0
Women are restricted from public spaces.	2.8	22.7	24.5	35.0	15.0	100.0
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	4.8	21.8	28.0	35.0	10.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>24.5</b>	<b>31.9</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.26 Patriarchal values: respondents from eastern dzongkhags

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	14%	32%	26%	24%	3%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	17%	36%	27%	16%	3%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	16%	36%	25%	21%	2%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	10%	21%	36%	28%	5%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	8%	26%	30%	29%	7%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	12%	23%	34%	24%	8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>29.1%</b>	<b>29.7%</b>	<b>23.7%</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	15%	21%	35%	28%	1%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	15%	23%	39%	22%	1%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	20%	24%	36%	20%	1%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	9%	16%	52%	23%	1%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	7%	20%	48%	24%	1%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	11%	17%	51%	18%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>20.1%</b>	<b>43.5%</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	14%	42%	17%	21%	6%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	20%	50%	15%	10%	5%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	12%	48%	14%	22%	4%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	11%	27%	20%	33%	9%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	10%	31%	12%	33%	14%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	13%	28%	17%	30%	12%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.3%</b>	<b>37.7%</b>	<b>15.8%</b>	<b>24.9%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.27 Patriarchal values: respondents from western dzongkhags

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	7%	11%	18%	33%	30%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	8%	17%	22%	33%	20%	100%

There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	10%	26%	17%	34%	13%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	2%	15%	18%	43%	22%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	2%	13%	16%	40%	29%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	4%	10%	26%	33%	27%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>15.1%</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>36.1%</b>	<b>23.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	10%	10%	20%	38%	21%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	8%	16%	22%	42%	12%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	13%	26%	8%	46%	7%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	2%	5%	11%	53%	29%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	1%	9%	10%	43%	37%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	4%	9%	31%	33%	23%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>17.1%</b>	<b>42.5%</b>	<b>21.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	3%	12%	16%	29%	40%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	8%	18%	21%	24%	28%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	8%	27%	25%	22%	18%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	2%	25%	24%	33%	16%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	2%	16%	23%	38%	21%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	3%	11%	21%	33%	31%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>29.8%</b>	<b>25.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.28 Patriarchal values: respondents from southern dzongkhags

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	7%	36%	16%	24%	17%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	4%	43%	19%	21%	13%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	6%	57%	17%	16%	4%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	4%	37%	22%	32%	6%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	3%	34%	24%	33%	6%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	2%	37%	26%	28%	7%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>40.6%</b>	<b>20.7%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	8%	35%	18%	19%	19%	100%

Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	7%	35%	23%	22%	13%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	7%	49%	20%	17%	6%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	7%	42%	22%	23%	6%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	4%	39%	27%	24%	5%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	3%	41%	27%	21%	9%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>23.0%</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>9.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	6%	37%	14%	29%	15%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	2%	51%	16%	19%	12%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	5%	64%	15%	14%	2%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	1%	32%	22%	40%	6%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	2%	29%	22%	41%	6%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	2%	33%	26%	35%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>41.0%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>29.7%</b>	<b>7.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.29 Patriarchal values: respondents from central dzongkhags

Patriarchal Values	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	1%	15%	19%	44%	21%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	1%	26%	23%	41%	9%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	3%	27%	40%	25%	5%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	1%	30%	22%	40%	7%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	1%	27%	23%	40%	9%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	0%	26%	31%	39%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.1%</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>26.3%</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	1%	7%	4%	68%	21%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	0%	9%	4%	71%	15%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	4%	13%	30%	43%	10%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	1%	8%	3%	76%	13%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	0%	3%	4%	77%	17%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	0%	4%	17%	73%	7%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>7.1%</b>	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>68.0%</b>	<b>13.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

TSIRANG						
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	1%	23%	34%	20%	21%	100%
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	1%	43%	42%	10%	4%	100%
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	1%	40%	51%	7%	1%	100%
Women are restricted to form groups.	2%	52%	41%	4%	2%	100%
Women are restricted from public spaces.	2%	52%	42%	4%	1%	100%
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	1%	48%	45%	5%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>43.0%</b>	<b>42.5%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.30 Going places on one's own

N=1536

Going Places on one's own <sup>12</sup>	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Everywhere I want to	16.2	21.4
Most places I want to	45.6	44.8
Some places I want to	30.9	26.9
Nowhere	7.3	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.31 Going places on one's own: respondents by region

N=1536

Going Places on one's own	East	West	South	Central
Everywhere I want to	11%	35%	13%	16%
Most places I want to	40%	26%	43%	72%
Some places I want to	35%	31%	39%	11%
Nowhere	14%	8%	5%	2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

### 3.5. Self-image and self-esteem

The survey shows that women may generally suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image. Of the total respondents 48.8% (750 respondents) who believe that women have extremely low/ low self-esteem and poor self-image, more female respondents (51.7% = 425 respondents) than males (45.4% = 324 respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' to the statements. However, while 25.8% (396 respondents) have remained 'neutral', 25.6% (393 respondents) of the respondents have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that women have 'low self-esteem' or 'poor

self-image'. Respondents from South region (61.0% = 234 respondents) strongly believe that women suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image, followed by respondents from the East region (54.5% = 209 respondents). In terms of *dzongkhags*, respondents from Pemagatshel Dzongkhag (73.5% = 141 respondents) have a strong perception that Bhutanese women suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image, followed by respondents from Samtse (71.0% = 136 respondents) and finally, Dagana (50.5% = 97 respondents) Dzongkhag.

What both males and females either 'strongly agreed' (11.8% = 181 respondents) or 'agreed'

with (40.4% = 620 respondents) is that “Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces,” (52.2% = 802 respondents). This comes strongly from Pemagatshel (71.3% = 137 respondents) and Samtse (71.2% = 137 respondents) Dzongkhags. Proportion of disagreements to this is highest from Zhemgang respondents (56.6% = 109 respondents), contrary to their very low educational status. Perhaps this may explain why there is a strong perception, more among female respondents than males, that women have low self-esteem and poor self-image. It is also quite obvious that not many women have had opportunities of working in public spaces, hence their lack of experience. Lack of confidence, lack of experience, and lack of capability have been mentioned in the FGDs with both men and

women confirming that women indeed suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image (Tables 3.32 – 3.38).

#### Conclusion 4

Bhutanese women may generally suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image, which may find its origins in illiteracy or lower levels of education and training, society’s attitude and stereotypes on women, and existence of patriarchal values. Collectively, this may have contributed to women’s lack of experience with working in public spaces and hence, and their general lack of confidence in their own potentials. This is a significant barrier to their participation in local governance.

Table 3.32 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: overall perspective

N=1536

Women’s Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	12.2	38.2	25.5	19.5	4.7	100.0
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	8.8	38.3	26.1	21.4	5.5	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>38.3</b>	<b>25.8</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	11.8	40.4	22.2	19.7	6.0	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>39.0</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>20.2</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.33 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: women’s perspective

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Women’s Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	11.9	41.0	22.6	19.3	5.1	100.0
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	8.9	41.5	22.5	21.3	5.8	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>41.3</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	12.0	40.4	21.8	18.5	7.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>41.0</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.34 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: men's perspective

N<sub>m</sub> =714

Women's Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	12.5	35.0	28.7	19.6	4.2	100.0
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	8.7	34.6	30.3	21.4	5.0	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>34.8</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	11.5	40.3	22.7	21.0	4.5	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>36.6</b>	<b>27.2</b>	<b>20.7</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.35 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: dzongkhags in eastern region

Women's Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	22%	35%	24%	16%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	13%	39%	30%	15%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>15.5%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	14.9%	38.3%	28.1%	16.9%	1.8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>37.4%</b>	<b>27.4%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	13%	24%	38%	23%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	11%	22%	42%	22%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>23.0%</b>	<b>40.0%</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>2.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	18%	21%	39%	20%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>22.3%</b>	<b>39.7%</b>	<b>21.7%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	31%	46%	11%	8%	4%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	15%	55%	18%	8%	4%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>23.0%</b>	<b>50.5%</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	12%	55%	17%	14%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>19.3%</b>	<b>52.0%</b>	<b>15.4%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.36 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: perspective by dzongkhag in western region

Women's Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	14%	24%	30%	22%	10%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	12%	26%	26%	25%	11%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>23.5%</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	15.1%	39.3%	16.7%	15.4%	13.5%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>29.8%</b>	<b>24.2%</b>	<b>20.8%</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	15%	31%	34%	17%	4%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	13%	32%	32%	21%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>33.0%</b>	<b>19.0%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	21%	43%	17%	15%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.1%</b>	<b>35.1%</b>	<b>27.6%</b>	<b>17.6%</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	14%	17%	27%	26%	16%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	12%	19%	20%	30%	19%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>18.0%</b>	<b>23.5%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	9%	35%	16%	16%	23%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>21.0%</b>	<b>24.0%</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.37 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: perspective by dzongkhag in southern region

Women's Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	13%	50%	18%	16%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	10%	49%	17%	19%	5%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	13.8%	51.3%	16.1%	14.1%	4.7%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	7%	47%	22%	19%	4%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	6%	41%	22%	25%	6%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>44.0%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	9%	48%	20%	17%	6%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>7.4%</b>	<b>45.4%</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

SAMTSE						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	19%	53%	13%	13%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	14%	56%	12%	14%	5%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>16.5%</b>	<b>54.5%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>13.5%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	19%	54%	13%	11%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.1%</b>	<b>54.1%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.38 Self-image and esteem of Bhutanese women: perspective by dzongkhag in central region

Women's Self-Image and Esteem	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	0%	43%	29%	25%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	0%	40%	32%	26%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>41.5%</b>	<b>30.5%</b>	<b>25.5%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	3.4%	32.5%	27.9%	32.3%	3.9%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>38.5%</b>	<b>29.5%</b>	<b>27.7%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	0%	42%	8%	46%	5%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	0%	40%	9%	46%	5%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>41.0%</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	7%	15%	11%	60%	8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>32.2%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>50.6%</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	0%	45%	51%	4%	1%	100%
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	0%	41%	54%	5%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>43.0%</b>	<b>52.5%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	0%	51%	45%	5%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>45.4%</b>	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.6. Decision-Making

Bhutanese women are generally perceived as 'passive participants' in decision-making whether at home, in the village/community or at the *gewog* level, to which 51.1% (785 respondents; 50.7% = 417 female and 51.6% = 368 male) of the respondents have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' (South: 60.5% = 232

respondents; East: 56.7% = 218 respondents; Central: 47.0% = 180 respondents; and West: 40.1% = 154 respondents). However, while 27.8% (427 respondents) of the respondents have remained neutral, more female respondents (22.5% = 185 respondents) than males (19.6% = 140 respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' with the perception that women are passive

participants in decision-making from home to the *gewog* level. In terms of the *dzongkhags*, respondents from Pemagatshel are the highest in agreeing that women are generally perceived as ‘passive participants’ in decision-making whether at home, in the village/community or at the *gewog* level, which is followed by Samtse (62.4% = 120 respondents), Dagana (58.9% = 113 respondents), and Zhemgang (55.2% = 106 respondents). Respondents from Zhemgang (40.5% = 78 respondents) are highest in disagreement followed by Punakha (35.6% = 68 respondents).

Overall 43.8% (360 respondents) of female respondents against 33.0% (236 respondents) of males (having either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’) believe that “*Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.*” On the other hand, 28.4% (436 respondents) of the respondents with slightly higher proportion of males (29.5% = 210 respondents) than female respondents (27.4% = 225 respondents) disagree that Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces. In terms of *dzongkhags*, respondents from Dagana (57.0% = 109 respondents) followed by Tsirang (55.0% = 105 respondents), Pemagatshel (54.0% = 103 respondents), and Samtse (52.0% = 100 respondents) strongly believe that “Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics,” which is strongly disagreed with by respondents in Punakha (75.0% = 144 respondents) followed by Zhemgang (47.0% = 90 respondents).

Further, it may be pointed out from the findings that stereotyped derogatory expressions such as “*Don’t talk like ‘Aum-Tshu Morem’*,” literally meaning ‘not to talk like a useless women’,

potentially denigrates women’s worth in society. The survey showed that a large majority, more women (67.4% = 554 respondents) than men have either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ that such a belittling expression is frequently heard, both at home and in public spaces. Respondents from all the participating *dzongkhags* either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ with proportions ranging from 50.0% (96 respondents) to as high as 91.0% (174 respondents; Zhemgang) followed by 75.0% (144 respondents; Pemagatshel). This is not surprising as even the national report of the Public Accounts Committee to the 85<sup>th</sup> Session of the National Assembly carried a stereotyped derogatory phrase ‘*Am-tsu Mo-rem No-med Chen*’ (stupid, ignorant woman), which, of course resulted in nationwide objections from Bhutanese women and the public at large.<sup>1</sup> It is also significant that 62.6% (447 respondents) of the male respondents have also either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ that such stereotyped expressions are frequently heard, at home or in public places. This may partly explain why significant proportion of Bhutanese women may have issues with their self-esteem and image with consequences on their participation, particularly in public decision-making forums. However, while 19.7% (303 respondents) of the respondents have remained ‘neutral’, slightly more males (17.5% = 125 respondents) than female respondents (13.0% = 107 respondents) have disagreed that such stereotyped expressions are frequently heard (Tables 3.39 – 3.45).

## Conclusion 5

The findings indicate that Bhutanese women are generally perceived as ‘passive participants’ in decision-making whether at home, in the village/community or at the *gewog* level. Certain persistent stereotyped derogatory expressions such as “*Don’t talk like ‘Aum-Tshu*

*Morem*,” literally meaning ‘not to talk like a useless women’, also contribute to denigrating women’s worth in society. There is also a significant general perception that Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.

**Table 3.39** Decision-making at home and in the community by overall respondents

N=1536

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	11.0	44.7	24.2	14.1	6.0	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	5.9	40.3	31.8	19.7	2.3	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	7.6	43.8	27.3	14.7	6.6	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>42.9</b>	<b>27.8</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	6.8	36.6	28.3	22.5	5.9	100.0
Don’t talk like “ <i>Aum-Tshu Morem!</i> ” is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	18.9	46.2	19.7	12.5	2.6	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>42.3</b>	<b>26.3</b>	<b>16.7</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3.40** Decision-making at home and in the community: women’s perspective

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	11.1	44.4	22.9	15.6	6.1	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	5.1	39.9	31.4	20.9	2.7	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	7.4	44.0	26.4	15.6	6.6	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>42.8</b>	<b>26.9</b>	<b>17.4</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	7.1	36.7	29.0	21.9	5.4	100.0
Don’t talk like “ <i>Aum-Tshu Morem!</i> ” is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	19.5	47.9	19.6	10.7	2.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>42.6</b>	<b>25.8</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.41 Decision-making at home and in the community: men’s perspective

Nm=714

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	10.9	45.1	25.8	12.3	5.9	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	6.7	40.8	32.4	18.3	1.8	100.0
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	7.8	43.4	28.3	13.7	6.7	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>43.1</b>	<b>28.8</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	6.6	36.4	27.5	23.1	6.4	100.0
Don’t talk like “Aum-Tshu Morem!” is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	18.3	44.3	19.9	14.6	2.9	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>42.0</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.42 Decision-making at home and in the community: perspectives by dzongkhag in the eastern region

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	21%	47%	19%	11%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	10%	43%	31%	14%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	11%	38%	31%	17%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	10%	33%	35%	20%	2%	100%
Don’t talk like “Aum-Tshu Morem!” is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	18%	44%	23%	13%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	23%	34%	32%	9%	1%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	5%	26%	45%	21%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	8%	21%	43%	23%	5%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>27.1%</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>17.7%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	7%	25%	45%	22%	1%	100%

Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	16%	34%	31%	19%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>39.2%</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	19%	59%	6%	13%	4%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	14%	60%	17%	7%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	14%	54%	19%	11%	1%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>15.7%</b>	<b>57.7%</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	14%	40%	26%	18%	2%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	21%	54%	16%	7%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	<b>53.4%</b>	<b>16.8%</b>	<b>11.2%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.43 Decision-making at home and in the community: perspectives by dzongkhag in the western region

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	12%	29%	23%	21%	15%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	3%	30%	40%	24%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	5%	41%	30%	21%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>31.1%</b>	<b>22.1%</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	4%	26%	20%	43%	6%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	26%	35%	14%	18%	6%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>32.3%</b>	<b>25.5%</b>	<b>25.5%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	15%	17%	20%	19%	29%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	4%	30%	35%	29%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	7%	36%	29%	24%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>27.7%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>24.0%</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	4%	11%	10%	68%	7%	100%

Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	22%	44%	7%	22%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>27.6%</b>	<b>20.2%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	8%	41%	27%	22%	1%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	3%	31%	44%	20%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	3%	46%	31%	17%	4%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>39.3%</b>	<b>34.0%</b>	<b>19.7%</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	5%	41%	30%	18%	5%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	30%	26%	22%	15%	8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>30.8%</b>	<b>18.4%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.44 Decision-making at home and in the community: perspectives by dzongkhag in the southern region

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	7%	55%	19%	16%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	4%	56%	22%	15%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	4%	55%	23%	16%	1%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>55.5%</b>	<b>21.5%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	3%	52%	27%	17%	2%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	9%	52%	21%	15%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>54.0%</b>	<b>22.4%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	8%	54%	19%	15%	5%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	5%	53%	24%	15%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	6%	51%	25%	16%	2%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>52.6%</b>	<b>22.6%</b>	<b>15.2%</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	4%	53%	29%	12%	2%	100%

Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	8%	46%	26%	17%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.2%</b>	<b>51.0%</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>3.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	5%	56%	19%	17%	2%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	3%	60%	20%	16%	1%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	3%	60%	21%	17%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>58.7%</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	1%	51%	26%	21%	1%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	10%	59%	16%	12%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>57.2%</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.45 Decision-making at home and in the community: perspectives by dzongkhag in the central region

Decision-Making	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	5%	48%	35%	9%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	6%	31%	34%	26%	3%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	11%	40%	25%	5%	19%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>7.3%</b>	<b>39.7%</b>	<b>31.4%</b>	<b>13.3%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	10%	36%	30%	10%	14%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	22%	53%	20%	4%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>41.8%</b>	<b>28.8%</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	9%	65%	3%	16%	6%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	12%	30%	4%	49%	5%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	21%	28%	6%	7%	38%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>4.3%</b>	<b>24.2%</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	11%	25%	17%	19%	28%	100%

Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	22%	69%	4%	5%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>43.5%</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>19.3%</b>	<b>15.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	1%	31%	67%	2%	0%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	1%	33%	65%	2%	0%	100%
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	1%	53%	44%	2%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>39.0%</b>	<b>58.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	8%	47%	43%	2%	0%	100%
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	23%	38%	36%	3%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>40.4%</b>	<b>51.0%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

The survey questionnaire made a few further inquiries into women's involvement in making decisions whether personal in nature, at home, at the village/community level, or at the *gewog* level, the findings of which are discussed below.

### Household decisions

The findings do not indicate any dominance, be it 'patriarchal' or 'matriarchal'. Rather the findings indicate a more democratic form of decision-making in household matters based on practicalities. On average, 47.6% (731 respondents) of the respondents have reported that household decisions are jointly made by male and female members of the family, with marked variations across regions: Central (66.5% = 255 respondents), South (56.2% = 216 respondents), East (41.5% = 159 respondents), and West (26.7% = 103 respondents). The joint male and female decisions are strong on matters concerning education (57.1% = 877 respondents), health (56.2% = 863 respondents) and marriage choices (55.7% = 856 respondents). However, when it comes to matters concerning 'religious' and 'sale of family

properties', proportion of male and female joint decisions slide down (religious: 34.6% = 531 respondents; sale of family properties: 37.6% = 578 respondents) in preference to the 'oldest member' of the family's decisions, which is projected at proportions of 34.2% (525 respondents) and 23.0% (353 respondents) respectively for 'religious' and 'sale of family properties'. Further, 22.5% (346 respondents) of the respondents have reported that 'all members including children' will be involved when it comes to decisions concerning 'sale of family properties'. Interestingly (and not surprisingly though), when it comes to 'political decisions', 20.0% (142 respondents) of the respondents note decisions as being taken by 'male' members against only 9.7% (79 respondents) being taken by 'female' members (Tables 3.46 -3.48 and 3.50).

Also, it is significant to note that in five of the seven areas of household decisions, female respondents have reported favourably for the 'female' family members, with a little less favourably for the 'male' family members. Reverse is the case with male respondents with even greater margins being created between

the 'male' and 'female' family members' decision-making authority in all the seven areas of household decisions. This may be indicative of the existence of certain subtle 'patriarchal values' discussed under Section 3.4 (Table 3.49). The FGD reports also indicate that women take

active roles only so far as the minor household decisions are concerned, major household decisions being left to the men in the house. Generally, women play less of a decision-making role beyond their home.

Table 3.46 Household decisions by overall respondents

N=1536

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	14.6	16.9	17.5	45.1	5.9	100.0
Education	7.7	12.3	10.4	57.1	12.5	100.0
Health	9.2	11.1	12.0	56.2	11.5	100.0
Political decisions	12.8	20.0	9.7	47.0	10.5	100.0
Marriage choices	14.8	8.7	8.2	55.7	12.6	100.0
Religious	34.2	9.1	7.6	34.6	14.5	100.0
Sale of family properties	23.0	9.8	7.3	37.6	22.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>47.6</b>	<b>12.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.47 Household decisions: women's perspective

N<sub>f</sub> = 822

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	14.0	14.7	20.3	46.1	4.9	100.0
Education	7.4	10.8	13.3	55.8	12.9	100.0
Health	9.1	9.2	15.5	55.0	11.2	100.0
Political decisions	12.4	17.8	13.6	46.7	9.5	100.0
Marriage choices	15.3	6.3	11.2	56.0	11.2	100.0
Religious	35.2	7.5	10.5	34.7	12.2	100.0
Sale of family properties	24.5	9.2	8.6	38.0	19.7	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>47.5</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.48 Household decisions: men's perspective

N<sub>m</sub> = 714

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	15.3	19.5	14.3	44.0	7.0	100.0
Education	8.0	14.0	7.4	58.5	12.0	100.0
Health	9.4	13.3	8.0	57.6	11.8	100.0
Political decisions	13.3	22.5	5.2	47.3	11.6	100.0
Marriage choices	14.3	11.3	4.8	55.3	14.3	100.0
Religious	33.2	10.9	4.3	34.5	17.1	100.0
Sale of family properties	21.3	10.4	5.7	37.3	25.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.49 Comparison of household decisions by respondents: overall, female and male N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	16.9	17.5	14.7	20.3	19.5	14.3
Education	12.3	10.4	10.8	13.3	14.0	7.4
Health	11.1	12.0	9.2	15.5	13.3	8.0
Political decisions	20.0	9.7	17.8	13.6	22.5	5.2
Marriage choices	8.7	8.2	6.3	11.2	11.3	4.8
Religious	9.1	7.6	7.5	10.5	10.9	4.3
Sale of family properties	9.8	7.3	9.2	8.6	10.4	5.7
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>7.1</b>

Table 3.50 Household decisions: perspectives by region

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Household expenditure	23%	16%	7%	38%	16%	100%
Education	18%	14%	7%	52%	10%	100%
Health	19%	11%	8%	54%	8%	100%
Political decisions	21%	13%	7%	34%	25%	100%
Marriage choices	20%	8%	7%	36%	30%	100%
Religious	28%	9%	7%	41%	16%	100%
Sale of family properties	20%	11%	8%	36%	26%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>21.2%</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>7.2%</b>	<b>41.5%</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Household expenditure	23%	19%	30%	24%	5%	100%
Education	9%	13%	18%	32%	28%	100%
Health	13%	12%	21%	30%	23%	100%
Political decisions	21%	35%	9%	25%	10%	100%
Marriage choices	26%	10%	6%	46%	11%	100%
Religious	58%	6%	6%	16%	14%	100%
Sale of family properties	30%	13%	6%	14%	38%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>25.7%</b>	<b>15.4%</b>	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>26.7%</b>	<b>18.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Household expenditure	11%	21%	13%	52%	3%	100%
Education	4%	10%	5%	69%	12%	100%
Health	4%	7%	9%	66%	14%	100%
Political decisions	8%	16%	14%	55%	7%	100%
Marriage choices	9%	7%	10%	67%	7%	100%
Religious	23%	10%	10%	35%	21%	100%
Sale of family properties	18%	6%	3%	48%	25%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	<b>56.2%</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Area of Decision	Oldest Member Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male and female jointly Percent (%)	All members including children Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Household expenditure	1%	12%	20%	67%	0%	100%
Education	0%	13%	11%	76%	0%	100%
Health	0%	15%	9%	75%	1%	100%
Political decisions	1%	16%	9%	74%	1%	100%
Marriage choices	4%	10%	10%	74%	2%	100%
Religious	28%	12%	7%	46%	7%	100%
Sale of family properties	24%	9%	12%	53%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>66.5%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

## Personal decisions

In terms of degree of personal decisions available to the individual members in the family in matters concerning household decisions, 65.8% (1010 respondents; 64.4% = 529 female and 67.4% = 481 male) of the respondents feel that they have either 'very high degree' (20.8% = 319 respondents) or 'fairly high degree' (45.0% = 691 respondents) of decisions they can make in household affairs. Regionally, proportion of respondents who feel they have either 'very high degree' or 'fairly high degree' of decisions they can make range from 71.9% (276 respondents; West), 70.7% (271 respondents; South), 70.0% (269 respondents; Central), and 50.0% (192 respondents; East). However, overall 28.4% (436 respondents; 29.7% = 244 female and 26.9% = 192 male) of the respondents feel that they have only a small degree of say in household decisions, and 5.8% (89 respondents; 5.9% = 48 female and 5.7% = male) of the respondents feel that they have no say at all in household decisions.

In terms of the individual areas of household decisions, there are some significant differences between male and female respondents' perceptions on the degree of decisions they can take on household matters. A glaring one appears in 'household decisions' where only 58.8% (483 respondents) of female respondents have said that they either have 'very high degree'

or 'fairly high degree' of say in 'household decisions', whereas 67.0% (478 respondents) of the male respondents perceive that they have a high degree of say in household decisions. Similarly, the perceived differences are mainly in the household decision areas of 'marriage choices' (58.7% = 483 female to 62.9% = 449 male respondents), 'religious' (70.8% = 582 female to 75.0% = 536 male respondents), and 'sale of family properties' (50.7% = 417 female to 55.0% = 393 male respondents). Women's say on 'political decisions' and on 'sale of family properties', which is perceivably lesser than that of men's, have a bearing on their participation in public spaces, including political. On the other hand, 68.9% (566 respondents) of female respondents believe they have a 'very high' or 'fairly high' degree of say in 'household expenditure' decisions against 65.0% (464 respondents) of the male respondents. This may not be of much surprise as this keeps them more tied to their household activities than public activities (Tables 3.51 – 3.54).

## Conclusion 6

By and large, household decisions in Bhutanese society may be taken in more democratic lines, in most cases, involving both female and male members of the family. However, while the oldest member of the family may have more say on religious matters and on sale of family properties, male members of the family may have more

say in family decisions on matters concerning politics. Moreover, female members' roles may be limited to taking minor household decisions, major household decisions being left to the male members of the house. Again, these findings indicate existence of certain subtle 'patriarchal values', even though no dominance, either 'patriarchal' or 'matriarchal' has been evident.

In terms of the degree of personal decisions

available, more male members than female may have a high degree of say in household decisions, particularly of a political nature, and in sale of family properties. On the other hand, more female members may have a high degree of say in decisions concerning household expenditures. But the fact of the matter is also that while in some cases, female members may have only a small say in household decisions, some may not have any say at all in household decisions.

**Table 3.51 Degree of personal decisions by overall respondents**

N=1536

Area of Decision	Very high degree Percent (%)	Fairly high degree Percent (%)	Small degree Percent (%)	Not at all Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	22.3	44.8	29.7	3.3	100.0
Education	24.7	47.1	25.6	2.6	100.0
Health	27.8	45.0	24.6	2.6	100.0
Political decisions	17.3	45.3	30.6	6.8	100.0
Marriage choices	17.3	43.4	32.7	6.6	100.0
Religious	24.7	48.0	24.2	3.1	100.0
Sale of family properties	11.8	41.0	31.7	15.6	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>45.0</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>5.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3.52 Degree of personal decisions: women's perspective**

N<sub>f</sub> = 822

Area of Decision	Very high degree Percent (%)	Fairly high degree Percent (%)	Small degree Percent (%)	Not at all Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	21.8	47.1	28.5	2.7	100.0
Education	20.3	51.1	26.2	2.4	100.0
Health	25.5	45.9	26.2	2.4	100.0
Political decisions	14.4	44.4	34.3	6.8	100.0
Marriage choices	16.2	42.5	34.4	6.9	100.0
Religious	24.1	46.7	25.8	3.4	100.0
Sale of family properties	9.2	41.5	32.7	16.5	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.8</b>	<b>45.6</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3.53 Degree of personal decisions: men's perspective**

N<sub>m</sub> = 714

Area of Decision	Very high degree Percent (%)	Fairly high degree Percent (%)	Small degree Percent (%)	Not at all Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Household expenditure	22.8	42.2	31.1	3.9	100.0
Education	29.7	42.6	24.9	2.8	100.0
Health	30.4	44.0	22.8	2.8	100.0
Political decisions	20.6	46.4	26.3	6.7	100.0
Marriage choices	18.5	44.4	30.8	6.3	100.0
Religious	25.4	49.6	22.3	2.8	100.0
Sale of family properties	14.7	40.3	30.5	14.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>44.2</b>	<b>26.9</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.54 Degree of personal decisions: perspectives by region

Area of Decision	Very high degree	Fairly high degree	Small degree	Not at all	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>					
Household expenditure	10%	38%	46%	6%	100%
Education	11%	46%	38%	5%	100%
Health	13%	48%	35%	5%	100%
Political decisions	11%	34%	46%	9%	100%
Marriage choices	7%	33%	52%	8%	100%
Religious	12%	47%	35%	6%	100%
Sale of family properties	9%	32%	43%	16%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>39.6%</b>	<b>42.1%</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>					
Household expenditure	42%	32%	23%	3%	100%
Education	38%	40%	19%	3%	100%
Health	51%	28%	20%	1%	100%
Political decisions	29%	37%	24%	10%	100%
Marriage choices	38%	35%	18%	10%	100%
Religious	52%	30%	17%	0%	100%
Sale of family properties	22%	29%	20%	29%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>38.9%</b>	<b>33.0%</b>	<b>20.1%</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>					
Household expenditure	16%	59%	21%	3%	100%
Education	25%	53%	19%	3%	100%
Health	29%	52%	16%	3%	100%
Political decisions	17%	54%	24%	5%	100%
Marriage choices	16%	47%	31%	6%	100%
Religious	26%	50%	20%	4%	100%
Sale of family properties	8%	42%	34%	16%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>19.6%</b>	<b>51.1%</b>	<b>23.6%</b>	<b>5.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>					
Household expenditure	21%	50%	29%	1%	100%
Education	25%	49%	26%	0%	100%
Health	19%	52%	28%	2%	100%
Political decisions	12%	57%	29%	3%	100%
Marriage choices	8%	60%	30%	3%	100%
Religious	9%	65%	24%	3%	100%
Sale of family properties	8%	60%	30%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>56.0%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Further, a good proportion of 71.1% (1092 respondents) of the respondents feel that they have 'very high' or 'high' degree of control over decisions on their personal welfare, health and body (East: 54% = 207 respondents; West: 78% = 299 respondents; South: 80% = 307 respondents;

and Central: 73% = 280 respondents) with 26.2% (399 respondents) of them feeling that they have only a 'small' degree of control, while 2.6% (39 respondents) feel that they have no control at all. Similarly, whereas 66.2% (473 respondents) of the male respondents feel that

they can go ‘everywhere’ or ‘most places’ they want to, only 61.8% (508 respondents) of the female respondents can reportedly do so. 7.1% (109 respondents) of the respondents feel that they cannot go anywhere. Regionally, 88% (338 respondents), 61% (234 respondents), 56% (215 respondents), and 51% (196 respondents) of the proportion of respondents from Central,

West, South, and East respectively feel they can go ‘everywhere’ or ‘most places’ they want to, while 14% (54 respondents), 8% (31 respondents), 5% (19 respondents), and 2% (8 respondents) of the respondents from the East, West, South, and Central respectively cannot go anywhere. (Tables 3.55 and 3.58)

Table 3.55 Degree of control over decisions on personal welfare, health & body

N=1536

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Very high degree	24.2	22.6	25.9
High degree	47.0	48.7	45.1
Small degree	26.2	26.2	26.2
Not at all	2.7	2.6	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.56 Going places on one’s own

N=1536

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Everywhere I want to	18.6	16.2	21.4
Most places I want to	45.2	45.6	44.8
Some places I want to	29.0	30.9	26.9
Nowhere	7.1	7.3	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.57 Degree of control over decisions on personal welfare, health & body by region

Regions	Very high degree	High degree	Small degree	Not at all	Total
East	14%	40%	39%	7%	100%
West	45%	33%	20%	2%	100%
South	26%	54%	18%	2%	100%
Central	12%	61%	27%	0%	100%

Table 3.58 Going places on one’s own by region

Regions	Everywhere I want to	Most places I want to	Some places I want to	Nowhere	Total
East	11%	40%	35%	14%	100%
West	35%	26%	31%	8%	100%
South	13%	43%	39%	5%	100%
Central	16%	72%	11%	2%	100%

## Community level decisions

There are clearly three community position holders in the respondents' communities who make decisions in their respective communities. 59.5% (913 respondents) of the respondents have listed *Gup* as the first of the three who takes decisions in their communities, followed by *Mangmi* 48.0% (737 respondents) in the second place, and *Tshogpa* 48.3% (742 respondents)

in the third place. This is understandable as *Mangmi* is essentially a deputy to the *Gup* in a *gewog*, and *Tshogpa* being a representative of a village in *Gewog Tshogde*. This does indicate that community decisions are taken, led by local governance position holders, in consultation with the community members, wherein elderly people too have a role in the decision-making process (Tables 3.59 – 3.61).

Table 3.59 People who make decisions in the respondents' communities: no.1 N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub> =822/ N<sub>m</sub> =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
	13.5	14.0	13.0
Chupon	0.1	0.1	0.1
Community	8.8	7.9	9.8
Dungpa	0.2	0.1	0.3
Dzongda	0.1	0.1	0.0
Elderly People	2.7	3.2	2.1
GAO	0.3	0.2	0.4
Gup	59.5	59.9	59.1
Known person in the village	0.6	0.4	0.8
Mangmi	0.9	0.7	1.1
National Council	0.1	0.0	0.1
Tshogpa	13.2	13.4	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.60 People who take decisions in the respondents' communities: no.2 N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub> =822/ N<sub>m</sub> =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
	14.9	15.5	14.3
Business Community	0.1	0.2	0.0
Chupon	1.2	1.5	0.8
Community	0.1	0.1	0.0
Dungpa	0.1	0.1	0.0
DYT	0.3	0.4	0.3
Dzongda	0.1	0.0	0.3
Elderly People	1.6	1.5	1.8
GAO	0.1	0.0	0.3
Gup	11.3	11.4	11.2
GYT	0.8	0.6	1.0
Head of the family	0.1	0.2	0.0
Known person in the village	0.7	0.7	0.7
Mangmi	48.0	45.7	50.6
Public	1.8	2.2	1.4
Rich People	0.1	0.1	0.1
Tshogpa	18.6	19.7	17.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.61 People who make decisions in the respondents' communities: no.3 N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub>=822/ N<sub>m</sub> =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
	16.5	16.9	16.1
Business Community	0.1	0.0	0.1
Chupon	1.4	1.1	1.7
Community	0.4	0.6	0.1
Drangpon	0.1	0.1	0.0
Dungpa	0.1	0.0	0.1
DYT	0.3	0.2	0.3
Dzongda	5.5	5.2	5.7
Elderly People	0.3	0.4	0.1
Elderly Peoples	1.1	1.2	1.0
GAO	0.4	0.6	0.1
Gup	7.9	7.7	8.3
Head of the family	0.1	0.1	0.0
Influential peoples	0.1	0.0	0.1
Known person in the village	0.3	0.4	0.3
Mangmi	9.2	10.8	7.3
Politician (MP)	0.2	0.2	0.1
Public	7.9	8.3	7.4
Sector Head	0.1	0.1	0.0
Tshogpa	48.3	46.0	51.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

While 15.5% (238 respondents) of the respondents (11.6% = 95 female and 20.0% = 142 male respondents) feel that they are involved all the time in the decision-making processes in their communities, 49.9% (766 respondents) of the respondents (48.2% = 396 female and 51.1% = 365 male respondents) feel that they are involved in other important issues. However, 26.8% (411 respondents) of the respondents (30.3% = 249 female and 22.7% = 162 male respondents) feel that they are less involved in the decision-making processes in their communities, and further 8.2% (126 respondents) of the respondents (10.0% = 82

female and 6.2% = 44 male respondents) feel that they are not at all involved in the decision-making processes in their communities (Tables 3.62) Dzongkhag wise respondents' feelings are reflected in Table 3.63. From this, it may be construed that lesser proportion of female community members are involved in the community decision-making processes than their male counterparts. Higher proportion of female respondents' (10.0% = 82 respondents against 6.2% = 44 of male respondents) belief that they are not involved in the decision-making processes in their communities, further supports this finding.

Table 3.62 Feeling of involvement in the decision-making processes within their communities

N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub>=822/ N<sub>m</sub> =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Involved all the time	15.5	11.6	20.0
Involved in important issues	49.5	48.2	51.1
Less involved	26.8	30.3	22.7
Not involved at all	8.2	10.0	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.63 Feeling of involvement in the decision-making processes within their communities by dzongkhag

Dzongkhags	Involved all the time	Involved in important issues	Less involved	Not involved at all	Total
Punakha	28%	28%	35%	8%	100%
Paro	13%	35%	36%	15%	100%
Zhemgang	24%	68%	6%	2%	100%
Tsirang	2%	83%	15%	1%	100%
Dagana	13%	60%	24%	4%	100%
Samtse	18%	41%	31%	10%	100%
Monggar	5%	22%	53%	20%	100%
P/gatshel	21%	58%	14%	7%	100%

Additionally, Table 3.64 shows that while 48.6% (746 respondents) of the respondents (47.0% = 386 female and 50.06% = 357 male respondents) would like to be ‘involved in important issues’, 19.2% (295 respondents; 16.1% = 132 female and 22.8% = 163 male respondents) would like to be involved all the time. Similarly, while 24.0% (369 respondents) of the respondents (27.5% = 226 female and 20.0% = 143 male respondents) would like to be ‘less involved’, 8.1% (124 respondents; 9.5% = 78 female and 6.6% = 47 male respondents) would not like to be involved at all. The data show that female community members may have less aspiration to be involved in the community decision-making processes than their male counterparts. Regionally, 85% (326 respondents) of the respondents from the Central region would like to be either ‘involved all the time’ or ‘involved

in important issues’, followed by South (73% = 280 respondents), with 14% (54 respondents) from the East not wanting to be involved at all. In terms of *dzongkhags*, 94% (180 respondents) of the respondents from Zhemgang, would like to be either ‘involved all the time’ or ‘involved in important issues’, followed by Pemagatshel with 81% (155 respondents), and Dagana and Tsirang (77% = 148 respondents each), while 22% (42 respondents) of the respondents from Monggar would not like to be involved at all (Table 3.65).

FGDs with separate groups of women and men have expressed that women should be involved at all levels of decision-making, but on, condition that they must be educated, experienced, and capable. They feel that at the moment, this is difficult to come by, so they expect men to lead.

Table 3.64 The extent to which the respondents would like to involve in the decision-making processes within their communities N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Involved all the time	19.2	16.1	22.8
Involved in important issues	48.6	47.0	50.6
Less involved	24.0	27.5	20.0
Not involved at all	8.1	9.5	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.65 The extent to which the respondents would like to involve in the decision-making processes within their communities by region and dzongkhags

		Involved all the time	Involved in important issues	Less involved	Not involved at all	Total
Regions	East	17%	40%	29%	14%	100%
	West	26%	32%	33%	10%	100%
	South	20%	53%	20%	7%	100%
	Central	14%	71%	14%	1%	100%
Dzongkhags	Punakha	31%	28%	31%	10%	100%
	Paro	20%	35%	35%	9%	100%
	Zhemgang	25%	69%	6%	1%	100%
	Tsirang	4%	73%	21%	2%	100%
	Dagana	17%	60%	19%	4%	100%
	Samtse	23%	45%	22%	10%	100%
	Monggar	5%	26%	47%	22%	100%
	P/gatshel	28%	53%	12%	7%	100%

On the question of respondents' feeling as to the level of influence they have in their community decision-making processes, 6.6% (101 respondents) of the respondents (4.3% = 35 female and 9.2% = 66 male respondents) feel that they have a high degree of influence. Similarly, while 48.0% (737 respondents) of the respondents (45.9% = 377 female and 50.4% = 360 male respondents) feel that they have medium degree of influence in the community decision-making processes, 21.7% (333 respondents; 23.7% = 195 female and 19.3% = 138 male respondents) feel that they have a low degree of influence. In terms of participating dzongkhags, 88% (169 respondents) each of the respondents from Tsirang and Pemagatshel feel that they have either 'High' or 'Medium' degree of influence in their community decision-making process followed by Dagana 78% (150 respondents) and Samtse 68% (131 respondents). On the other hand, 69% (132 respondents) of the respondents from Zhemgang feel that they have 'No Influence' at all in their community decision-making processes, which is closely followed by Monggar 49% (94 respondents). The data also reveal that 26.2% (215 respondents) of the female

respondents feel that they have no influence at all in the community decision-making processes against 21.0% (148 respondents) of the male respondents who feel the same. One, it may seem that at least one-fifth of the community members are left-out from any kind of community decision-making processes, and the other, that fewer women than men would be involved in the community decision-making processes posing great disadvantage for women community members in taking decisions that may affect their communities (Table 3.66 and 3.67).

### Conclusion 7

The findings indicate that local governance position holders (*Gups, Mangmis and Tshogpas*) in consultation with the community members, often involving more males than females, as well as elderly members of the community arrive at community decisions. Some members of the community, more females than males, may not be involved at all in the community decision-making process. Even those who are involved, have lesser influence in the decision-making process in their communities, which may be

particularly so of Zhemgang and Monggar. Consequently, it is more likely than not, that many important community issues that are more specific to women and children would be left out of the agenda, or at best, addressed very poorly, considering the disparity in the experiences of male and female members. However, a large proportion of women (even though lesser than males by significant

proportions) are interested in involving themselves in the decision-making process in their communities and this is a positive sign. They just need to be given equal appropriate opportunities and be taken seriously than what the male members of the communities have been prepared to do, so far. In this regard, local community leaders have a pivotal role to play in changing this scenario.

**Table 3.66 Extent to which the respondents feel they have the influence in the community level decision-making processes** N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub>=822/ N<sub>m</sub>=714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
High	6.6	4.3	9.2
Medium	48.0	45.9	50.4
Low	21.7	23.7	19.3
No influence	23.8	26.2	21.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3.67 Extent to which the respondents feel they have the influence in the community level decision-making processes: by region and dzongkhags**

	High	Medium	Low	No influence	Total
<b>REGIONS</b>					
East	11%	44%	17%	28%	100%
West	8%	31%	39%	23%	100%
South	5%	67%	18%	9%	100%
Central	2%	50%	14%	35%	100%
<b>DZONGKHAGS</b>					
Punakha	11%	28%	35%	26%	100%
Paro	4%	34%	42%	20%	100%
Zhemgang	2%	13%	16%	69%	100%
Tsirang	2%	86%	11%	1%	100%
Dagana	7%	71%	17%	6%	100%
Samtse	4%	64%	19%	13%	100%
Monggar	5%	18%	28%	49%	100%
P/gatshel	18%	70%	6%	7%	100%

### 3.7. Socio-economic barriers

While the general perception that most women are constrained by their socio-economic situations to be able to participate in local governance activities is partly true, the socio-cultural complexity of a traditional yet evolving

Bhutanese society provides grounds for a mixed finding from the survey. While 39.7% (610 respondents) of the respondents (39.6% = 326 female and 39.8% = 284 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' (7.7% = 118 respondents) or 'agreed' (32.0% = 492 respondents) that women suffer from socio-

economic barriers, 32.6% (501 respondents) of the respondents (33.3% = 274 female and 31.7% = 226 male respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' with the notion that women face socio-economic barriers. From this finding, it may be construed that while close to a forty percent of the Bhutanese women may suffer from socio-economic barriers to their participation in public spaces, another slightly over thirty percent of the women would have the economic capacity to do so. However, this interpretation would have to be taken with caution as 27.7% (425 respondents) of the respondents (27.1% = 223 female and 28.4% = 203 male respondents) had not taken any stand by remaining 'neutral' in the survey. They must surely belong to either one of the two categories. Regionally, while 57.5% (221 respondents) and 51.6% (198 respondents) of the respondents from the South and East respectively have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that women suffer from socio-economic barriers, 50.2% (193 respondents) and 42.0% (161 respondents) of respondents from the West and Central have disagreed. In terms of *dzongkhags*, while 59.2% (114 respondents) of the respondents from Pemagatshel, followed by Dagana 57.1% (110 respondents) and Samtse 55.6% (107 respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that women suffer from socio-economic barriers, 64.5% (124 respondents) and 63.0% (121 respondents) of the respondents from Zhemgang and Punakha respectively have disagreed.

Upon closer look, this finding may be a bit skewed by the survey item. *'It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties'*, has been responded to almost fifty-fifty between the 'agreements' and 'disagreements', notwithstanding 'neutral' responses (31.5% = 484 respondents). While 35.4% (544 respondents) of the respondents

(34.8% = 286 female and 36.2% = 258 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' to the above statement, 33.0% (507 respondents) of the respondents (34.9% = 287 female and 30.9% = 215 male respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' to the same statement. Again notwithstanding 'neutral' responses, this may indicate that women have fifty percent chances to have ownership of land and properties. Table 3.38 may also support this in which 58.8% (903 respondents) of the respondents (59.9% = 492 female and 57.6% = 411 male respondents) feel that land and property inheritance goes to 'all family members', by which women have equal chances as men to land and property inheritance. However, 32.0% (214 respondents) of male respondents, against 27.0% (222 respondents) of female respondents, feel that land and property inheritance goes to 'male family members only'. Similarly, 13.1% (108 respondents) of female respondents, against 10.2% (73 respondents) of male respondents, feel that land and property inheritance goes to 'female family members only'. This finding indicates that Bhutanese society's land and property inheritance allowance may fall into three distinct traditions – by far the largest being 'All Family Members' (about sixty percent), followed by 'Male Family Members Only' (*Patrilineal*, and about thirty percent), and 'Female Family Members Only' (*Matrilineal*, and about ten percent). This indicates that in about one-third of the Bhutanese society, women would lose out on the land and property inheritance, thereby being severe disadvantaged in society.

However, the data indicate that a large proportion of women may be dependent on men for financial matters and hence may lack access and control over income and other resources. 43.5% (668 respondents)

of the respondents have either ‘strongly agreed’ (8.3% = 127 respondents) or ‘agreed’ (35.2% = 541 respondents) that “*Women depend on men for financial matters,*” with more women respondents (44.3% = 364 respondents) agreeing than the men (42.6% = 304 respondents), although, 31.7% (487 respondents; 31.6% = 260 female and 32.1% = 229 male respondents) of the respondents have either ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ to the statement. In like manner, 40.2% (617 respondents) of the respondents (39.8% = 327 female and 40.8% = 291 male respondents) have either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed’ that “*Women lack access and control over income and other resources,*” whereas 33.4% (275 respondents) of the female respondents have either ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ to the statement as compared to 32.2% (230 respondents) by the male respondents.

Nonetheless, it may still be construed that women face greater socio-economic challenges than their male counterparts. This leads to their interests and pursuits being largely functional in nature, as deemed necessary and acceptable by the Bhutanese society (Tables 3.68 – 3.76).

## Conclusion 8

Overall, while about forty percent of the Bhutanese women may have the economic capacity to participate in public spaces, the rest may suffer from socio-economic as well as cultural barriers.

From the findings, it may be concluded that Bhutanese society’s land and property inheritance allowance may fall into three distinct traditions – All Family Members (about sixty percent), followed by ‘Male Family Members Only’ (about thirty percent; *Patrilineal*), and ‘Female Family Members Only’ (about ten percent; *Matrilineal*). This may indicate that in about one-third of the Bhutanese society, women would lose out on the land and property inheritance, thus putting them at a severe disadvantage in society. Further, the findings indicate that since a large proportion of women may be dependent on men for financial matters, they lack access and control over income and other resources.

Therefore, it may be concluded that women encounter greater socio-economic challenges than their male counterparts, which act as a significant constraint in their pursuit of interests, including politics.

Table 3.68 Socio-economic barriers: perceptions by overall respondents

N=1536

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women depend on men for financial matters.	8.3	35.2	24.7	24.9	6.8	100.0
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	6.6	33.6	26.9	25.8	7.1	100.0
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	8.3	27.1	31.5	21.9	11.1	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>32.0</b>	<b>27.7</b>	<b>24.2</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.69 Socio-Economic Barriers: women's Perspective

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women depend on men for financial matters.	7.8	36.5	24.2	24.5	7.1	100.0
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	5.7	34.1	26.8	25.9	7.5	100.0
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	8.5	26.3	30.3	23.8	11.1	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>32.3</b>	<b>27.1</b>	<b>24.7</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.70 Socio-economic barriers: men's perspective

N<sub>m</sub> =714

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Women depend on men for financial matters.	9.0	33.6	25.4	25.5	6.6	100.0
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	7.7	33.1	27.0	25.6	6.6	100.0
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	8.0	28.2	32.9	19.7	11.2	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>31.6</b>	<b>28.4</b>	<b>23.6</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.71 Socio-economic barriers: respondent perceptions by dzongkhag in the eastern region

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	17%	40%	27%	13%	3%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	13%	36%	34%	16%	1%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	13%	36%	34%	16%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>31.7%</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	16%	29%	31%	20%	5%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	14%	25%	44%	16%	2%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	19.3%	21.9%	40.1%	16.1%	2.6%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>17.2%</b>	<b>3.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	19%	51%	23%	6%	2%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	13%	46%	24%	16%	1%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	24.0%	25.0%	30.2%	16.6%	4.2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>40.6%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.72 Socio-economic barriers: respondent perceptions by dzongkhag in the western region

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	5%	17%	27%	37%	13%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	6%	17%	27%	35%	15%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	6%	17%	27%	35%	15%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.8%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>35.8%</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	6%	15%	23%	45%	11%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	8%	16%	17%	37%	23%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	3.1%	13.5%	9.9%	32.3%	41.2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.7%</b>	<b>14.7%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>38.0%</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	5%	20%	31%	29%	15%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	5%	18%	38%	32%	7%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	4.2%	21.8%	26.6%	38.0%	9.4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>19.9%</b>	<b>31.9%</b>	<b>33.0%</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.73 Socio-economic barriers: respondent perceptions by dzongkhag in the southern region

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	9%	52%	20%	16%	4%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	5%	51%	22%	18%	4%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	5%	51%	22%	18%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>51.2%</b>	<b>21.2%</b>	<b>17.3%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	11%	46%	24%	13%	5%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	9%	45%	26%	17%	3%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	11.5%	48.4%	20.3%	13.5%	6.3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>46.6%</b>	<b>23.5%</b>	<b>14.6%</b>	<b>4.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	6%	57%	16%	18%	3%	100%

Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	2%	56%	19%	19%	4%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	3.1%	42.7%	27.6%	22.4%	4.2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>51.9%</b>	<b>20.9%</b>	<b>19.8%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.74 Socio-economic barriers: respondent perceptions by dzongkhag in the central region

Socio-Economic Burden	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	2%	32%	25%	34%	7%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	2%	31%	24%	34%	8%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	2%	31%	24%	34%	8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>31.5%</b>	<b>24.5%</b>	<b>34.0%</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	2%	26%	10%	51%	12%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	2%	16%	4%	63%	16%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	0%	4.2%	43.7%	31.3%	20.8%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>15.3%</b>	<b>19.0%</b>	<b>48.3%</b>	<b>16.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Women depend on men for financial matters.	2%	39%	41%	17%	3%	100%
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	2%	47%	44%	6%	1%	100%
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	1.0%	39.6%	53.6%	5.3%	0.5%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>41.8%</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.75 Land/property inheritance: traditional inheritance allowance N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
All family members	58.8	59.9	57.6
male family members only	29.4	27.0	32.2
Female family members only	11.8	13.1	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.76 Land/property inheritance: traditional inheritance allowance by region

	All family members	Male family members only	Female family members only	Total
East	66%	27%	7%	100%
West	70%	12%	18%	100%
South	52%	43%	5%	100%
Central	48%	35%	17%	100%

### 3.8. Election system and processes

Under this section, the survey had seven response statements of which two were framed negatively, five were positive statements, one was a recommendation, and further two were questions on electoral fairness and challenges to women voters and candidates. First, on the 'Election System and Processes', in which, overall, 50.4% (774 respondents) of the respondents (50.7% = 417 female and 50.1% = 358 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with the response statements, with 13.9% (214 respondents; 13.0% = 107 female and 15.1% = 108 male respondents) disagreeing and 35.7% (548 respondents) of the respondents (36.5% = 300 female and 34.9% = 249 male respondents) remaining 'neutral'.

On the *"Our election system being – 'One Candidate per Constituency' – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates,"* 47.4% (728 respondents) of the respondents (more female : 49.4% = 406 respondents than male: 45.2% = 323 respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed', while 16.0% (246 respondents) (more male: 17.3% = 124 respondents than female: 15.0% = 123 respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed'. A high 36.5% (561 respondents; 35.6% = 293 female and 37.5% = 268 male respondents) remained 'neutral'. In this regard, while regionally, there is generally an agreement with this statement, 33% (63 respondents) of the respondents from Paro Dzongkhag have either 'strongly disagreed' or 'disagreed' as compared to only 20% (38 respondents) who agreed with the statement. Similarly, 40.9% (628 respondents) of the respondents (41.3% = 339 female and 40.6% = 290 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that *"Our political*

*system being – 'Winner take all type' – women do not get elected."* However, with 28.0% (430 respondents; 32.6% = 268 female and 30.8% = 220 male respondents) remaining 'neutral', 27.3% (419 respondents) of the respondents (26.1% = 215 female and 28.6% = 204 male respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that women do not get elected because of our political system. Paro and Zhemgang Dzongkhags have also either 'strongly disagreed' or 'disagreed' with the statement that *"Our political system being – 'Winner take all type' – women do not get elected."* The sex-disaggregated data indicates that there is some tendency on the part of males to brush aside women's issues concerning their political participation, which may be owing to the election system and processes. On the other hand, a significant proportion of female respondents (15.0% = 123 respondents and 26.1% = 215 respondents respectively) have also disagreed with the above two statements, which is a little difficult to explain within the scope of this study.

On the notion of introducing *"a system of quotas and/or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance,"* an overwhelming 60.7% (932 respondents) of the respondents (63.3% = 520 female and 57.5% = 411 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed', with 11.4% (175 respondents; 9.8% = 81 female and 13.0% = 93 male respondents) of the respondents opposing it. Here again, fewer males support and more males oppose, as compared to female respondents. Dzongkhag wise, except Monggar (36% = 69 respondents) and Zhemgang (37% = 71 respondents), there is an overwhelming support from rest of the participating *dzongkhags* on the idea of introducing a system of quotas and/or seat reservation for women to bring about

proportional representation of women in the local governance. However, it may be pointed out that while a majority of both men and women want institutionalisation of a system of quotas and/or seat reservations in the electoral system of Bhutan, there are others who do not want it as this could lead to voters being obliged to vote even when the candidate is not capable, thereby undermining the actual capacity of women.

There is a tendency amongst the respondents, more females (55.3% = 455 respondents) than males (53.5% = 382 respondents), that our 'election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in local elections'; whereas more males (12.0% = 86 respondents) than females (9.0% = 74 respondents) have disagreed that such a mechanism exist. However, a high proportion of respondents (35.8% = 204 female and 34.5% = 246 male respondents) have remained 'neutral'.

On the question of respondents' awareness on the "Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women"; "Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers"; 'Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB'; and "Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities," respondents have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' at proportions that are respectively 51.1% (785 respondents; 51.9% = 427 female and 50.2% = 358 male respondents), 56.4% (866 respondents; 54.8% = 450 female and 58.1% = 415 male respondents), 45.7% (702 respondents; 44.1% = 363 female and 47.5% = 399 male respondents), and 46.2% (710 respondents; 44.5% = 366 female and 48.0% = 343 male respondents). From this, it may seem that everything is well and

in order. However, proportions of respondents disagreeing with the same statements are significant at 8.7% (134 respondents), 8.9% (137 respondents), 16.3% (250 respondents), and 12.6% (194 respondents) respectively for each of the statements. Further, a large proportion of respondents have remained 'neutral' to the statements, which for the respective statements are 40.2% (617 respondents), 34.8% (535 respondents), 38.0% (584 respondents), and 41.3% (634 respondents). Not taking a stand either 'For' or 'Against' each statement may indicate their ignorance, and a lack of awareness of the stated issues. Considering 'neutral' responses as 'lack of awareness', could be no different from 'disagreeing' with the statements. Therefore, it would be difficult to take the high proportion of respondents agreeing at face value. Rather, it may be safer to construe that 'not everything may be well' with our 'election system and processes' in support of women's empowerment and their political participation in local governance. This stand is confirmed by the FGDs organized separately for men and women that revealed that there was sheer lack of awareness. However, the FGD participants refuted that anything of that sort actually happened, which is in complete contradiction to what has been claimed by ECB<sup>1</sup> (Tables 3.77 – 3.83).

Table 3.77 Election system and processes by overall respondents

N=1536

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	9.3	38.2	36.5	13.0	3.0	100.0
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	7.7	33.2	31.8	23.7	3.6	100.0
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	18.9	41.8	28.0	9.6	1.8	100.0
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	10.6	43.8	35.2	9.6	0.8	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	9.0	42.1	40.2	8.0	0.7	100.0
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	9.0	47.4	34.8	8.3	0.6	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	6.4	39.3	38.0	13.4	2.9	100.0
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	7.3	38.9	41.3	11.4	1.2	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>40.6</b>	<b>35.7</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.78 Election system and processes: female respondents

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	9.1	40.3	35.6	11.7	3.3	100.0
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	9.4	31.9	32.6	22.7	3.4	100.0
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	21.5	41.8	26.8	8.6	1.2	100.0
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	11.6	43.7	35.8	8.5	0.5	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	10.3	41.6	39.1	8.3	0.7	100.0
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	9.2	45.6	36.7	7.8	0.6	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	7.1	37.0	41.1	13.6	1.2	100.0
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	8.4	36.1	43.9	10.5	1.1	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>39.8</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.79 Election system and processes: male respondents

N<sub>m</sub> =714

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	9.5	35.7	37.5	14.6	2.7	100.0
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	5.9	34.7	30.8	24.8	3.8	100.0
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	15.8	41.7	29.4	10.6	2.4	100.0
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	9.5	44.0	34.5	10.9	1.1	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	7.6	42.6	41.5	7.7	0.7	100.0
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	8.7	49.4	32.5	8.8	0.6	100.0
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	5.6	41.9	34.5	13.2	4.9	100.0
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	6.0	42.0	38.2	12.5	1.3	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>41.5</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.80 Election system and processes: respondents in the eastern dzongkhags

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	13%	34%	35%	17%	1%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	9%	35%	34%	21%	1%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	28%	22%	39%	10%	1%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	14%	39%	39%	8%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	16%	30%	42%	11%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	11%	41%	43%	5%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	8%	24%	40%	18%	10%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	8%	34%	45%	10%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.4%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>39.6%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	13%	35%	38%	14%	1%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	9%	39%	43%	9%	0%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	13%	23%	49%	14%	2%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	10%	27%	51%	11%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	11%	32%	52%	5%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	6%	35%	54%	6%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	5%	31%	56%	7%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	5%	27%	60%	8%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>50.3%</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	12%	33%	33%	20%	2%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	8%	32%	26%	32%	2%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	44%	20%	29%	7%	0%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	18%	51%	27%	4%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	22%	28%	33%	17%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	16%	48%	32%	4%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	11%	17%	24%	29%	19%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	11%	42%	31%	13%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.6%</b>	<b>33.7%</b>	<b>29.2%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>3.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.81 Election system and processes: respondents in the western dzongkhags

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	12%	23%	40%	19%	6%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	10%	20%	31%	32%	8%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	24%	42%	16%	14%	5%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	14%	42%	30%	12%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	10%	41%	43%	5%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	8%	45%	30%	16%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	5%	30%	46%	18%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	9%	32%	41%	17%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.5%</b>	<b>35.0%</b>	<b>35.0%</b>	<b>15.5%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	16%	34%	32%	13%	5%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	14%	22%	35%	26%	3%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	35%	39%	8%	15%	3%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	16%	47%	24%	11%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	10%	46%	40%	3%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	9%	48%	30%	12%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	7%	36%	43%	13%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	10%	35%	39%	15%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>38.3%</b>	<b>31.3%</b>	<b>13.5%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

PARO						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	8%	12%	47%	26%	7%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	6%	17%	27%	38%	13%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	14%	44%	23%	13%	6%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	13%	37%	35%	13%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	10%	36%	47%	7%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	7%	42%	30%	21%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	4%	23%	49%	23%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	7%	29%	43%	19%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>30.0%</b>	<b>37.6%</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.82 Election system and processes: respondents in the southern dzongkhags

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	8%	46%	29%	12%	4%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	7%	48%	25%	17%	3%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	19%	55%	18%	7%	1%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	10%	58%	23%	8%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	7%	49%	30%	13%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	10%	52%	27%	9%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	6%	42%	36%	16%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	5%	40%	38%	15%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>48.7%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	8%	52%	19%	14%	8%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	9%	44%	23%	17%	7%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	16%	53%	21%	9%	2%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	13%	55%	22%	8%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	9%	56%	26%	7%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	15%	55%	21%	6%	3%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	10%	51%	29%	8%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	8%	48%	30%	12%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>51.7%</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>3.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	8%	41%	40%	10%	1%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	5%	52%	27%	17%	0%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	22%	57%	15%	5%	1%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	13%	55%	22%	8%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	4%	42%	34%	19%	2%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	6%	48%	33%	13%	1%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	2%	32%	43%	23%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	3%	32%	45%	18%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>44.8%</b>	<b>32.3%</b>	<b>14.1%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.83 Election system and processes: respondents in the central dzongkhags

Election System and Process	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	5%	49%	42%	4%	0%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	6%	30%	37%	25%	2%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	3%	49%	40%	8%	0%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	4%	37%	49%	11%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	3%	48%	45%	3%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	7%	52%	39%	3%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	7%	61%	30%	2%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	7%	49%	41%	4%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.2%</b>	<b>46.8%</b>	<b>40.3%</b>	<b>7.5%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	4%	43%	48%	5%	0%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	5%	23%	22%	47%	3%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	2%	35%	48%	14%	1%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	2%	23%	54%	21%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	1%	37%	57%	5%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	7%	63%	26%	4%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	8%	61%	28%	3%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	8%	48%	38%	6%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>4.6%</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

**TSIRANG**

Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	6%	55%	35%	3%	1%	100%
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	6%	37%	52%	4%	1%	100%
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	5%	64%	31%	1%	0%	100%
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	5%	51%	43%	1%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	6%	60%	33%	1%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	6%	41%	52%	2%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	5%	61%	33%	1%	0%	100%
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	5%	49%	44%	2%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>52.2%</b>	<b>40.3%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

As to whether our electoral process at the Local Governance is fair or not, 31.3% (481 respondents) of the respondents find it ‘very fair’, followed by 55.6% (854 respondents) of respondents who find it ‘fair’. Notwithstanding 10.2% (157 respondents) who find it ‘not fair’, an overwhelming 86.9% (1334 respondents) find it either ‘very fair’ or ‘fair,’ which says a lot about the fairness of Bhutan’s electoral process at the local governance (table 3.84 and 3.85).

Further, the survey inquired whether “Bhutan’s electoral system and processes and electoral legislation pose difficulties for women voters as well as for women candidates” (Table 3.86 and 3.87). In this case, 61.6% (506 respondents) of female respondents against 65.8% (470 respondents) of male respondents have reported as ‘posing no difficulties’. However, a significant proportion of 38.4% (286 respondents) of female respondents against 34.2% (244 respondents) of males have reported as ‘posing

difficulties’. This is consistent with the findings here under the same section for two of the survey statements – “*Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates*” and “*Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.*”

### Conclusion 9

The fairness of Bhutan’s electoral process at the local governance level is considered highly of, which is commendable. Overall, it may seem that Bhutan has an election system and processes that are fairly adequate. However, whether or not the “election system and processes have inbuilt mechanisms to motivate women’s participation in local elections” does not seem to have been addressed adequately by the concerned agency (ies).

In addition, there is very little, if at all, awareness on the: existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women; measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective

decision-makers; existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB; and Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities. This is contrary to what has been claimed by the ECB.<sup>1</sup>

Table 3.84 Fairness of electoral process at the local governance: overall respondents' perception

N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub>=822/ N<sub>m</sub>=714

Fairness of electoral process at the local governance	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Very fair	31.3	28.6	34.5
Fair	55.6	59.2	51.4
Not fair	10.2	9.4	11.2
Would rather not say	2.9	2.8	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.85 Fairness of electoral process at the local governance: respondents' perception by region

Regions	Very fair	Fair	Not fair	Would rather not say	Total
East	42%	47%	6%	5%	100%
West	32%	45%	19%	4%	100%
South	14%	78%	6%	2%	100%
Central	38%	53%	10%	0%	100%

Table 3.86 Bhutan's electoral system, processes, and legislation: its challenges for women voters and candidates

N=1536/ N<sub>f</sub>=822/ N<sub>m</sub>=714

Bhutan's electoral system, processes, and legislation: Its challenges for women voters and candidates	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Yes	36.5	38.4	34.2
No	63.5	61.6	65.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.87 Bhutan's electoral system, processes, and legislation: its challenges for women voters and candidates by dzongkhag

Does Bhutan's Electoral System and Processes and electoral legislation pose difficulties for women voters as well as for women candidates?			
Dzongkhag	Yes	No	Total
Punakha	19%	81%	100%
Paro	41%	59%	100%
Zhemgang	15%	85%	100%
Tsirang	48%	52%	100%
Dagana	49%	51%	100%
Samtse	49%	51%	100%
Monggar	52%	48%	100%
P/gatshel	19%	81%	100%

Also, while the electoral legislation, system and processes reportedly do not pose major difficulties for women voters or candidates, there are certain issues in the election system that cause concern. These are the principles of one candidate per constituency and 'winner takes it all'. Studies have shown worldwide that in such a system, political parties put forward the most eligible candidates. These are not necessarily women candidates and hence, most often, women do not get elected. Given this scenario, there is a strong desire among Bhutan's electorate for a proportional representation of women in the local governance, even though it means going through a system of quotas and/or seat reservations.

### 3.9. Functional language skills

The findings indicate that the requirement of Functional Language Tests (FLT) for the aspiring candidates of the Local Government Elections 2011 seem to have posed some difficulties for the aspiring candidates. Overall, 52.8% (811 respondents) of the female and male respondents have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that the FLT requirements posed difficulties. While 17.0% (261 respondents) of the respondents have disagreed that FLT posed any difficulties to the aspiring candidates, a large 30.0% (461 respondents) of the respondents have preferred staying 'neutral'. Except in the Western region where it was not as bad, the requirement of FLT posed greater challenges to the aspiring candidates in the other three regions, with Pemagatshel being worst hit.

On a closer look, the agreement largely stems from the items, "*Fewer women are literate than men*" and "*Most women lacked the confidence to participate.*" On the item "*Fewer women are literate than men,*" more female 64.2% (528 respondents) than male 61.5% (439 respondents)

respondents agree that "fewer women are literate than men." On a similar note, more male 16.5% (118 respondents) than female 14.1% (115 respondents) respondents have disagreed with the statement while 21.9% (336 respondents) have remained 'neutral' to the response item. The former statement however is true. The reported adult (15+) literacy rate by gender and location, as per PHCB2005, was for female (Urban – 60%, Rural – 29%) and for male (Urban – 80%, Rural – 57%)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly, 60.7% (921 respondents) of the respondents (60.3% = 496 female and 61.4% = 438 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that "*Most women lacked the confidence to participate,*" 15.5% (238 respondents) of the respondents have disagreed with it. It may be construed that not having confidence stems from lower adult literacy rate for females, which is a barrier by itself for women's participation in public spaces.

As to whether the FLT requirements were "beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme," 52.3% (803 respondents) of the respondents agreed that it did, while 9.6% (147 respondents; 8.2% = 67 female and 11.4% = 81 male respondents) disagreed with the statement. Except the Western region, others had strong views on it. More male respondents disagreeing is understandable as more females than males actually participate in the NFE programme across the country. 38.0% (584 respondents) of the respondents had no views on it. Testing centres, while not a major issue, also seemed to have had some effects on aspiring candidate's participation. Of the total, 46.1% (708 respondents) of the respondents (45.2% = 372 female and 47.1% = 336 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that the testing centres were too far to participate. However, 19.7% (303 respondents) of the respondents (20.7% = 170 female and 18.6% = 132 male respondents) have disagreed that the testing centres were too far to participate, while

34.2% (525 respondents) have remained 'neutral'.

Further, while 41.5% (637 respondents; 41.7% = 343 female and 41.2% = 294 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that *"It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics,"* 24.8% (381 respondents; 23.8% = 196 female and 25.9% = 185 male respondents) have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' with the same statement. 33.7% (518 respondents) of the respondents (34.4% = 283 female and 32.9% = 235 male respondents) have remained 'neutral'. Although, it is not understood as to why such a high proportion of respondents have remained 'neutral' on this statement, it can perhaps be linked to the high rate of illiteracy in the rural areas, by which, then the proportion of respondents who either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' becomes highly significant.

Therefore, it may be taken that requiring high school graduates to have to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics is unnecessary and redundant. However, FGDs had a mixed response to it with some wanting it to be continued as this is a means of ensuring that only the qualified and the most capable candidates get elected, while others find it a waste of time and energy to do it as these candidates are qualified with high school certificates (Tables 3.88 – 3.94).

## Conclusion 10

The findings indicate that the requirement of passing the Functional Language Tests (FLT) for aspiring candidates of the Local Government Elections 2011, has posed some difficulties, especially for aspiring women candidates. This was largely because fewer women are literate than men which stands at 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas for women, against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men (PHCB2005).<sup>2</sup>This

has led to women lacking the confidence to participate in the FLT, a prerequisite to contest as a prospective candidate.

Furthermore, women who are functionally literate, having acquired their literacy skills by following an NFE programme, are at a disadvantage if aspiring for local governance jobs. This is because the FLT requirements are beyond the language skills developed through the NFE programme. Since more women participate in the NFE programme than men across the country, it is obvious that more women candidates will face this problem than their male counterparts, in future.

Consequently, a significant proportion of respondents felt that the standard of FLT was unnecessarily high, and that functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme should have sufficed for the purpose. However, following discussion with the ECB officials, it was understood that the standard of the FLT was equivalent to an expected level as prepared by the NFE programme, a standard that is considered basic for functional language competency.

Additionally, it is argued that high school graduates, particularly those who have studied many years in Bhutan would have sufficient levels of Dzongkha competency for them to be able to take on leadership positions in local governance. After all, their competencies in Dzongkha have been tested and certified by professional and responsible government approved agencies. Therefore, it seems that requiring high school graduates to pass the FLT as a condition for participation in local politics is unnecessary and redundant. However, the participants in the consultative meetings and FDGs strongly argued in favour of retaining the current practice of requiring high school graduates to have to take FLT as a condition for participation in local politics.

Table 3.88 Functional language skills by overall respondents

N=1536

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	21.6	41.3	21.9	12.6	2.7	100.0
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	14.5	46.2	23.8	14.0	1.5	100.0
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	11.3	41.0	38.0	8.9	0.7	100.0
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	9.7	36.4	34.2	15.7	4.0	100.0
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	8.6	32.9	33.7	20.4	4.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>30.3</b>	<b>14.3</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.89 Functional language skills: female respondents

N<sub>f</sub>=822

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	23.4	40.8	21.8	12.4	1.7	100.0
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	12.7	47.6	24.0	15.1	0.7	100.0
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	10.6	41.4	39.9	7.7	0.5	100.0
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	9.6	35.6	34.1	17.4	3.3	100.0
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	8.9	32.8	34.4	20.8	3.0	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>39.6</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.90 Functional language skills: male respondents

N<sub>m</sub>=714

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	19.6	41.9	22.0	12.7	3.8	100.0
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	16.7	44.7	23.5	12.7	2.4	100.0
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	12.2	40.6	35.9	10.4	1.0	100.0
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	9.8	37.3	34.3	13.7	4.9	100.0
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	8.3	32.9	32.9	19.9	6.0	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>39.5</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>13.9</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.91 Functional language skills: respondents by dzongkhag in the eastern region

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	19%	35%	27%	15%	3%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	22%	52%	17%	9%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	10%	47%	34%	8%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	23%	42%	18%	13%	4%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	13%	34%	32%	17%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>42.0%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>12.5%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	10%	18%	44%	23%	4%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	25%	44%	24%	6%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	8%	45%	34%	13%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	37%	28%	28%	7%	0%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	13%	30%	40%	16%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>33.0%</b>	<b>34.0%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	28%	53%	10%	7%	3%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	18%	61%	9%	11%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	13%	49%	34%	4%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	9%	56%	8%	18%	8%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	13%	38%	24%	18%	7%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>16.2%</b>	<b>51.4%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.92 Functional language skills: respondents by dzongkhag in the western region

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	18%	31%	29%	18%	3%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	20%	39%	26%	14%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	11%	26%	50%	11%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	5%	22%	42%	26%	6%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	10%	21%	24%	35%	10%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>27.8%</b>	<b>34.2%</b>	<b>20.8%</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	28%	32%	21%	16%	3%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	22%	40%	24%	13%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	14%	23%	53%	10%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	4%	13%	50%	29%	5%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	11%	17%	15%	41%	17%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>21.6%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	8%	29%	38%	21%	4%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	18%	38%	27%	15%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	9%	30%	47%	12%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	5%	31%	34%	22%	7%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	8%	26%	34%	29%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>36.0%</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.93 Functional language skills: respondents by dzongkhag in the southern region

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	21%	45%	15%	15%	4%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	11%	60%	16%	12%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	6%	51%	32%	10%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	6%	51%	24%	16%	3%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	6%	40%	29%	22%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>49.2%</b>	<b>23.2%</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	10%	51%	19%	13%	7%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	10%	56%	21%	9%	4%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	7%	53%	28%	10%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	9%	44%	22%	19%	7%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	10%	44%	27%	16%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>49.5%</b>	<b>23.4%</b>	<b>13.4%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	31%	40%	12%	16%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	11%	64%	10%	15%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	5%	48%	36%	10%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	3%	58%	26%	14%	0%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	3%	36%	30%	27%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>49.0%</b>	<b>22.7%</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.94 Functional language skills: respondents by dzongkhag in the central region

Functional Language Skills	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	29%	54%	15%	2%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	5%	34%	37%	22%	2%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	18%	40%	35%	7%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	5%	31%	53%	8%	3%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	6%	36%	49%	8%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>39.0%</b>	<b>37.8%</b>	<b>9.4%</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	54%	41%	1%	4%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	9%	45%	4%	39%	4%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	34%	42%	10%	13%	1%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	10%	18%	53%	13%	6%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	10%	22%	53%	14%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>23.4%</b>	<b>33.5%</b>	<b>24.2%</b>	<b>16.5%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	3%	67%	30%	1%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	2%	23%	70%	5%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	1%	38%	61%	0%	0%	100%
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	0%	44%	53%	4%	0%	100%
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	1%	50%	46%	3%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>44.2%</b>	<b>52.0%</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.10. Education and training

In discussing educational background of the respondents under section 3.1.2 (supported by Table 3.4 and 3.5), there was an overwhelming 48.8% (750 respondents) with 'no education at all', of which 51.7% (425 respondents) were female respondents and 45.5% (325 respondents) males. It was also shown that of the remaining respondents, 14.5% (223 respondents) had non-formal education background while 15.5% (238 respondents) had primary or lower secondary education background, and 14.2% (218 respondents) had middle and higher secondary education background. It has also been pointed out that while there were more or less equal proportions of female and male respondents with primary to higher secondary education background, there were more female respondents (17.4% = 143 respondents) than male respondents (11.1% = 79 respondents) with non-formal education background. It was further noted that while only 2.5% (38 respondents) of the respondents were with Bachelors or Masters Degree qualifications (1.4% = 12 female and 3.5% = 25 male respondents), the remaining small percent of the respondents was composed of vocational education 0.7% (10 respondents) and monastic education (4.0% = 33 respondents; 0.5% = 4 female and 8.1% = 58 male respondents) backgrounds.

Against this educational background of the respondents, the survey questionnaire attempted to find whether education and training had any bearing on women's participation in the local governance elections. Three of the four items were to do with literacy and educational level and functional language tests, and the fourth was a strategy to encourage more women to participate in the local government elections. Surveying whether or not literacy

and educational level, and the requirement of FLT acted as barriers to women's participation in the local government elections, 49.4% (759 respondents) of the respondents (50.2% = 413 female and 47.1% = 336 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that these have been barriers to their participation in the local government elections. The sentiments are similar across the regions except western region. This is understandable as we find that 48.8% (750 respondents) of the respondents, more females (51.7% = 425 respondents) than males (45.5% = 325 respondents), are illiterate. This would have more impact on women than men as the respondents themselves support. However, 15.8% (243 respondents) of the respondents, more males (18.3% = 131 respondents) than females (13.7% = 113 respondents), have disagreed that literacy and educational level, and the requirement of FLT have been a barriers to women's participation in the local government elections. Nonetheless, it is important to consider those who opted to stay 'neutral', particularly against the backdrop of a very high percentage of respondents with 'no education at all'.

Item wise, 67.0% (1029 respondents) of the respondents, with 68.9% (566 respondents) female and 65.0% (464 respondents) male, have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that *"illiteracy or lower educational level is a major barrier to women's participation in local governance."* Even though, 8.8% (135 respondents) of the respondents have disagreed and another 24.1% (370 respondents) have remained 'neutral', this seems a pertinent issue for women against the backdrop of lower literacy rate for women coupled with the FLT requirement. On whether or not, the *"FLT is an unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections,"* 39.5% (607 respondents) of the respondents,

more females (41.6% = 342 respondents) than males (37.2% = 266 respondents), have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed'. However, 21.8% (335 respondents) of the respondents, more males, 24.7% (176 respondents) than females, 19.3% (159 respondents) have disagreed with the statement. 38.5% (591 respondents) of the respondents opted for 'neutral'. Further, 41.0% (630 respondents) of the respondents (42.9% = 353 female and 38.9% = 278 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that *"Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose."* On the other hand, while 16.8% (258 respondents) of the respondents, significantly more males (20.7% = 148 respondents) than females (13.5% = 111 respondents), have disagreed with the statement, a large proportion of respondents 42.1% (647 respondents) have opted to be 'neutral'. Here again, whether staying 'neutral' is linked to being 'illiterate' is not known. Nonetheless, opting for 'neutral' is a persistent trend in this survey which has the tendency of distorting the findings.

On the proposed strategy that *"Many women would be encouraged to join the local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis,"* an overwhelming 60.4% (928 respondents) of the respondents (61.2% = 503 female and 59.5% = 425 male respondents) have supported the idea, indicating this is something aspiring women candidates are looking forward to; a potential strategy to encourage more women to participate, and let those who have won the elections, to succeed. This has also been supported by FGD with men and women. On the other hand, while a small minority of 6.8% (104 respondents) respondents, with significantly more males (9.4% = 67 respondents) than females (4.6%

= 38 respondents), have disagreed, a large proportion of 32.7% (502 respondents) of the respondents have remained 'neutral' (Box 3.3 – Women Can Make a Difference; Tables 3.95 -3.101).

## Conclusion 11

From the findings, it may be concluded that education and training, or the lack of it, had major adverse impact on the aspiring candidates, particularly on women's participation in the local government elections. This is probably because fewer women are literate than men which stands at 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas for women against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men, (PHCB2005)<sup>1</sup> from an overall adult (15 years+) literacy of 53% (as of 2005), of which females constitute only 39% against 65% of males<sup>2</sup>. It must also be considered that the socio-demographic characteristic of the respondents discussed under section 3.1.2 showed that 51.7% (425 respondents) of the female respondents are illiterate against 45.5% (325 respondents) of males.

Again, as shown under section 3.1.2, another thirty percent of the respondents were composed of those with non-formal education (14.5% = 223 respondents) and primary or lower secondary education backgrounds (15.5% = 238 respondents). So it is quite evident that besides illiteracy, lower educational level has been another major barrier to women's participation in local governance. Additionally, because a significant proportion of respondents felt that the standard of FLT was unnecessarily high, and that functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme should have sufficed for the purpose. However, following discussion with the ECB officials, it was understood that the standard of the FLT was equivalent to an expected level as prepared by the NFE

programme, a standard that is considered basic for functional language competency.

Further, it is argued that high school graduates, particularly, those who have studied many years in Bhutan would have acceptable levels of Dzongkha competency for them to be able to take on leadership positions in local governance. After all, their competencies in Dzongkha have been tested and certified by professional and responsible government approved agencies. Therefore, it may seem that requiring high school graduates to have to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics is unnecessary and redundant. However, the participants in the consultative meetings and FDGs strongly argued in favour of retaining the current practice of requiring high school graduates to have to take FLT as a condition for participation in local politics.

It may also be concluded that many women may be encouraged to join the local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women is arranged on a sustained basis (see Box 3.3).

### Box 3.3

#### Women can make a difference

After exactly a decade of service to her community as a Non-Formal Education (NFE), Instructor, Namgay Pelden was elected as the *Gup* of Tashiding *Gewog*, Dagana *Dzongkhag* during the first historic elections of the Local Governance. It was a landslide victory with 807 votes cast in her favor compared to 250 votes secured by her contestant Dorji Wangchuck, the former *Gup*.

“More than anything else, what prevailed is my commitment as an NFE instructor for 10 years,” said Namgay Pelden. As the NFE instructor, she had won the confidence of her community and projected herself as a capable, helpful and a responsible lady. Her self-assurance was boosted further by the unwavering support of her parents, her husband, relatives and the community members. The leadership programme that was offered for women by the Institute for Management Studies with financial support from Liaison Office of Denmark (LOD) was also a deciding factor in participating in the local elections.

But her road to success was not all smooth. Many a times, she felt intimidated by remarks passed, especially by men. “Better continue as the NFE instructor, taking care of your child and household chores. Remember you are a woman, the weaker lot. You can’t lead the community,” was what she heard often, which she ignored. “Such remarks unsettled me and sometimes almost convinced me that men are perhaps more capable than women. In any case, contesting against the former *Gup* sent shivers down my spine. But belief in me and in the strength of being a woman made me endure the elections,” says the *gup* elect.

When asked about what should be done to inspire women to participate in future elections, the *gup* elect was quick to point out that for women to take up leadership roles in future, they need to be educated and trained, especially on leadership and management. This, she felt would empower women with the relevant knowledge, skills, and give them the confidence to participate meaningfully in democracy. “Since I am the only female *Gup* elect, the relevant organizations and government should support me to achieve my targets and plans, help me become a role model. Then, I am sure that women aspirants will come forward.”

Daughter of a farmer and married to a wireless operator in the Royal Bhutan Police, Namgay Pelden is a class X graduate of 2000 from Bajothang Higher Secondary School in Wangdue Phodrang.

Table 3.95 Responses on education and training by overall respondents

N=1536

Education and Training	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	16.3	50.7	24.1	7.9	0.9	100.0
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6.4	33.1	38.5	19.1	2.7	100.0
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	6.4	34.6	42.1	14.1	2.7	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>39.5</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	19.6	40.8	32.7	6.0	0.8	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>39.8</b>	<b>34.4</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.96 Responses on education and training by female respondents

N<sub>f</sub> =822

Education and Training	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	16.7	52.2	22.7	7.7	0.7	100.0
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6.2	35.4	39.1	17.4	1.9	100.0
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	6.4	36.5	43.6	11.6	1.9	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>41.4</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>12.2</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	18.9	42.3	34.2	3.9	0.7	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>41.6</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.97 Responses on education and training by male respondents

N<sub>m</sub> =714

Education and Training	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	16.0	49.0	25.6	8.3	1.1	100.0
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6.7	30.5	38.0	21.1	3.6	100.0
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	6.4	32.5	40.3	17.1	3.6	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>9.7</b>	<b>37.4</b>	<b>34.6</b>	<b>15.5</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	20.4	39.1	31.1	8.4	1.0	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>37.8</b>	<b>33.8</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.98 Responses on education and training: respondents by dzongkhag in the eastern region

Education and Training	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	19%	53%	24%	3%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	9%	35%	37%	15%	3%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	8%	32%	43%	15%	2%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>34.7%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	20%	30%	43%	5%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>37.7%</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	16%	42%	36%	4%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	9%	28%	48%	14%	1%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	6%	26%	51%	17%	1%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>32.0%</b>	<b>45.0%</b>	<b>11.7%</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	11%	27%	52%	9%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.6%</b>	<b>30.8%</b>	<b>46.8%</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	22%	64%	12%	2%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	9%	43%	26%	17%	5%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	10%	39%	36%	13%	2%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>13.6%</b>	<b>48.6%</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	<b>10.6%</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	29%	34%	35%	2%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.4%</b>	<b>45.0%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.99 Responses on education and training: respondents by dzongkhag in the western region

Education and Training	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	17%	41%	26%	15%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	7%	20%	38%	32%	3%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	7%	24%	42%	20%	7%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>	<b>35.4%</b>	<b>22.3%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	29%	40%	17%	14%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>15.0%</b>	<b>31.2%</b>	<b>30.6%</b>	<b>20.2%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	21%	47%	22%	9%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6%	14%	42%	34%	5%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	4%	21%	43%	21%	10%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>27.4%</b>	<b>35.7%</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	40%	34%	13%	13%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.6%</b>	<b>29.0%</b>	<b>30.0%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	13%	36%	30%	20%	1%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	8%	26%	34%	30%	2%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	10%	28%	41%	18%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>30.0%</b>	<b>35.0%</b>	<b>22.7%</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	17%	47%	21%	14%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>34.3%</b>	<b>31.5%</b>	<b>20.5%</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.100 Responses on education and training: respondents by dzongkhag in the southern region

Education and Training	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	11%	54%	22%	11%	2%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	4%	38%	30%	23%	4%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	7%	46%	32%	13%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>7.3%</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>28.0%</b>	<b>15.7%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	20%	52%	23%	4%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>47.4%</b>	<b>26.7%</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>2.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	8%	51%	24%	13%	4%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6%	42%	27%	18%	7%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	9%	47%	28%	13%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>7.7%</b>	<b>46.7%</b>	<b>26.2%</b>	<b>14.7%</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	18%	49%	24%	5%	4%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>47.2%</b>	<b>25.7%</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	14%	58%	19%	9%	0%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	1%	35%	34%	28%	2%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	4%	45%	36%	13%	3%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>6.2%</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>29.6%</b>	<b>16.6%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	22%	54%	21%	2%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>48.0%</b>	<b>27.5%</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.101 Responses on education and training: respondents by dzongkhag in the central region

Education and Training	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	18%	54%	24%	3%	0%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	6%	39%	49%	6%	0%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	4%	35%	51%	9%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>43.0%</b>	<b>41.5%</b>	<b>6.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	10%	41%	48%	1%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>42.5%</b>	<b>43.2%</b>	<b>4.8%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	35%	62%	1%	2%	0%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	11%	34%	46%	9%	1%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	8%	23%	55%	15%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>18.0%</b>	<b>39.4%</b>	<b>34.0%</b>	<b>8.4%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	16%	35%	48%	1%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>38.4%</b>	<b>37.4%</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	2%	46%	48%	4%	0%	100%
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	1%	44%	52%	4%	0%	100%
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	1%	48%	47%	4%	0%	100%
<b>Average</b>	<b>1.0%</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>49.0%</b>	<b>4.0%</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>100%</b>
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	3%	46%	48%	2%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>46.0</b>	<b>48.7</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 3.11. Enabling environment for women's empowerment

Enabling environment for women's empowerment was surveyed using ten assessment items, on the basis of which overall 51.9% (797 respondents) of the respondents (51.2% = 421 female and 52.7% = 376 male respondents) have either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that generally there is an enabling environment for women's empowerment in Bhutan. This is generally true across the regions and participating *dzongkhags*. However, overall, 10.1% (155 respondents) of the respondents, with males slightly higher (10.5% = 75 respondents) than females (8.6% = 71 respondents), have either 'disagreed' or 'strongly disagreed' that there is any enabling environment for women's empowerment, while 38.0% (584 respondents) of the respondents (40.2% = 330 female and 36.9% = 263 male respondents) have remained 'neutral'.

Going through individual assessment statements, the proportion of 'agreements' or 'disagreements' are varied, some being rated comparatively higher than others, whether for agreements or disagreements. For instance, these two assessment statements, *"There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity"* and *"Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness"* have been either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with respectively by 65.3% (1003 respondents; 66.3% = 545 female and 64.3% = 459 male respondents) and 68.0% (104 respondents; 67.4% = 554 female and 68.6% = 490 male respondents) of the respondents. This may indicate that there is generally an increased awareness on gender equality and equity and that GNH Index considers women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness. However, 7.1% (109 respondents; 6.1% = 50 female and 8.2% = 59 male respondents) and

6.1% (94 respondents; 5.1% = 42 female and 7.3% = 52 male respondents) of the respondents have disagreed with the two respective statements, with 27.5% (422 respondents) and 25.9% (398 respondents) remaining 'neutral' for the same two statements.

On the other hand, assessment statements such as *"Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections,"* was rated as not high with 46.5% (714 respondents) of the respondents agreeing, 10.1% (155 respondents) disagreeing, and a large proportion of 43.4% (667 respondents) of the respondents remaining 'neutral'. It may indicate that adequate arrangements to provide a sense of psychological security for candidates in the LG elections were found to be lacking. The findings are similar for these two statements as well - *"There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes"* and *"There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place."* This may indicate that there are no effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes and also a general lack of a gender responsive enabling environment in place.

In terms of gauging whether or not there are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation, the following two survey assessment statements have been considered. *"Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members"* followed by *"Strong supportive constituency particularly for women,"* with 60.2% (925 respondents; 58.1% = 478 female and 62.3% = 445 male respondents) and 54.8% (842 respondents; 56.1% = 461 female and 53.2% = 380 male respondents) of the respondents agreeing with the respective statements. However, while 6.7% (103 respondents) and 9.1% (140 respondents) of the respondents have disagreed, 33.1% (508 respondents) and 36.2%

(556 respondents) of the respondents have remained 'neutral' for the respective assessment statements. This may indicate that there are some issues to resolve in these two areas. On the 'Training and information dissemination on governance processes', 46.0% (707 respondents) of the respondents (44.0% = 362 female and 48.5% = 346 male respondents) have agreed with the statement, whereas 8.2% (126 respondents) have disagreed, with substantially high proportion of 45.8% (703 respondents; 48.3% = 397 female and 42.9% = 306 male respondents) remaining 'neutral', indicating that there is need to pay attention to this. The other two statements – *“Gender sensitization of the male elected members”* and *“Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts”* – are even more poorly rated. 40.4% (621 respondents; 38.5% = 316 female and 42.6% = 304 male respondents) and 40.4% (621 respondents; 37.6% = 309 female and 43.7% = 312 male respondents) of the respondents have agreed with the two respective statements. On the other hand, while 15.0% (230 respondents; 14.0% = 115 female and 16.1% = 115 male respondents) and 15.9% (244 respondents; 14.6% = 120 female and 17.2% = 123 male respondents) of the respondents have disagreed with the two respective statements, high proportions of 44.7% (687 respondents) and 43.8% (673 respondents) have respectively remained 'neutral' towards the same statements. Higher proportions of males agreeing that these provisions are in place despite female respondents saying otherwise may indicate male respondents being less sensitive to the issues that are important to women (Tables 3.102 – 3.108).

## Conclusion 12

There are general indications of an increased awareness on gender equality and equity among the *dzongkhag* and *Gewog* functionaries and that women's empowerment may be finding its

way into the GNH Index. However, not having explored the deeper levels, these may still require greater attention and more planning.

Also, that adequate arrangements to provide a sense of psychological security for candidates in the LG elections may have been found wanting. Indications are also that there may not be effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes and that there may be a general lack of a gender responsive enabling environment in place.

Similarly, in terms of whether or not there are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation, there are indications that some of the areas will require greater attention, some of which are awareness raising of the elected members on their rights and responsibilities; insurance of the existence of adequate supportive constituency particularly for women; gender sensitization of the elected male members; provisions to counter violence against women who contest elections and those elected to political posts; and providing training and information dissemination on governance.

In addition, the study reveals that female role modeling may work very well in the country. Hence, provision of support to (and documentation of) female leaders at all levels is a potential way to increase women's participation in politics and decision-making.

Furthermore, Bhutanese women's lower socio-economic status, multiple roles (as wives, mothers, daughters, community workers) coupled with less or no education at all may limit their access to formal services and general advancement. Although some of the female respondents own lands and have property rights, their contribution to the family and community may not be as valued as that of men.

Table 3.102 Responses on enabling environment for women’s empowerment by overall respondents

N=1536

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	12.6	52.7	27.5	6.3	0.8	100.0
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6.1	41.7	42.4	8.3	1.4	100.0
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	6.6	39.9	43.4	9.3	0.8	100.0
Gross National Happiness Index has women’s empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	16.4	51.6	25.9	5.1	1.0	100.0
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	6.0	43.3	43.6	6.4	0.8	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	9.7	45.1	36.2	8.3	0.8	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	11.6	48.6	33.1	6.1	0.6	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	7.0	39.0	45.8	7.2	1.0	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	6.1	34.3	44.7	13.7	1.3	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	6.2	34.2	43.8	14.5	1.4	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>42.7</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.103 Responses on enabling environment for women’s empowerment by female respondents

N<sub>f</sub>=822

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	12.8	53.5	27.6	5.5	0.6	100.0
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6.0	42.2	42.9	7.8	1.1	100.0
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	6.8	39.3	44.6	8.5	0.7	100.0
Gross National Happiness Index has women’s empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	15.9	51.5	27.5	4.5	0.6	100.0
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	6.1	43.9	44.3	5.4	0.4	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	9.9	46.2	36.1	7.2	0.6	100.0

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	10.5	47.6	35.5	5.6	0.9	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	7.1	36.9	48.3	7.3	0.5	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	6.6	31.9	47.6	13.3	0.7	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	6.6	31.0	47.8	13.6	1.0	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.8</b>	<b>42.4</b>	<b>40.2</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.104 Responses on enabling environment for women's empowerment by male respondents

N<sub>m</sub> = 714

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree Percent (%)	Agree Percent (%)	Neutral Percent (%)	Disagree Percent (%)	Strongly Disagree Percent (%)	Total Percent (%)
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	12.5	51.8	27.5	7.1	1.1	100.0
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6.3	41.2	41.9	9.0	1.7	100.0
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	6.4	40.5	42.2	10.1	0.8	100.0
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	16.9	51.7	24.1	5.9	1.4	100.0
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	5.9	42.7	43.0	7.4	1.0	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	9.5	43.7	36.3	9.5	1.0	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	12.7	49.6	30.8	6.6	0.3	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	7.0	41.5	42.9	7.0	1.7	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	5.5	37.1	41.3	14.1	2.0	100.0
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	5.7	38.0	39.1	15.4	1.8	100.0
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>43.8</b>	<b>36.9</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.105 Responses on enabling environment for women’s empowerment: respondents in the eastern dzongkhags

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>EASTERN REGION</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	17%	42%	32%	8%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	7%	37%	51%	5%	1%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	8%	41%	42%	8%	0%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women’s empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	18%	46%	31%	5%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	7%	34%	55%	4%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	12%	39%	38%	11%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	9%	48%	40%	3%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	8%	30%	55%	7%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	7%	36%	43%	14%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	8%	29%	42%	20%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>38.2%</b>	<b>42.9%</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>MONGGAR</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	10%	41%	38%	10%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	7%	28%	59%	6%	1%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	7%	32%	51%	10%	1%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women’s empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	13%	39%	43%	5%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	6%	27%	61%	6%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	11%	39%	41%	9%	0%	100%

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	9%	35%	51%	5%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	6%	31%	57%	6%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	7%	33%	53%	7%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	5%	34%	55%	6%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	<b>33.9%</b>	<b>50.9%</b>	<b>7.0%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	23%	44%	26%	6%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6%	46%	42%	5%	1%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	9%	51%	33%	7%	0%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	22%	54%	19%	5%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	8%	41%	48%	3%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	12%	39%	35%	14%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	10%	60%	28%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	10%	30%	53%	8%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	7%	39%	33%	21%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	11%	23%	30%	34%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>42.7%</b>	<b>34.7%</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.106 Responses on enabling environment for women's empowerment: respondents in the western dzongkhags

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>WESTERN REGION</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	20%	44%	26%	7%	2%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	9%	42%	32%	14%	3%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	10%	33%	40%	16%	1%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	21%	42%	24%	10%	3%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	9%	30%	48%	11%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	16%	30%	45%	8%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	17%	39%	32%	11%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	6%	38%	42%	11%	3%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	5%	25%	50%	19%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	7%	30%	46%	15%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.0%</b>	<b>35.3%</b>	<b>38.5%</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PUNAKHA</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	27%	46%	22%	4%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	13%	53%	23%	10%	1%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	9%	27%	44%	19%	1%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	26%	36%	25%	10%	3%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	6%	30%	54%	8%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	16%	26%	51%	7%	1%	100%

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	16%	35%	40%	8%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	7%	31%	49%	12%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	3%	22%	59%	15%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	4%	28%	49%	17%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>33.4%</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>PARO</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	10%	32%	42%	13%	3%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6%	32%	40%	18%	4%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	11%	38%	37%	12%	2%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	17%	48%	23%	9%	3%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	12%	31%	41%	13%	3%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	16%	34%	38%	10%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	18%	43%	24%	14%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	5%	45%	36%	10%	4%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	8%	28%	41%	22%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	14%	42%	31%	10%	3%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.7%</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>35.3%</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.107 Responses on enabling environment for women's empowerment: respondents in the southern dzongkhags

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>SOUTHERN REGION</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	8%	57%	25%	9%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	4%	47%	35%	12%	2%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	4%	44%	41%	9%	2%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	14%	60%	21%	5%	1%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	5%	49%	36%	9%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	8%	45%	36%	10%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	8%	52%	32%	8%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	5%	43%	41%	9%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	4%	39%	40%	14%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	5%	35%	42%	15%	2%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>47.1%</b>	<b>34.9%</b>	<b>10.0%</b>	<b>1.4%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>DAGANA</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	9%	54%	27%	9%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	6%	50%	30%	11%	3%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	6%	54%	28%	11%	2%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	18%	54%	20%	7%	1%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	7%	55%	28%	9%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	13%	52%	24%	9%	2%	100%

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	13%	53%	25%	9%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	9%	46%	34%	9%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	7%	47%	31%	11%	3%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	8%	46%	28%	14%	5%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>51.1%</b>	<b>27.5%</b>	<b>9.9%</b>	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>SAMTSE</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	7%	60%	23%	8%	1%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	2%	45%	40%	13%	2%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	3%	34%	54%	8%	1%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	10%	65%	21%	3%	1%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	3%	44%	45%	8%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	3%	38%	48%	11%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	3%	51%	38%	7%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	1%	41%	47%	10%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	2%	31%	49%	17%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	3%	24%	57%	16%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>43.3%</b>	<b>42.3%</b>	<b>10.1%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.108 Responses on enabling environment for women's empowerment: respondents in the central dzongkhags

Enabling Environment	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
<b>CENTRAL REGION</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	5%	67%	27%	1%	0%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	5%	40%	53%	2%	0%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	4%	41%	51%	4%	0%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	13%	58%	28%	1%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	3%	60%	36%	1%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	4%	66%	26%	3%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	12%	55%	30%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	9%	45%	45%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	7%	37%	46%	8%	2%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	4%	43%	45%	8%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>6.6%</b>	<b>51.2%</b>	<b>38.7%</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	8%	83%	7%	2%	0%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	7%	41%	49%	3%	0%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	7%	28%	58%	7%	0%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	24%	65%	10%	1%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	4%	65%	29%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	5%	77%	11%	6%	1%	100%

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	23%	68%	7%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	16%	34%	48%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	13%	30%	40%	15%	3%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	7%	37%	42%	14%	1%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>52.8%</b>	<b>30.1%</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>TSIRANG</b>						
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	2%	51%	46%	1%	0%	100%
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	2%	40%	57%	2%	0%	100%
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	1%	55%	43%	1%	0%	100%
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	1%	52%	46%	2%	0%	100%
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environment in place.	2%	55%	43%	1%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	2%	56%	42%	1%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	2%	43%	54%	2%	0%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	2%	55%	42%	2%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	2%	45%	53%	1%	1%	100%
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	2%	49%	47%	2%	0%	100%
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>47.3%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3.12. Factors constraining women's participation in 2011 LG elections: prioritized

For the purpose of this whole survey on women's participation in the 2011 Local Government (LG) Elections in Bhutan, as mentioned in 2.2.1.3 in Chapter 2, ten study themes or domains were decided upon, to be used for this study. The study was interested in finding out as to which of the ten themes or domains were seen as more constraining for women's participation in the 2011 LG Elections. The survey was administered under Item 45 of the questionnaire given below:

- 45 Prioritize the following ten factors according to their severity in constraining women's participation in 2011 local governance elections in Bhutan by assigning a number from 1 to 10. 1 is the most constraining factor while 10 is the least constraining factor. Please do not assign repeat numbers.

Sl. No	Factors	Your Rating
01	Double or Triple Burden	
02	Attitudes and Stereotypes	
03	Patriarchal Values	
04	Self-Image, Self-Esteem	
05	Decision-Making	
06	Socio-Economic Barriers	
07	Election System and Processes	
08	Functional Language Skills	
09	Education and Training	
10	Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment	

As the questionnaire reproduced above indicates, respondents were asked to prioritize ten supposedly constraining factors, according to their severity, that restricted women's participation in 2011 Local Government Elections by assigning numbers 1 to 10; 1 being the most

constraining factor for their participation in the local elections and 10 the least constraining factor. Respondents were instructed not to assign repeat numbers. Findings are substantially different from the popular beliefs that 'Double or Triple Burden' is the most constraining factor for women's participation in public affairs, including politics. The total average of the ten factors from the data analysis was 5.49 average points (5.49 for female and 5.48 for male). This would mean that factors achieving average points lower than this total average point would be significant for consideration.

Respondents have identified 'Education and Training' as the most constraining factor with an overall average point of 4.20. Female respondents' average point of 4.18 is even lower than 4.22 of males', indicating that female respondents find this factor more constraining than the males. This is followed by another closely linked factor to 'Education and Training', which is the 'Functional Language Skills'. This factor at an overall average point of 4.84 is considered a constraining factor for women by slightly more males (4.80 average point) than females (4.87 average point). This finding is consistent with the finding reported on 'Education and Training' (including FLT) under section 3.10 wherein almost fifty percent of the respondents agreed that lack of education and training and FLT requirements were a major barrier to women's participation in the local government elections.

With an overall average point of 4.98 (5.02 for female and 4.94 for male), 'Decision-making' is rated as the third most constraining factor for women's participation followed by 'Self-Image and Self-Esteem' at an overall average point of 5.12 (5.15 for female and 5.10 for male). This is closely followed by 'Double or Triple Burden' at an overall average point of 5.39 (5.44 for female and 5.34 for male).

The remaining five constraining factors in the decreasing order are: 'Socio-Economic Barriers' at 5.80 overall average point (5.75 for female and 5.86 for male), 'Attitudes and Stereotypes' at 5.95 overall average point (6.06 for female and 5.83 for male), 'Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment' at 6.17 overall average point (6.15 for female and 6.19 for male), 'Patriarchal Values' at 6.18 overall average point (6.14 for female and 6.23 for male), and the least constraining factor, the 'Election System and Processes' with an overall average point of 6.26 (6.19 for female and 6.33 for male).

In terms of regions and participating *dzongkhags*, there are certain variations in the manner in which the factors have been prioritized. However, overall 'Education and Training' and factors related to education and training still are prominently significant for consideration (Tables 3.110 and 3.111).

Except for the first constraining factor 'Education and Training', which male respondents do not find as much of a constraining factor as women do, male respondents feel that the next four factors are more constraining for women's participation than even women would like to believe. Whereas female respondents have placed 'Patriarchal Values' as the eighth constraining factor (6.14 average point), males' placement of it is at the ninth place (6.23 average point), indicating that males do not see the presence of patriarchal values in the Bhutanese society as much as females do.

The overall finding is quite in contrast with the findings reported in other developing countries where factors such as double or triple burden, patriarchal values, socio-economic barriers, and attitudes and stereotypes are overriding constraining factors, with 'Education and Training' factor remaining same at the top of

the list. However, it must be noted that the findings as discussed under 'Individual Factors' in the same chapter, at varying degrees, are otherwise (Table 3.109).

### Conclusion 13

The findings indicate that five of the ten following factors are considered comparatively the more constraining factors, which in the order of most constraining to the least among in the list, are 'Education and Training', 'Functional Language Skills', 'Decision-Making', 'Self-Image and Self-Esteem', and 'Double or Triple Burden'. The finding contradicts the popular belief that it is the women's 'Double or Triple Burden' that keeps them away from public spaces. In this finding 'Education and Training' tops the list followed by three other factors which are all associated with 'Education and Training'. Education and training affects their functional language skills, their decision-making capacity, and their self-image and self-esteem.

This is understandable. The uncomfortable finding squarely points at the adult literacy levels in the country. It is common knowledge that fewer women are literate than men which stands at 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas for women against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men (PHCB2005),<sup>1</sup> from an overall adult (15 years+) literacy of 53% (as of 2005), of which females constitute only 39% against 65% of males<sup>2</sup>. Not surprisingly, the socio-demographic characteristic of the respondents discussed under section 3.1.2 also showed that 51.7% (425 respondents) of the female respondents are illiterate against 45.5% (325 respondents) of males.

Further, even respondents who are considered literate with non-formal education backgrounds (14.5%=223 respondents) and those respondents who have primary or lower secondary education

backgrounds (15.5% = 238 respondents) would have faced difficulties with the FLT requirement, the standard of which is unnecessarily high. So it is quite evident that besides illiteracy, lower educational level has been another major barrier to women's participation in local governance. Also, functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme should have sufficed for the purpose.

In view of the above, for the moment, 'Education and Training' is the overriding factor that is a barrier to women's participation in the local governance. However, it may seem that 'Double or Triple Burden' of women will come back to the forefront once the 'Education and Training' issues are leveled.

**Table 3.109 Factors constraining women's participation in the 2011 LG elections: respondents prioritization** N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Factors	Overall weighted average	Ranking	Female weighted average	Ranking	Male weighted average	Ranking
A. Double or Triple Burden	5.39	5	5.44	5	5.34	5
B. Attitudes and Stereotypes	5.95	7	6.06	7	5.83	6
C. Patriarchal Values	6.18	9	6.14	8	6.23	9
D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem	5.12	4	5.15	4	5.10	4
E. Decision-Making	4.98	3	5.02	3	4.94	3
F. Socio-Economic Barriers	5.80	6	5.75	6	5.86	7
G. Election System and Processes	6.26	10	6.19	10	6.33	10
H. Functional Language Skills	4.84	2	4.87	2	4.80	2
I. Education and Training	4.20	1	4.18	1	4.22	1
J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment	6.17	8	6.15	9	6.19	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>54.89</b>		<b>54.94</b>		<b>54.85</b>	
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.49</b>		<b>5.49</b>		<b>5.48</b>	

**Table 3.110 Factors constraining women's participation in 2011 LG elections: respondents' prioritization by region**

	West	Ranking	Central	Ranking	South	Ranking	East	Ranking
A. Double/ Triple burden	4.21	1	5.76	6	6.90	10	4.71	2
B. Attitudes and Sterotypes	4.40	2	6.89	9	6.63	9	5.90	7
C. Patriarchal values	4.54	3	7.37	10	6.62	8	6.21	8
D. Self-image,Self-esteem	4.70	4	5.26	4	5.84	7	4.71	2
E. Decision-making	5.29	5	5.14	3	5.10	4	4.42	1
F. Socio-economic barriers	6.61	8	5.31	5	5.61	6	5.69	6
G. Election System and processes	6.91	10	6.15	7	5.20	5	6.78	9
H. Functional Language Skills	5.74	7	4.14	2	4.74	3	4.74	4
I. Education and Training	5.59	6	2.75	1	3.57	1	4.90	5
J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment	6.85	9	6.19	8	4.72	2	6.94	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>54.84</b>		<b>54.96</b>		<b>54.93</b>		<b>55.00</b>	
<b>Total Average</b>	<b>5.48</b>		<b>5.50</b>		<b>5.49</b>		<b>5.50</b>	

Table 3.111 Factors constraining women’s participation in 2011 LG elections: respondents’ prioritization by dzongkhag

	Punakha	Ranking	Paro	Ranking	Zhemgang	Ranking	Tsirang	Ranking	Dagana	Ranking	Samtse	Ranking	Monggar	Ranking	Pema Gatsel	Ranking
Double/ Triple burden	3.29	1	5.13	1	3.78	2	7.74	10	6.41	7	7.39	10	5.16	3	4.26	2
Attitudes and Sterotypes	3.61	2	5.18	2	6.47	7	7.31	9	6.72	10	6.54	8	5.63	6	6.17	7
Patriarchal values	3.44	3	5.64	7	7.79	9	6.95	8	6.64	9	6.59	9	5.93	8	6.49	8
Self-image, Self-esteem	4.18	4	5.21	4	4.33	4	6.18	7	6.46	8	5.21	4	5.42	5	4.0	1
Decision-making	5.39	5	5.18	2	4.5	5	5.77	6	5.65	6	4.54	2	4.36	1	4.47	4
Socio-economic barriers	7.39	8	5.82	9	5.56	6	5.06	5	5.39	5	5.82	7	5.68	7	5.69	6
Election System and processes	7.84	9	5.97	10	7.63	8	4.67	4	4.69	4	5.71	6	6.07	9	7.48	10
Functional Language Skills	5.76	6	5.71	8	4.09	3	4.18	3	4.58	3	4.9	3	5.14	2	4.33	3
Education and Training	5.8	7	5.37	5	1.8	1	3.7	2	4.36	2	2.78	1	5.16	3	4.63	5
Enabling Environment for Women’s Empowerment	8.23	10	5.46	6	8.96	10	3.42	1	3.99	1	5.44	5	6.46	10	7.41	9

Nevertheless, it does not mean that the remaining five factors are no longer constraining factors to women’s participation in local governance. The remaining five constraining factors in a decreasing order are ‘Socio-Economic Barriers,’ ‘Attitudes and Stereotypes,’ ‘Enabling Environment for Women’s Empowerment,’ ‘Patriarchal Values,’ and the ‘Election System and Processes’ as the least constraining factor. These are significant factors that cannot be brushed aside.

Moreover, the placement of the ‘Patriarchal Values’ one step lower by the males, as opposed to, by females, in the order of decreasing constraining factors, is indicative of males’ denial of the presence of patriarchal values in the Bhutanese society.

### 3.13 Interest and involvement in LG

Table 3.112 shows that 61.6% (440 respondents) of the male respondents are either ‘very interested’ or ‘interested’ in participating as candidates in the future Local Government Elections against 55.7% (458 respondents) of the female respondents showing the same interest.

This is offset by 20.7% (148 respondents) of the male respondents who are ‘very interested’ to participate against only 15.6% (128 respondents) of the female respondents who are ‘very interested’. On the other hand, more female respondents (26.0% = 314 respondents) have reported ‘not interested at all’ against 20.7% (148 respondents) of the male respondents. From this, one can infer that generally more males than females are interested in participating as candidates in the local government elections. In terms of regions, respondents from Central region are more interested (70% = 169 respondents) followed by South (64% = 246 respondents), then West (55% = 211 respondents), and last is East (45% = 173 respondents) (Table 3.116).

As to how much were the respondents involved in the 2011 Local Government Elections, 55.1% (846 respondents) of the respondents (53.4% = 439 female and 57.0% = 407 male respondents) were either ‘very involved’ or ‘involved’, with ‘very involved’ composed of more males (12.0% = 86 respondents) than females (9.1% = 75 respondents). 17.3% (266 respondents) of the respondents were not involved at all. Regionally, 71% (273 respondents) of the respondents

from the South were either 'very involved' or 'involved' followed by the East (60% = 230 respondents) region. Proportion of respondents involved in the current LG elections from West and Central were 48% (184 respondents) and 42% (161 respondents) respectively (Tables 3.113 and 3.117). With regard to whether or not respondents would be interested in getting more involved in the future LG elections, 75.4% (1158 respondents) of the respondents (73.0% = 600 female and 78.2% = 558 male respondents) have said 'Yes' with slightly more males than females. However, 27.0% (222 respondents) of female respondents against 21.8% (156 respondents) of males are not interested in participating in the LG elections in future. Interestingly, expression of interest in getting more involved in the future LG elections than at the moment is overwhelming across the region (Table 3.114 and 3.118). 60.0% (922 respondents) of the respondents (57.6% = 473 female and 62.9% = 449 male respondents) would be interested in either 'highly involved' or 'involved', whereas more female respondents (30.4% = 250 respondents) than males (24.4% = 174 respondents) would like to be less involved

in the future LG elections. Regionally, 73% (280 respondents) of the respondents from the South would like to be either 'highly involved' or 'involved' in the future LG elections, followed by 58% (223 respondents) each of the East and West regions, and finally 51% (196 respondents) of the Central region (Tables 3.115 and 3.119).

The above findings indicate that females would, in any case, be less interested in participating in the LG elections, and if by chance, they do, they would like to be less involved than their male counterparts.

### Conclusion 14

In the 2011 LG Elections, fewer females than males have participated at varying degrees. The findings also indicate that fewer females than males would be interested in participating in future local elections. Even though the difference in involvement of males and females may not have had a huge margin, it is significant enough to make a difference.

**Table 3.112 Overall respondents' expression of interest in participating as candidate in the future LG elections** N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Expression of interest in participating as candidate in the future LG elections	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Very Interested	18.0	15.6	20.7
Interested	40.5	40.1	40.9
Slightly interested	18.0	18.2	17.6
Not interested at all	23.6	26.0	20.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 3.113 Extent of respondents' involvement in the current LG elections** N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Involvement in the current LG elections	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Very involved	10.5	9.1	12.0
Involved	44.6	44.3	45.0
Less involved	26.2	27.9	24.2
Not involved at all	17.3	17.4	17.1
Would rather not say	1.5	1.3	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.114 Overall respondents' expression of interest in getting more involved in the political process than at the moment

N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Interest in getting more involved in the political process than at the moment	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Yes	75.4	73.0	78.2
No	24.6	27.0	21.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.115 Expression of the extent of respondents' of interest in getting involved in the political process than at the moment (from Q.49)

N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Extent of interest in getting involved in the political process than at the moment	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Highly involved	15.5	14.0	17.2
Involved	44.5	43.6	45.7
Less involved	27.8	30.8	24.4
Not involved at all	12.2	11.7	12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.116 Regionwise respondents' expression of interest in participating as candidate in the future LG elections

N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Expression of interest in participating as candidate in the future LG elections					
Regions	Very Interested	Interested	Slightly interested	Not interested at all	Total
East	11%	34%	17%	37%	100%
West	29%	26%	17%	28%	100%
South	19%	45%	15%	21%	100%
Central	13%	57%	23%	8%	100%

Table 3.117 Region wise extent of respondents' involvement in the current LG elections

Involvement in the current LG elections						
Region	Very involved	Involved	Less involved	Not involved at all	Would rather not say	Total
East	9%	51%	22%	17%	1%	100%
West	18%	30%	27%	23%	2%	100%
South	11%	60%	14%	13%	2%	100%
Central	4%	38%	42%	15%	1%	100%

Table 3.118 Region-wise respondents' expression of interest in getting more involved in the political process than at the moment

Interest in getting more involved in the political process than at the moment			
Regions	Yes	No	Total
East	70%	30%	100%
West	73%	27%	100%
South	74%	26%	100%
Central	85%	15%	100%

Table 3.119 Expression of the extent of respondents' of interest in getting involved in the political process than at the moment

Extent of interest in getting involved in the political process than at the moment					
Regions	Highly involved	Involved	Less involved	Not involved at all	Total
East	13%	45%	22%	20%	100%
West	24%	34%	27%	16%	100%
South	16%	57%	15%	12%	100%
Central	9%	42%	47%	2%	100%

### 3.14 Perceptions on impact of women's participation in LG

Item 61 in the survey Questionnaire asked: *Would it make a positive difference if women were in the local government?* In this regard, more female respondents (71.7% = 589 respondents) than males (65.3% = 466 respondents) have said that it would make a positive difference. By the same token, more male respondents (34.7% = 248 respondents) than females (28.3% = 233 respondents) have said that it would not make a positive difference (Table 3.120). This indicates that while more males do not have faith in the capacity of the female candidates' participation in

the local government than the females, a sizeable proportion of females have declined to support the capability of the females' participation in the local governance as well. Perhaps this is linked to higher rate of illiteracy amongst the females than males. Dzongkhag wise, 89% (171 respondents) of the respondents from Samtse perceive that women's presence in the local government will make a positive difference, followed by Paro (79% = 162 respondents), Punakha (74% = 142 respondents), and Pemagatshel (73% = 140 respondents); but disagreed by 54% (104 respondents) of the respondents from Zhemgang, followed by 41% (79 respondents) each of Tsirang and Monggar (Table 3.121).

Table 3.120: Overall respondents' perception on the impact if women were in the local governance

N=1536/ Nf =822/ Nm =714

Will make a positive difference if women are in the local government	Overall Percent (%)	Female Percent (%)	Male Percent (%)
Yes	68.7	71.7	65.3
No	31.3	28.3	34.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 3.121 Overall respondents' perception on the impact if women were in the local governance

Will make a positive difference if women are in the local government			
Dzongkhag	Yes	No	Total
Punakha	74%	26%	100%
Paro	79%	21%	100%
Zhemgang	46%	54%	100%
Tsirang	59%	41%	100%
Dagana	69%	31%	100%
Samtse	89%	11%	100%
Monggar	59%	41%	100%
P/gatshel	73%	27%	100%

## **Roles women see themselves playing in their community**

The FGD with women have revealed that while, at the moment, apart from the household activities, women do not play any important role in the community, they do see themselves to be serving in roles of community leaders like *Tshogpas*, participating in community works, in community meetings, etc. In this connection, a woman voter said, “At the moment, we are short of role models, and lack confidence to take up such roles that were previously confined to men. Besides, we also lack the basic education. But with equal opportunities, we would definitely be more responsible and prove that we are equally capable of leading our people.” Furthermore, it was strongly pointed out that with women taking up such big responsibilities, they would not only be able to fulfill the development plans and projects, but more importantly, bring down the level of corruption, ensure that there is better waste management, and that the villages are clean with greenery all around (Box 3.4: Women with a Vision).

## **Men’s perception on women’s position and role in society, and the politics of the community**

From one of the FGDs involving men, it was revealed that Bhutanese men are on the whole affirmative as far as women’s role in local governance is concerned. This may arise from the undeniable truth of women being natural care givers as mothers. Nurturing and educating their children gives them capabilities that cannot be emulated by men. This being their invaluable contribution to their own family more than proves the fact that women can certainly lead society and perhaps manage it better. Besides, because women by nature are peace loving,

men believe that women leaders at the helm of affairs, is a good idea for the community, in the long run. Women would certainly be able to bridge the gap in a rift ridden community, especially in the wake of democracy and the divisions that the parties have created, and ensure that people live in peace and harmony. And with equal opportunities for both men and women as provided under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan and the Election Act of the Kingdom of Bhutan, men feel that it is time for women to shake off their traditional roles, come forward and take up positions to play lead roles within their communities.

## **Conclusion 15**

Overall, it may be concluded that there is a firm belief among both males and females that women’s participation in the local governance can bring about positive impact in their communities. This is a promising beginning.

Women feel at the moment that they are largely constrained by their lack of basic education, confidence and role models. If these shortcomings would be overcome, they are confident that they would be able to prove that they are equally capable of shouldering leadership roles in their communities. With women at the helm of affairs, they believe they would not only be able to fulfill the development plans and programmes for the community, but that they might be more effective, in bringing down the level of corruption, ensuring better waste management and finally, greening of the villages, than men.

Men’s take on women’s participation in local governance is equally sublime. To give them credit, men genuinely believe that women in their role as mothers are natural leaders. “They have been nurturing, educating, and leading their children, the future of the country, for ages anyway. Who better to elect as your community

leader? Besides, their basic care giver's characteristics of love and kindness can work wonders towards bringing peace and harmony in the communities they serve, apart from just leading and better managing the societies than men do."The other major plan she has is to continue with the Ginger Association that she has helped form in the community. She further aims at forming a 'Paddy Association' in her *chiwog*. She hopes that both these associations would help empower women.

### Box 3.4

#### A Woman with a vision

A class seven drop out and a mother of three was all smiles as she sat down for a short interview inside the tent, put up for the voters. Chezom, today is a Tshogpa elect for the Tashicholing *Gewog*, Samtse *Dzongkhag*. At 35 years, Chezom is all gratitude to her supporters, and especially to her husband, who had stood behind her to clinch the victory. "People had full support in me and I hope to be a reliable bridge between my *chiwog* and the *gewog*, and I hope to solve problems to build a brighter future for them," she said with a jubilant smile.

She is aware that the responsibility to shoulder is quite a big task, and that she will have to balance her time between her work and her home. While she feels that the first local governance elections did not see many women contenders coming forward despite the equal opportunities, she is confident that the next round of elections would certainly draw a large response from the women folk. "I hope by then, women would gain more confidence and shed off the fears that inhibits them from participation. Hopefully, they would look up to us as role models."

A class seven drop out who could not land a job anywhere has some realistic dreams up her sleeve. One thing that's foremost in her mind is to create a small rehabilitation centre in her *chiwog* to rehabilitate the *Adhivasi* men whose drunkenness has been a major source of women battering issues besides being a social menace.

The other major plan she has is to continue with the Ginger Association that she has helped form in the community. She further aims at forming a 'Paddy Association' in her *chiwog*. She hopes that both these associations would help empower women.



### Double or triple burden

1. Both women and men acknowledged the potential of women to participate in public life, not only as voters but also as elected local government representatives such as *Tshogpas*, *Mangmis* and *Gups*. However, women's participation in public life is constrained by their traditional functional roles as housewives and mothers, and more often than not, the need to generate income as well. Thus, faced with this double or even triple burden, they have less time and energy to partake in public life than men, who often have only one task, generating income. This discourages and prevents women from engaging in politics.

**Recommendations:** Clearly, the way to enable women to find a balance between family and public life is to relieve them of their large workload.

A significant step that can be taken is establishing day care centers in the communities. One such initiative has already been started by the Tarayana Foundation, which has set up six day-care centers in the rural areas, called *Bu-Zip* Units. However, extension of this programme to the rest of the country is constrained by lack of funds. The government and development partners should commit to providing financial support to the Tarayana Foundation or other NGOs undertaking the same, in order to really scale-up the provision of day care facilities and services. Apart from bringing relief to overburdened mothers, well-run day-care centers are also known to help

children acquire useful social skills.

Community-based gender sensitivity programmes for men and boys may be introduced in order to encourage them to take an active part in childcare development that will enhance good qualities, such as kindness and patience, and experience the real joy of parenthood. The workload of women is also related to the lack of modern and time-saving amenities.

### Attitudes and stereotypes

2. In a society where gender stereotypes and attitudes run deep, women are portrayed as less capable than men. This is accepted by a large majority of women themselves. It also leads to women having lower expectations of themselves, of their leadership capability and their role in politics. This low self-esteem is derived from the pervasive belief in society that leadership and politics are purely masculine activities.

While definitely more men hold such views than women, it is significant to note that women also share the misplaced gender beliefs that persist in society. Without effective interventions in place, such persistent views can make it very difficult for women to participate in public life.

### Patriarchal values

3. From the findings, it may be concluded that certain subtle and subdued forms of patriarchal values do exist in the Bhutanese society, evident through certain traditional

values that are patriarchal in nature. Findings from the FGDs further confirm its existence, some, in fact, in dominant ways. Such values could potentially bar women from participating in public spaces.

### Self-image and self-esteem

4. Bhutanese women may generally suffer from low self-esteem and poor self-image, which may find its origins in illiteracy or lower levels of education and training, society's attitude and stereotypes on women, and existence of patriarchal values. Collectively, this may have contributed to women's lack of experience with working in public spaces and hence, and their general lack of confidence in their own potential. This is a significant barrier to their participation in local governance.

**Recommendations:** There is need for sustained gender awareness and advocacy programmes that target the gewogs and villages in particular, by extensively using both broadcast and print media. It may also be made mandatory for both men and women to participate together in these programmes, which should include educating men on changing their stereotype views of women, value systems and practices that are patriarchal in nature. A programme to improve the self-image and self-esteem of women, particularly in the villages, could be instituted, which could be conducted along with the gender sensitization and awareness and advocacy programme. This can also be tied in with the non-formal education programme. The learning materials of NFE (Non Formal Education) need a more pertinent assessment in terms of the content and development of skills required for qualifying the FLT, especially for aspiring

women candidates with NFE (Non-Formal Education) backgrounds.

### Decision-making: household and personal

5. The findings indicate that Bhutanese women are generally perceived as 'passive participants' in decision-making, whether at home, in the village/community or at the *gewog* level. This is illustrated by certain persistent stereotyped derogatory expressions such as "*Don't talk like 'Aum-Tshu Morem*," literally meaning "Don't talk like a useless women." There is also a significant general perception that Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics. Angela- 'of' is used for 'deprived of', denied a....is fine - SD By and large, household decisions in the Bhutanese society are taken in a pleasantly democratic manner, in most cases involving both female and male members of the family. However, where the oldest member of the family may have more say on religious matters and on sale of family properties, male members of the family may have more say in decisions concerning politics. Moreover, female members' roles may be limited to taking minor household decisions, the major household decisions being left to the male members of the house. This indicates the existence of certain subdued subtle 'patriarchal values', even though no dominance either by 'patriarchal' or 'matriarchal' values has been evident. However, majority of household decisions are taken by male members, particularly, those that are political in nature, or have to do with the sale of family properties. On the other hand, more female members may have a high degree of say in decisions concerning household expenditures in particular.

**Recommendation:** The gender sensitization and awareness and advocacy programme proposed in recommendation (2) above could include aspects of gender differences in decision-making, as well as advocating the importance of including women in decision-making processes in household and personal matters. Through the NFE programme, women can be helped to acquire skills on taking decisions.

### Decision-making: community level

6. The findings indicate that community decisions are generally arrived at by local governance position holders (*Gups, Mangmis* and *Tshogpas*), in consultation with the community members. This often involves more males than females, as well as elderly members of the community. Some members of the community, more often females than males, may not be involved at all. Even those who are involved have lesser influence in the decision-making processes in their communities. Consequently, it is likely that important community issues that are more specific to women and children are left out of the agenda, and at best, addressed very poorly. However, the fact that a large proportion of women (even though significantly less than men) are interested in involving themselves in the decision-making process in their communities, is a positive sign.

**Recommendation:** A programme of capacity building at the grassroots level may need to be initiated, or enhanced if one already exists, particularly targeted towards rural communities. This programme should address at least two things: 1) provide leadership and management training to the local governance position holders on how they might involve community members,

particularly women, in making community level decisions; and (2) to give equal opportunities to those women community members who are genuinely interested in involving themselves in community decision-making processes. These women need to be taken more seriously than the male community members have been prepared to do, so far. Local community leaders have a major role to play in changing this scenario.

Furthermore, it should be made mandatory to have a proportional representation of women attending public meetings at all levels so that women are suitably exposed to and engaged in the community decision-making process.

### Socio-economic barriers

7. Overall, while about forty percent of the Bhutanese women may have the economic capacity to participate in public spaces, the rest may encounter socio-economic and cultural barriers in doing so.

From the findings, it may be concluded that land and property inheritance allowance in Bhutan falls into three distinct traditions – ‘all family members’ (about sixty percent), ‘male family members only’ (about thirty percent; *patrilineal*), and ‘female family members only’ (about ten percent; *matrilineal*). This indicates that in about one-third of the Bhutanese society, women don’t inherit land and property, a fact that severely disadvantages them in society. Furthermore, the findings indicate that a large proportion of women may be dependent on men for financial matters and so may lack access to and benefits derived from financial and other resources.

Therefore, it may be concluded that women face greater socio-economic challenges than

their male counterparts, with the result that they are restricted in participating in public life, including politics. However, this is seen as being a lesser barrier as compared to other constraining factors.

### Election system and processes

8. Overall, it seems that Bhutan has an election system that is fairly adequate. In fact, the fairness of the electoral process at the local governance level is commendable. However, the concerned agencies don't seem to have addressed the question, whether or not the election system and processes have inbuilt mechanisms to motivate women's participation in local elections.

In addition, while the electoral legislation, system and processes reportedly do not pose major difficulties for women voters or candidates, there are certain issues in the election system that cause concern. These are the principles of one candidate per constituency and 'winner takes it all'. Studies have shown worldwide that in such a system, political parties put forward the most eligible candidates. These are not necessarily women candidates and hence, most often, women do not get elected. Given this scenario, there is a strong desire among Bhutan's electorate for a proportional representation of women in the local governance, even though it means going through a system of quotas and/or seat reservations.

**Recommendation:** The following two sets of recommendations are made:

- a. NCWC, in collaboration with the ECB, needs to find out the:
  - existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women;

- existence of gender-sensitive budgeting by the ECB; and
- whether or not Local Election Commission Boards have been sensitized on gender sensitivities and issues.

b. Electoral Quotas.<sup>1</sup> It is recommended that a mixed quota system be followed as under:

#### **Candidate quotas:**

*Local governance elections:* a candidate quota of, say, a minimum of 20% or 30%, and a maximum of 80% or 70% for either sex can be legislated for all positions i.e. *Gups*, *Mangmis* and *Tshogpas* for local governance. This would mean that the list of candidates, separately for *Gups* and *Mangmis*, must fulfill the above overall minimum and maximum at the *dzongkhag* level. Similarly, the same criteria will apply for *Tshogpa* candidates at the *gewog* level.

*Parliamentary elections:* Similarly, candidate quotas to the parliamentary elections can be instituted, and operated through the political parties. By this move, political parties can be mandated to file in their party candidates for elections on the basis of, say, a minimum of 20% or 30% and a maximum of 80% or 70% for either sex.

#### **Reserved seats:**

*Local governance:* depending on the size of *dzongkhags* and *gewogs*, a certain number of seats can be reserved for women, operated on a rotational basis. To explain more fully, the 'reserved seats' for the positions of *Gups* and *Mangmis* shall be rotated amongst the *gewogs* within

the *dzongkhag*, and women from a particular *gewog* would compete with other women candidates from another *gewog*. Similar concept and operation would apply for *Tshogpa* ‘reserved seats’.

*Parliamentary elections:* similar to the local governance, the ECB can determine a certain number of reserved seats for the disadvantaged sex, and operate on rotational basis – for National Council members rotated amongst the twenty *dzongkhags*, and for the National Assembly members amongst the constituencies.

### Education and training

9. From the findings, it may be concluded that lack of education and training had a major adverse impact on the aspiring candidates, particularly on women’s participation in the local government elections.

Literacy rates for women in Bhutan are 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas, against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men (PHCB, 2005).<sup>2</sup>The overall adult (15 years+) literacy rate in Bhutan is 53% (as of 2005), for men 65% and for women only 39%.<sup>3</sup>The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents discussed under section 3.1.2 are similar. They showed that 51.7% (425 respondents) of the female respondents are illiterate against 45.5% (325 respondents) of the males.

Again, as shown under section 3.1.2, another thirty percent of the respondents had only non-formal education (14.5% = 223 respondents) or primary or lower secondary education backgrounds (15.5% = 238 respondents). Evidently, besides illiteracy, lower educational levels have been another major barrier to women’s

participation in local governance.

It may also be concluded that many women may be encouraged to join the local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women is arranged on a sustained basis.

#### Recommendations:

- a) The Ministry of Education can encourage *dzongkhags* to pursue the promotion of non-formal education programmes with greater vigor than at present, including improving the completion rates of Post Literacy Courses, as well as ensuring progress in the establishment of community learning centres.
- b) Institute compulsory education up to the tenth grade. This will not only go a long way in ensuring that girls are not bereft of education, but will also make adolescents more productive. Apart from this, compulsory education would provide the basis for a decent income in future, for girls living in rural communities.
- c) Institute a system that provides political leadership trainings to interested women on a sustained basis. This system can also include a programme on ‘mentoring and coaching’ of elected women candidates that can be initiated by DLG. DLG can further initiate a programme on ‘networking of women leaders’ to enable women leaders to support, help and advice one another, besides sharing ideas and exchanging problems to find solutions.

### Functional language skills or the FLT

10. The findings indicate that the requirement of passing the Functional Language Tests (FLT) for aspiring candidates of the Local Government Elections 2011, has posed some difficulties, especially for aspiring

women candidates. This was largely because fewer women are literate than men (see recommendation 9). This has led to women lacking the confidence to participate in the FLT, a prerequisite to contest as a prospective candidate.

Furthermore, women who are functionally literate, having acquired their literacy skills by following an NFE programme, are at a disadvantage if aspiring for local governance jobs. This is because the FLT requirements are beyond the language skills developed through the NFE programme. Since more women participate in the NFE programme than men across the country, it is obvious that more women candidates will face this problem than their male counterparts, in future.

Consequently, a significant proportion of respondents felt that the standard of FLT was unnecessarily high, and that functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme should have sufficed for the purpose. However, following discussion with the ECB officials, it was understood that the standard of the FLT was equivalent to an expected level as prepared by the NFE programme, a standard that is considered basic for functional language competency. Further, it is argued that high school graduates, particularly those who have studied many years in Bhutan would have sufficient levels of Dzongkha competency for them to be able to take on leadership positions in local governance. After all, their competencies in Dzongkha have been tested and certified by professional and responsible government approved agencies. Therefore, it seems that requiring high school graduates to pass the FLT as a condition for participation in local politics is unnecessary and redundant. However, the participants in the consultative meetings

and FDGs strongly argued in favour of retaining the current practice of requiring high school graduates to have to take FLT as a condition for participation in local politics.

**Recommendation:** The NFE programme, particularly the post-literacy programme, is designed to develop functional language skills in the learners. Therefore, a review of the standard requirement of the FLT should be done, in light of language skills expected to be developed from following a programme of non-formal education. This exercise should tell whether the FLT standard requirement is equivalent to the expected learning outcome of the Post Literacy Course (PLC) within the non-formal education programme. If found necessary, follow-up action can be taken..

### Enabling environment for women's empowerment

11. There are indications of a general increase in awareness on gender equality and equity among the *dzongkhag* and *gewog* functionaries, and also that women's empowerment is finding its way into the GNH Index. However, not having explored the deeper levels of such inequalities, this may still require greater attention and more planning.

Also, to provide a sense of security to women candidates in the LG elections, adequate arrangements need to be made.. Additionally, there are indications of there being no effective, gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes besides the lack of a gender-responsive enabling environment.

Similarly, there are indications that more can be done to facilitate and protect women in political participation, such as: awareness raising of the elected members on their

rights and responsibilities; assurance of adequate support from the constituency; gender sensitization of the elected male members; provisions to prevent violence against women who contest elections and those elected to political posts; and providing training and information on governance and decision making.

Further, as the study reveals that female role modeling may seem to have a positive effect on women's participation in politics and decision-making, it is advisable to provide support to (and documentation of) female leaders at all levels.

**Recommendation:** In addition to 8 (a) above, attention is required from the DLG on the following:

- a) Raising awareness among the elected members of their rights and responsibilities; insure existence of adequate support from the constituency, particularly for women; sensitize elected male members on gender issues; make provisions to protect women who contest elections and those elected to political posts; and provide training on governance for elected female local position holders.
- b) Supporting the current elected female local position holders in achieving the developmental targets (or fulfilling community expectations) so that they become role models.

### Factors constraining women's participation in 2011 LG elections: prioritized

12. The findings indicate ten factors that constrain women's participation in the elections. The following five factors are considered to be the most important ones, in order of decreasing importance:

- 'Education and training'

- 'Functional language skills'
- 'Decision-making'
- 'Self-image and self-esteem'
- 'Double or triple burden'

This finding contradicts the popular belief that it is mainly the women's 'Double or triple burden' that keeps them away from public spaces. 'Education and training' tops the list, followed by three other factors that are all associated with this. Education and training affects functional language skills, decision-making capacity, and self-image and self-esteem.

This finding squarely points at the adult literacy levels in the country. It is common knowledge that fewer women are literate than men. Literacy rates for women are 60% in urban and 29% in rural areas, against 80% in urban and 57% in rural areas for men (PHCB, 2005).<sup>4</sup>The overall adult (15 years+) literacy rate in Bhutan is 53% (as of 2005), for men 65% and for women only 39%.<sup>5</sup>The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents discussed under section 3.1.2 are similar. They showed that 51.7% (425 respondents) of the female respondents are illiterate against 45.5% (325 respondents) of the males.

Further, even respondents who are considered literate with non-formal education backgrounds (14.5% = 223 respondents) and those respondents who have primary or lower secondary education backgrounds (15.5% = 238 respondents) would have faced difficulties with the FLT requirement, the standard of which is unnecessarily high. So it is quite evident that besides illiteracy, a lower educational level has been another major barrier to women's participation in local governance. Also, functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme should have sufficed for the purpose.

In view of the above, for the moment, 'Education and training' is the overriding factor that is a barrier to women's participation in the local governance. However, 'Double or triple burden' of women remains an important limiting factor, and can be expected to come to the forefront once the 'Education and training' issues are leveled.

This does not mean that the remaining five out of the ten identified factors are no longer constraining women's participation in local governance. The remaining five constraining factors, in a decreasing order, are 'Socio-economic barriers,' 'Attitudes and stereotypes', 'Enabling environment for women's empowerment,' 'Patriarchal values', and the 'Election system and processes'. These remain significant factors that cannot be brushed aside.

**Recommendation:** In view of the fact that 'Education and training' is by far the single most constraining factor in women's participation in the local governance, the recommendations 9(a), (b) and (c) provided above are stressed here again.

### Interest and involvement in local governance

13. In the 2011 LG Elections, fewer women than men have participated at varying degrees. In addition, the findings show that there is a small, but significant, difference in general involvement of women and men with elections. Therefore, less women may be expected to participate in future (local) elections than men.

### Impact of women's participation in local governance: perceptions

14. Overall, it may be concluded that there is a firm belief among both males and females

that women's participation in the local governance can bring about positive impact in their communities. This is promising.

Women feel at the moment that they are largely constrained by their lack of basic education, confidence and role models. If these shortcomings are overcome, women are confident that they would be equally capable of shouldering leadership roles in their communities. If they are at the helm of affairs, women believe they would not only be able to fulfill the development plans and programmes for the community, but be more effective in bringing down the level of corruption. Also, women would be able to ensure better waste management and greening of the villages, for a healthier future for children.

Men's take on women's participation in local governance is equally inspiring. To give them credit, men do believe that women as mothers have been nurturers and educators of their children for ages and in the process have gained experiences that give them a distinct edge over men.

**Recommendation:** Gender equality and equity, are two imperatives to incorporate at the local governance level. Issues related to women's political empowerment need to be given top priority by the government at a policy-making level, and society at a more culturally conscious level.



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# ANNEXURES



TASHICHHODZONG  
THIMPHU, BHUTAN

རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཚེན་མོའི་ཚོགས་དཔོན་སློ་ཡངས་ལྟུ་ དོན་འབྲས་ དེ་ནི་  
ང་བཅས་རའི་ དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་ནང་ གནད་དོན་ག་ཅིའི་ནང་འབད་རུང་ མོ་མོའི་  
བར་ན་ཉེ་རིང་ཕྱི་ནི་མེད་པར་ རང་སོའི་རྩོགས་གྲུབ་དང་བལྟན་པའི་ གོ་སྐབས་འདྲ་མཉམ་འབད་ཡོད་པ་  
ལས་ མོ་མོ་དེ་བུ་བའི་བྱ་སྐབས་མ་བདེམ་གང་ཡང་མེད།

དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་ སྤྱི་མི་འཇུ་ཐངས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་སྲིམས་ནང་ མོ་མོའི་  
ལྷན་པར་མེད་པར་ འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཁ་འོག་གི་མི་མེར་རང་སོའི་སློ་འབབ་དང་འབྲིལ་ཉེ་ མོ་མོ་གང་རུང་ཅིག་  
འོང་རའི་སྤྱི་མི་འབད་ བཅག་འཇུ་འབད་ཚོགས་འབད་ཡོད་པའི་ཁར་ ཁ་འོག་མང་ཤོས་ཀྱི་ནང་ སྤྱི་མི་  
བཅག་འཇུའི་ འཛོམས་འདུ་རྒྱབ་མི་མང་ཤོས་རང་ ཨམ་སྤུ་ཐོན་དོ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཚད་ ང་བཅས་རའི་  
འབྲུག་གི་མི་རྫོབས་ལས་བརྒྱ་ཚེ་ ༧༨ དེ་ཅིག་ཨམ་སྤུ་ཡིན་རུང་ ད་ཚུན་ཨམ་སྤུའི་འོངས་ལས་ སྤྱི་མིའི་  
མི་ངོའི་འགྲན་བལྟར་ནང་སྤུ་ དང་འདོད་སྤྱོད་མི་ དེ་གཉིས་དེ་མ་གཏོགས་ ཐོན་མི་མེད་པ་ལས་ ད་རེས་  
རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་སྤྱི་མིའི་གྲས་སྤུ་ ཨམ་སྤུ་གསུམ་མ་གཏོགས་མིན་འདུག།

ཚོན་འདུའི་སྤྱི་མི་འཇུ་ཐངས་ཀྱི་ བཅའ་སྲིམས་དང་འབྲིལ་པ་ད་ ཁ་འོག་མོ་མོའི་སྤྱི་མི་ཚུ་  
འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་མེར་འོང་རའི་སློ་འབབ་དང་འབྲིལ་ཉེ་ བཅག་འཇུ་འབད་ནི་མ་གཏོགས་ གཞུང་དང་  
རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་ཡིག་ཚང་ལས་ མོ་མོའི་བར་ན་གདམ་ཁའི་དེ་བུ་བའི་མེད་པ་མ་ཚད་ སྤྱི་མིའི་མི་ངོ་  
ཡང་ འདི་དང་འདི་ བཅག་འཇུ་འབད་ཟེར་བའི་ གྲོས་བལྟན་ཅམ་ཡང་བཞེད་སྤོལ་མེད།



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ལང་ཡོད་ཚོགས་ཐེངས་ ༧༧ པ་ཚོགས་རན་ལུ་ མི་མེར་གྱི་མི་ ༢༤ གྱི་དུས་ལྟན་ཚང་རྗེ་  
གྱི་མི་གསར་པ་ བཙག་འཇུ་འབད་ནི་ཡིན་མ་ལས། མ་གཞི་གོང་གསལ་བཞིན་ འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ལ་འོག་གི་  
མི་མེར་རང་སོའི་སྲོ་འདོད་ཁོ་ན་དང་འབྲེལ་ཏེ་ ཁོང་རའི་གྱི་མི་བཙག་འཇུ་འབད་དགོས་པ་ཡིན་རུང་  
གྱི་མིར་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐོབ་མི་འཐོབ་དེ་ རང་སོལ་ཐོབ་མི་ཚོགས་རྒྱན་གྱི་གྲངས་ཚད་ལུ་ རག་ལས་ནི་ཡིན་མ་ལས་  
བཙའ་བྲིམས་དང་འབྲེལ་ཏེ་ རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལུ་ལ་ཞེན་དང་ མི་མེར་གྱི་རན་བཟེ་ལུ་ འབད་བཙོན་བསྐྱེད་དེ་  
རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་འདུའི་ནང་ མི་མེར་ཁོང་རའི་འཇུས་མི་འབད་ འཛོན་སྐབས་ལྟན་ཏོག་ཏོ་འབད་  
ཕྱག་ཕྱིད་ལུ་ཚོགས་མི་ ལམ་སྐྱེད་གིས་ རང་སོའི་ལ་འོག་གི་ གྱི་མི་བཙག་འཇུའི་འགྲན་བསྐྱར་གྱི་ མི་ངོའི་  
གྲལ་ལུ་འཇོལ་ནི་འི་ ལམས་ཤུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཐབས་བསྐྱིག་ར་ལུ་ འགལ་བ་མེད་པ་འབད་ རྫོང་ཁག་ཉི་  
ལཱའི་མེད་འོག་དང་ རྫོང་ཁག་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་གི་ འཇུས་མི་ཚུ་ལུ་ དྲན་གསོ་འབད་དགོས་པའི་  
སྲོ་མངའ་འཚལ། ཞེས་རང་ལུགས་གནམ་པོ་ས་སྐྱབས་ལྷོ་ཚལ་ ༢༤ ལུ།

*forwang chu ch.*  
འབྲུག་མངའ་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོ།

## Annex-2: RCSC info by Ex and ES

Sl. No	P-level/ Grade	Employment trends in Civil Service by post, sex and year																							
		2011 (as of 30th June)			2010			2009			2008			2007			2006			2005					
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total			
1	EX1/01	25	1	26	25	1	26	22	2	24	22	2	24	26	3	29	16	1	17	13	1	14			
2	EX2/02	28	0	28	27	0	27	23	0	23	23	0	23	17	0	17	30	1	31	30	1	31			
3	EX3/03	121	5	126	115	5	120	132	9	141	132	9	141	135	6	141	67	4	71	63	4	67			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>112</b>			
4	ES1/01	3	0	3	4	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0									
5	ES2/02	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	0	5	7	0	7	6	0	6									
6	ES3/03	75	8	83	71	7	78	56	6	62	42	6	48	34	7	41									
	<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>			
7	P1/04	385	58	443	384	54	438	390	47	437	362	42	404	353	45	398	236	25	261	218	27	245			
8	P2/05	553	142	695	521	127	648	413	91	504	361	67	428	374	63	437	336	43	379	339	39	378			
9	P3/06	1413	444	1857	1367	420	1787	1293	389	1682	1318	338	1656	1170	269	1439	603	117	720	551	102	653			
10	P4/07	1919	949	2868	1725	782	2507	1627	666	2293	1402	570	1972	1328	518	1846	1396	514	1910	1265	472	1737			
11	P5/08	3757	2124	5881	3656	2069	5725	3431	2003	5434	3228	1904	5132	3032	1787	4819	2083	904	2987	1855	709	2564			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8027</b>	<b>3717</b>	<b>11744</b>	<b>7653</b>	<b>3452</b>	<b>11105</b>	<b>7154</b>	<b>3196</b>	<b>10350</b>	<b>6671</b>	<b>2921</b>	<b>9592</b>	<b>6257</b>	<b>2682</b>	<b>8939</b>	<b>4654</b>	<b>1603</b>	<b>6257</b>	<b>4228</b>	<b>1349</b>	<b>5577</b>			
12	S1/09	1288	471	1759	1272	468	1740	1144	381	1525	1056	318	1374	902	227	1129	1478	669	2147	1358	636	1994			
13	S2/10	1568	720	2288	1559	713	2272	1529	653	2182	1494	595	2089	1425	534	1959	1751	731	2482	1693	733	2426			
14	S3/11	1033	465	1498	1034	463	1497	1049	437	1486	1215	438	1653	1217	453	1670	649	344	993	603	309	912			
15	S4/12	934	471	1405	932	467	1399	825	429	1254	682	403	1085	651	364	1015	804	363	1167	748	323	1071			
16	S5/13	1097	1035	2132	1134	1052	2186	1113	1001	2114	993	821	1814	1072	853	1925	991	558	1549	885	471	1356			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5920</b>	<b>3162</b>	<b>9082</b>	<b>5931</b>	<b>3163</b>	<b>9094</b>	<b>5660</b>	<b>2901</b>	<b>8561</b>	<b>5440</b>	<b>2575</b>	<b>8015</b>	<b>5267</b>	<b>2431</b>	<b>7698</b>	<b>5673</b>	<b>2665</b>	<b>8338</b>	<b>5287</b>	<b>2472</b>	<b>7759</b>			
17	O1/14	377	293	670	362	285	647	333	254	587	341	233	574	311	211	522	775	474	1249	799	458	1257			
18	O2/15	400	32	432	396	44	440	356	66	422	389	86	475	384	105	489	638	405	1043	664	401	1065			
19	O3/16	382	59	441	400	57	457	408	49	457	407	39	446	364	36	400	481	85	566	450	99	549			
20	O4/17	476	45	521	459	41	500	429	38	467	483	20	503	507	18	525	758	19	777	756	15	771			
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1635</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>2064</b>	<b>1617</b>	<b>427</b>	<b>2044</b>	<b>1526</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1620</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1566</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>1936</b>	<b>2652</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>3635</b>	<b>2669</b>	<b>973</b>	<b>3642</b>			
<b>Total</b>		<b>15838</b>	<b>7323</b>	<b>23161</b>	<b>15447</b>	<b>7056</b>	<b>22503</b>	<b>14580</b>	<b>6518</b>	<b>21098</b>	<b>13957</b>	<b>5891</b>	<b>19848</b>	<b>13308</b>	<b>5499</b>	<b>18807</b>	<b>13092</b>	<b>5257</b>	<b>18349</b>	<b>12290</b>	<b>4800</b>	<b>17090</b>			

Employment trends in Civil Service by post, sex and year

Sl. No	P-level/ Grade	2011 (as of 30th June)			2010			2009			2008			2007			2006			2005		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1	EX1/01	25	1	26	25	1	26	22	2	24	22	2	24	26	3	29	16	1	17	13	1	14
2	EX2/02	28	0	28	27	0	27	23	0	23	23	0	23	17	0	17	30	1	31	30	1	31
3	EX3/03	121	5	126	115	5	120	126	7	133	132	9	141	135	6	141	67	4	71	63	4	67
	<b>Total</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>185</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>112</b>
	<b>Percent</b>	<b>96.67</b>	<b>3.33</b>		<b>96.53</b>	<b>3.47</b>		<b>95.68</b>	<b>4.32</b>		<b>94.15</b>	<b>5.85</b>		<b>95.19</b>	<b>4.81</b>		<b>94.96</b>	<b>5.04</b>		<b>94.64</b>	<b>5.36</b>	
4	ES1/01	3	0	3	4	0	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
5	ES2/02	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	0	5	7	0	7	6	0	6	6					
6	ES3/03	75	8	83	71	7	78	56	6	62	42	6	48	34	7	41	34					
	<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	<b>Percent</b>	<b>90.11</b>	<b>9.89</b>		<b>90.80</b>	<b>9.20</b>		<b>91.30</b>	<b>8.70</b>		<b>89.09</b>	<b>10.91</b>		<b>85.11</b>	<b>14.89</b>							
7	P1/04	385	58	443	384	54	438	390	47	437	362	42	404	353	45	398	236	25	261	218	27	245
8	P2/05	553	142	695	521	127	648	413	91	504	361	67	428	374	63	437	336	43	379	339	39	378
9	P3/06	1413	444	1857	1367	420	1787	1293	389	1682	1318	338	1656	1170	269	1439	603	117	720	551	102	653
10	P4/07	1919	949	2868	1725	782	2507	1627	666	2293	1402	570	1972	1328	518	1846	1396	514	1910	1265	472	1737
11	P5/08	3757	2124	5881	3656	2069	5725	3431	2003	5434	3228	1904	5132	3032	1787	4819	2083	904	2987	1855	709	2564
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8027</b>	<b>3717</b>	<b>11744</b>	<b>7653</b>	<b>3452</b>	<b>11105</b>	<b>7154</b>	<b>3196</b>	<b>10350</b>	<b>6671</b>	<b>2921</b>	<b>9592</b>	<b>6257</b>	<b>2682</b>	<b>8939</b>	<b>4654</b>	<b>1603</b>	<b>6257</b>	<b>4228</b>	<b>1349</b>	<b>5577</b>
	<b>Percent</b>	<b>68.35</b>	<b>31.65</b>		<b>68.91</b>	<b>31.09</b>		<b>69.12</b>	<b>30.88</b>		<b>69.55</b>	<b>30.45</b>		<b>70.00</b>	<b>30.00</b>		<b>74.38</b>	<b>25.62</b>		<b>75.81</b>	<b>24.19</b>	
12	S1/09	1288	471	1759	1272	468	1740	1144	381	1525	1056	318	1374	902	227	1129	1478	669	2147	1358	636	1994
13	S2/10	1568	720	2288	1559	713	2272	1529	653	2182	1494	595	2089	1425	534	1959	1751	731	2482	1693	733	2426
14	S3/11	1033	465	1498	1034	463	1497	1049	437	1486	1215	438	1653	1217	453	1670	649	344	993	603	309	912
15	S4/12	934	471	1405	932	467	1399	825	429	1254	682	403	1085	651	364	1015	804	363	1167	748	323	1071
16	S5/13	1097	1035	2132	1134	1052	2186	1113	1001	2114	993	821	1814	1072	853	1925	991	558	1549	885	471	1356
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5920</b>	<b>3162</b>	<b>9082</b>	<b>5931</b>	<b>3163</b>	<b>9094</b>	<b>5660</b>	<b>2901</b>	<b>8561</b>	<b>5440</b>	<b>2575</b>	<b>8015</b>	<b>5267</b>	<b>2431</b>	<b>7698</b>	<b>5673</b>	<b>2665</b>	<b>8338</b>	<b>5287</b>	<b>2472</b>	<b>7759</b>
	<b>Percent</b>	<b>65.18</b>	<b>34.82</b>		<b>65.22</b>	<b>34.78</b>		<b>66.11</b>	<b>33.89</b>		<b>67.87</b>	<b>32.13</b>		<b>68.42</b>	<b>31.58</b>		<b>68.04</b>	<b>31.96</b>		<b>68.14</b>	<b>31.86</b>	
17	O1/14	377	293	670	362	285	647	333	254	587	341	233	574	311	211	522	775	474	1249	799	458	1257
18	O2/15	400	32	432	396	44	440	356	66	422	389	86	475	384	105	489	638	405	1043	664	401	1065
19	O3/16	382	59	441	400	57	457	408	49	457	407	39	446	364	36	400	481	85	566	450	99	549
20	O4/17	476	45	521	459	41	500	429	38	467	483	20	503	507	18	525	758	19	777	756	15	771
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1635</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>2064</b>	<b>1617</b>	<b>427</b>	<b>2044</b>	<b>1526</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>1620</b>	<b>378</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1566</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>1936</b>	<b>2652</b>	<b>983</b>	<b>3635</b>	<b>2669</b>	<b>973</b>	<b>3642</b>
	<b>Percent</b>	<b>79.22</b>	<b>20.78</b>		<b>79.11</b>	<b>20.89</b>		<b>78.94</b>	<b>21.06</b>		<b>81.08</b>	<b>18.92</b>		<b>80.89</b>	<b>19.11</b>		<b>72.96</b>	<b>27.04</b>		<b>73.28</b>	<b>26.72</b>	
<b>Total</b>		<b>15838</b>	<b>7323</b>	<b>23161</b>	<b>15447</b>	<b>7056</b>	<b>22503</b>	<b>14580</b>	<b>6518</b>	<b>21098</b>	<b>13957</b>	<b>5891</b>	<b>19848</b>	<b>13308</b>	<b>5499</b>	<b>18807</b>	<b>13092</b>	<b>5257</b>	<b>18349</b>	<b>12290</b>	<b>4800</b>	<b>17090</b>
<b>Percent</b>		<b>68.38</b>	<b>31.62</b>		<b>68.64</b>	<b>31.36</b>		<b>69.11</b>	<b>30.89</b>		<b>70.32</b>	<b>29.68</b>		<b>70.76</b>	<b>29.24</b>		<b>71.35</b>	<b>28.65</b>		<b>71.91</b>	<b>28.09</b>	

### Annex-3: Consolidated LG election details provided by ECB on July 12, 2011

Summary of male and female (Gup) elected candidates for the local government elections 2011 in the 20 dzongkhags

Sl. No	Dzongkhag	Total contested Gup		Total	Total elected Gup		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1	Bumthang	11	0	11	4	0	4
2	Chhukha	25	2	27	10	0	10
3	Dagana	37	3	40	13	1	14
4	Gasa	9	0	9	4	0	4
5	Haa	13	1	14	6	0	6
6	Lhuntse	23	0	23	8	0	8
7	Mongar	45	0	45	16	0	16
8	Paro	28	0	28	10	0	10
9	Pema Gatshel	24	1	25	11	0	11
10	Punakha	30	1	31	10	0	10
11	Samdrup Jongkhar	32	2	34	11	0	11
12	Samtse	49	0	49	15	0	15
13	Sarpang	35	0	35	12	0	12
14	Thimphu	13	3	16	8	0	8
15	Trashigang	45	2	47	15	0	15
16	Trashy Yangtse	22	1	23	8	0	8
17	Trongsa	13	0	13	5	0	5
18	Tsirang	38	3	41	12	0	12
19	Wangdue Phodrang	41	2	43	15	0	15
20	Zhemgang	23	1	24	8	0	8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>556</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>578</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>202</b>

Sl. No	Dzongkhag	Total contested Mangmi		Total	Total Elected mangmi		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1	Bumthang	8	1	9	3	1	4
2	Chhukha	25	4	29	9	2	11
3	Dagana	35	6	41	14	0	14
4	Gasa	9	1	10	3	0	3
5	Haa	20	1	21	6	0	6
6	Lhuntse	21	4	25	7	1	8
7	Mongar	49	3	52	15	2	17
8	Paro	24	7	31	7	3	10
9	Pema Gatshel	20	1	21	10	1	11
10	Punakha	34	1	35	11	0	11
11	Samdrup Jongkhar	30	1	31	10	1	11
12	Samtse	41	1	42	15	0	15
13	Sarpang	35	1	36	12	0	12
14	Thimphu	20	2	22	8	0	8
15	Trashigang	38	1	39	15	0	15
16	Trashy Yangtse	20	0	20	8	0	8
17	Trongsa	17	1	18	5	0	5
18	Tsirang	33	2	35	11	1	12
19	Wangdue Phodrang	41	4	45	15	0	15
20	Zhemgang	22	0	22	8	0	8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>542</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>584</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>204</b>

*Summary of male and female (Gewog Tshogpa) elected Candidates for the local government elections 2011 In the 20 dzongkhags*

Sl. No	Dzongkhag	Total contested Gewog Tshogpa		Total	Total Elected Gewog Tshogpa		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1	Bumthang	24	0	24	17	0	17
2	Chhukha	56	3	59	30	1	31
3	Dagana	59	2	61	44	2	46
4	Gasa	10	1	11	10	1	11
5	Haa	34	1	35	25	0	25
6	Lhuntse	28	2	30	22	0	22
7	Mongar	47	8	55	37	5	42
8	Paro	37	7	44	29	5	34
9	Pema Gatshel	40	6	46	29	6	35
10	Punakha	39	7	46	31	6	37
11	Samdrup Jongkhar	51	2	53	39	2	41
12	Samtse	71	15	86	34	9	43
13	Sarpang	60	8	68	34	4	38
14	Thimphu	21	5	26	16	5	21
15	Trashigang	76	3	79	57	1	58
16	Trashigang	29	1	30	22	1	23
17	Trongsa	29	5	34	20	1	21
18	Tsirang	59	9	68	39	3	42
19	Wangdue Phodrang	77	9	86	56	6	62
20	Zhemgang	53	3	56	32	3	35
	<b>Total</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>997</b>	<b>623</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>684</b>

*Summary of male and female (Thromde Thuemi) elected candidates for the local government elections 2011 in the 20 dzongkhags*

Sl. No	Dzongkhag	Total contested Thomde Thuemi		Total	Total elected Thomde Thuemi		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1	Bumthang	4	0	4	1	0	1
2	Dagana	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Gasa	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Haa	3	0	3	1	0	1
5	Lhuntse	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	Mongar	1	0	1	0	0	0
7	Paro	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Pema Gatshel	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Punakha	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Samtse	1	0	1	1	0	1
11	Trashigang	2	1	3	1	0	1
12	Trashigang	1	0	1	1	0	1
13	Trongsa	3	0	3	1	0	1
14	Tsirang	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Wangdue Phodrang	2	1	3	1	0	1
16	Zhemgang	3	0	3	1	0	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>

*Summary of male and female (Thromde Tshogpa) elected candidates for the local governments elections 2011 in the 20 dzongkhags*

Sl. No	Dzongkhag	Total contested Thomde Tshogpa		Total	Total elected Thomde Tshogpa		Total
		Male	Female		Male	Female	
1	Chhukha	1	1	2	1	1	2
2	Sarpang	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Thimphu	1	1	2	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

*Number of female representatives elected in the lg elections 2011*

	Female: Male Ratio	Proportion of Female Elected Representatives
Gups	0.01	0.50%
Mangmis	0.06	5.88%
Tshogpas	0.10	8.92%
Thromde Thuemis	0.00	0.00%
Thromde Tshogpas	1.00	50.00%
<b>Overall</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>6.90%</b>

*Percentage of male & female elected of the registered contesting candidates*

	Female			Male		
	Registered	Elected	% Elected	Registered	Elected	% Elected
Gups	22	1	4.55	556	201	36.15
Mangmis	42	12	28.57	542	192	35.42
Tshogpas	97	61	62.89	900	623	69.22
Thromde Thuemis	2	0	0.00	20	8	40.00
Thromde Tshogpas	2	2	100.00	2	2	100.00
<b>Overall</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>46.06</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>1026</b>	<b>50.79</b>

## Annex-4: FLT consolidated

Consolidated flt results by dzongkhag and sex

Dzongkhag	Male				Female				Grand Total
	Pass	Fail	Absent	Total	Pass	Fail	Absent	Total	
Bumthang	103	1	16	120	11	0	7	18	138
Chhuka	222	27	68	317	30	1	6	37	354
Dagana	273	76	81	430	38	1	14	53	485
Gasa	68	0	26	94	9	0	2	11	105
Haa	154	18	25	197	13	0	2	15	212
Lhuntse	155	15	30	200	20	0	5	25	225
Mongar	323	38	50	411	47	7	11	66	477
Paro	208	15	53	276	32	0	17	49	325
P/Gatshel	236	19	62	317	26	4	13	42	351
Punakha	204	28	41	273	31	3	12	46	321
S/Jongkhar	224	25	50	299	21	0	20	41	340
Samtse	287	117	163	567	35	10	6	51	618
Sarpang	290	44	107	441	73	15	19	107	548
Thimphu	354	20	90	464	52	2	24	78	542
T/yangtse	168	11	65	244	17	4	9	30	275
T/gang	400	13	168	581	22	3	14	39	620
Trongsa	110	20	30	160	18	1	10	29	189
Tsirang	229	47	31	307	24	4	3	31	338
W/phodrang	257	41	66	364	31	5	6	42	406
Zhemgang	125	13	26	164	14	0	5	19	233
<b>Total</b>	<b>4390</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>6226</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>7055</b>

## Annex-5: From FLT to election in gewog

Female details from FLT to election

Dzongkhag	Registered for FLT	FLT Pass	Registered for LG	Elected	Percent
Bumthang	18	11	1	1	
Chhuka	37	30	9	3	
Dagana	53	38	11	3	
Gasa	11	9	2	1	
Haa	15	13	3	0	
Lhuntse	25	20	6	1	
Mongar	66	47	11	7	
Paro	49	32	14	8	
P/Gatshel	42	26	8	7	
Punakha	46	31	9	6	
S/Jongkhar	41	21	5	3	
Samtse	51	35	16	9	
Sarpang	107	73	9	4	
Thimphu	78	52	10	5	
T/yangtse	30	17	6	1	
T/gang	39	22	2	1	
Trongsa	29	18	6	1	
Tsirang	31	24	14	4	
W/phodrang	42	31	15	6	
Zhemgang	19	14	4	3	
<b>Total</b>	<b>829</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>74</b>	
<b>Percent</b>					<b>45.96</b>

**Note:** 1. Registered - 161 + 4 (2 Thromde Thuemi + 2 Thromde Tshogpa)  
2. Elected - 74 + 2 Thromde Tshogpa

## Annex-6: Local elections candidates by sex and dzongkhag

Sl.No	Gewog	Gup		Magmi		Tshogpa	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>LHUNTSE</b>							
1	Jarey	3	0	2	0	1	0
2	Maedtsho	3	0	3	1	2	0
3	Maenbi	3	0	2	1	3	1
4	Tsaenkhar	2	0	2	2	3	0
5	Minjey	3	0	4	0	6	1
6	Gangzur	3	0	3	0	8	0
7	Kurtoed	2	0	3	0	2	0
8	Khoma	4	0	2	0	3	0
<b>CHHUKHA</b>							
1	Bjagchhog	5	0	2	1		
2	Bongo	3	0	1	1	10	1
3	Chapchha	1	1	3	0	12	0
4	Darla	2	1	2	0	7	0
5	Getana	3	0	3	0	3	0
6	Doongna	3	0	3	0	1	0
7	Geling	3	0	2	0	5	1
8	Loggchina	1	0	3	0	1	0
9	Maedtabkha	2	0	4	0	5	0
10	Phuentshogling	1	0	2	0	4	0
11	Samphelling	1	0	2	0	4	0
<b>SAMDRUP JONGKHAR</b>							
1	Dewathang	3	1	2	0	2	0
2	Gomdar	3	0	2	0	4	0
3	Orong	3	0	2	0	6	0
4	Phuntshothang	4	0	4	0	9	0
5	Wangphoog	1	1	2	0	4	1
6	Martshala	4	0	4	0	4	0
7	Pemathang	3	0	2	1	7	0
8	Samrang	2	0	1	0	1	0
9	Langchenphu	3	0	4	0	6	0
10	Lauri	4	0	4	0	2	0
11	Serthig	2	0	3	0	5	1
<b>PUNAKHA</b>							
1	Barp	3	0	3	0	4	0
2	Goenshari	4	0	4	0	6	1
3	Guma	3	1	4	1	0	1
4	Kabisa	2	0	2	0	6	0
5	Talog	2	0	3	1	3	1
6	Toepisa	3	0	4	0	5	0
7	Lingmukha	4	0	3	0	3	0
8	Shelnga_Bjemi	3	0	3	0	3	1
9	Toewang	1	0	2	0	4	2

10	Dzomi	2	0	2	0	2	0
11	Chhuboog	3	0	3	0	4	0
<b>ZHEMGANG</b>							
1	Bardo	3	0	2	0	4	1
2	Nangkor	4	0	2	0	7	1
3	Shingkar	3	0	4	0	6	1
4	Trong	3	0	3	0	4	1
5	Ngangla	3	1	4	0	9	1
6	Bjoka	2	0	2	0	5	0
7	Goshing	2	0	2	0	8	0
8	Phangkhar	3	0	3	0	6	0
<b>MONGGAR</b>							
1	Balam	2	0	1	0	4	0
2	Chagsakhar	1	0	4	0	0	0
3	Dramedtse	3	0	3	0	1	0
4	Na-rang	2	0	3	0	2	0
5	Shermuhoong	3	0	3	1	5	1
6	Thang-rong	3	0	3	0	2	0
7	Ngatshang	5	0	2	0	6	0
8	Chhaling	3	0	1	1	0	0
9	Monggar	3	0	3	0	4	1
10	Tsakaling	2	0	4	0	4	1
11	Tsamang	4	0	3	0	2	1
12	Drepoong	2	0	5	0	3	2
13	Gongdue	1	0	4	0	3	0
14	Silambi	3	0	2	0	4	0
15	Jurmed	2	0	2	0	0	0
16	Kengkhar	3	0	3	0	2	2
17	Saling	3	0	4	0	10	0
<b>DAGANA</b>							
1	Dorona	3	0	2	0	2	0
2	Gesarling	3	0	2	1	6	0
3	Drukjegang	3	0	2	1	3	1
4	Goshi	4	0	4	0	6	0
5	Karna	1	0	2	0	2	0
6	Khebisa	4	0	4	0	9	0
7	Lagyab	2	0	2	1	4	0
8	Tsangkha	2	0	1	0	5	0
9	Tseza	2	1	4	0	6	1
10	Karmaling	4	0	2	0	2	0
11	Lhamoizingkha	3	0	3	1	4	0
12	Nichula	2	0	3	0	2	0
13	Tashiding	1	1	3	0	4	0
14	Tsendagang	3	0	3	0	3	1
<b>PEMA GATSHEL</b>							
1	Chhimoong	1	1	2	0	1	0

2	Chongshing	4	0	2	0	5	0
3	Dungmaed	2	0	1	0	6	0
4	Khar	2	0	2	0	6	0
5	Yurung	3	0	1	0	5	0
6	Nanong	3	0	2	0	6	0
7	Shumar	1	0	3	0	2	2
8	Zobel	2	0	1	1	5	1
9	Chhoekhorling	2	0	1	0	3	0
10	Dechhenling	2	0	4	0	1	0
11	Norbugang	2	0	1	0	2	1
<b>TRASHI YANGTSE</b>							
1	Boomdeling	3	0	2	0	2	0
2	Jamkhar	2	0	4	0	6	0
3	Khamdang	4	0	3	0	0	0
4	Ramjar	2	0	1	0	6	0
5	Toedtsho	3	0	2	0	2	0
6	Tongmijangsa	4	1	2	0	6	0
7	Yalang	3	0	3	0	4	0
8	Yangtse	1	0	3	0	4	0
<b>BUMTHANG</b>							
1	Chhoekhor	1	0	1	0	7	0
2	Tang	3	0	3	1	8	0
3	Ura	4	0	2	0	4	0
4	Chhumig	3	0	2	0	5	0
<b>THIMPHU</b>							
1	Kawang	2	0	1	0	3	0
2	Naro	2	0	3	0	3	0
3	Lingzhi	1	0	2	0	1	0
4	Soe	1	0	3	0	2	0
5	Chang	2	0	2	1	2	1
6	Darkarla	2	0	2	0	3	0
7	Ge-Nyen	2	1	2	0	4	0
8	Maedwang	1	2	4	1	7	0
<b>TRONGSA</b>							
1	Nubi	1	0	4	0	7	1
2							
3	Tangsibji	2	0	2	1	5	1
4	Draagteng	3	0	3	0	9	1
5	Korphoog	3	0	3	0	3	0
6	Langthil	4	0	5	0	5	0
<b>SAMTSE</b>							
1	Norgaygang	4	0	3	0	4	1
2	Pemaling	4	0	3	0	9	1
3	Sang-Ngag-Chhoeling	4	0	3	0	3	1
4	Doongtoed	1	0	2	0	1	1
5	Duenchukha	3	0	3	0	8	0

6	Dophoogchen	2	0	3	0	9	0
7	Namgaychhoeling	3	0	2	0	3	0
8	Phuentshogpelri	3	0	2	0	1	0
9	Samtse	4	0	2	1	11	1
10	Tashichhoeling	2	0	2	0	1	1
11	Tading	2	1	2	0	6	0
12	Tendruk	5	0	4	0	7	0
13	Ugyentse	2	0	2	0	4	3
14	Yoeseltse	4	0	3	0	8	0
15	Norboogang	5	0	3	0	3	0
<b>GASA</b>							
1	Khamaed	3	0	3	0	4	0
2	Lunanna	2	0	1	0	1	0
3	Khatoed	2	0	2	1	3	1
4	Laya	2	0	3	0	2	0
1	Gakidling	3	0	3	0	1	0
2	Dekidling	4	0	3	0	10	0
3	Gelegphu	2	0	1	1	4	0
4	Serzhong	2	0	3	1	6	2
5	Chuzagang	3	0	3	0	8	1
6	Umling	4	0	4	0	8	2
7	Jigme-Chhoeling	3	0	3	0	8	0
8	Taraythang	1	0	2	0	3	1
9	Seng-Gey	4	0	2	1	1	0
10	Shompangkha	3	0	3	0	0	0
11	Samtenling	2	0	3	0	8	2
12	Chhudzom	4	0	3	0	4	1
<b>PARO</b>							
1	Dop-sha-ri	3	0	4	0	4	1
2	Doteng	3	0	4	0	6	0
3	Hoongrel	2	0	1	0	1	3
4	Lamgong	3	0	3	1	5	0
5	Tsento	2	0	3	0	4	0
6	Wangchang	3	0	0	2	0	0
7	Nagya	3	0	2	1	7	1
8	Dokar	3	0	3	1	5	1
9	Loong-nyi	3	0	3	0	3	0
10	Sharpa	3	0	2	1	1	2
<b>TRASHIGANG</b>							
1	Bartsham	4	0	1	0	3	0
2	Bidoong	3	0	3	0	2	1
3	Kanglung	3	1	3	0	2	0
4	Kangpar	3	0	3	0	6	0
5	Khaling	3	0	2	0	8	0
6	Lumang	4	1	3	0	5	0
7	Merag	3	0	3	0	4	0

8	Phongmed	2	0	1	0	7	0
9	Radi	2	0	4	0	6	0
10	Sagteng	2	0	3	0	4	0
11	Samkhar	2	0	2	0	8	0
12	Shongphoog	3	0	2	0	7	0
13	Thrimshing	3	0	2	0	5	0
14	Udzorong	5	0	4	0	6	0
15	Yangnyer	3	0	2	1	5	0
<b>HAA</b>							
1	Bji	2	0	4	1	6	0
2	Kar-thsog	2	0	3	0	3	0
3	Uesu	2	0	4	0	6	1
4	Samar	2	1	4	0	6	0
5	Sangbay	3	0	4	0	8	0
6	Gakidling	2	0	1	0	4	0
<b>TSIRANG</b>							
1	Doonglagang	3	0	3	1	7	1
2	Gosarling	4	0	2	0	2	0
3	Phungtenchu	4	0	3	0	7	0
4	Semjong	4	0	2	0	4	0
5	Sergithang	3	0	3	0	4	0
6	Tsirang Toed	4	0	4	0	1	1
7	Barshong	3	0	3	1	11	1
8	Kilkhorthang	4	0	3	0	3	1
9	Mendrelgang	4	0	2	0	6	1
10	Patshaling	3	0	3	0	6	1
11	Rangthangling	2	0	3	0	4	0
12	Tsholingkhar	2	1	2	1	6	1
<b>WANGDUE PHODRANG</b>							
1	Dangchhu	2	0	2	1	6	0
2	Gangteng	2	0	1	2	11	0
3	Kazhi	3	0	2	1	2	0
4	Nyishog	2	0	2	0	6	2
5	Phangyuel	3	0	5	0	2	0
6	Phobji	3	0	2	0	6	0
7	Saephoog	3	0	3	0	3	0
8	Athang	2	1	1	1	3	1
9	Bjednag	4	0	2	0	6	0
10	Darkar	4	0	3	0	6	0
11	Gase Tshogom	3	0	3	0	8	1
12	Gase Tshowogm	4	0	2	0	6	0
13	Nahi	3	0	5	0	4	3
14	Rubesia	2	0	4	0	7	0
15	Thedtsho	2	0	3	0	3	1

## Annex-7: Overall survey data

Dzongkhag	Frequency	Percent
Punakha	192	12.5
Paro	192	12.5
Zhemgang	192	12.5
Tsirang	192	12.5
Dagana	192	12.5
Samtse	192	12.5
Monggar	192	12.5
P/gatshel	192	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Dungkhag	Frequency	Percent
Others (without Dungkhag	1152	75.0
Lhamoy Zingkha	96	6.3
Nganglam	96	6.3
Sipsu	192	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gewog	Frequency	Percent
Drujegang	96	6.3
Lhamoy Zingkha	96	6.3
Drepong	96	6.3
Jurmey	96	6.3
Hungrel	96	6.3
Dopshari	96	6.3
Dechenling	96	6.3
Khar	96	6.3
Toewang	96	6.3
Kabesa	96	6.3
Namgaycholing	96	6.3
Tashicholing	96	6.3
Rangthangling	96	6.3
Singkhar	96	6.3
Nangor	96	6.3
Mendrelgang	96	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Chiwog	Frequency	Percent
Tambi Damchu Thambji	96	6.3
Sirigang Wako Damchi	96	6.3
Gaupel	96	6.3
Kempa Kudophoog	96	6.3
Dakphel Tali	96	6.3
Wamling	96	6.3
Pangna Patala	96	6.3
Lhamoy Zingkha (Lungsisa)	96	6.3
Namgaycholing	96	6.3
Dangling Gangjoog	96	6.3
Dzamling Zor	96	6.3
Neymedsa	96	6.3
Khar Yagur	96	6.3
Dechenling Goenpa (Gonpong Lhakhang)	96	6.3
Bainangri Nyanla	96	6.3
Kognala Yarala	96	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TownVillage	Frequency	Percent
Dakpai	37	2.4
Dangling	73	4.8
Gangjoong	20	1.3
Gola Bazaar	1	.1
Gonpawoong	96	6.3
Kognala	14	.9
lower pangna	80	5.2
Namgaycholing	96	6.3
Neymedsa	96	6.3
Pahagoan	2	.1
Tali	59	3.8
upper pangna	16	1.0
Village	864	56.3
Yarala	82	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Area	Frequency	Percent
Urban	3	.2
Semi-Urban	59	3.8
Semi-Remote	637	41.5
Remote	645	42.0
Difficult Place	192	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Female	822	53.5
Male	714	46.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
18-25 years	306	19.9
26-35 years	389	25.3
36-45 years	315	20.5
46-55 years	246	16.0
56-65 years	183	11.9
66 years and above	97	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What educational level have you reached at the moment?	Frequency	Percent
No Education	750	48.8
Non-Formal Education	222	14.5
Below class VI	167	10.9
Below class VII	71	4.6
Below class X	96	6.3
Below XII	121	7.9
Bachelors	30	2.0
Masters and above	7	.5
Vocational Education	10	.7
Monastic Education	62	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your current occupation?	Frequency	Percent
Parliamentarian	4	.3
Civil Servant	61	4.0
Government Corporate Employee	12	.8
Private Corporate Employee	10	.7
Private Business	72	4.7
Gup	2	.1
Mangmi	4	.3
Tshogpa	15	1.0
Chupon	9	.6
Local Community Leader	5	.3
Farmer	1218	79.3
Monk	7	.5
Student	116	7.6
Village a Health Worker	1	.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What has been your previous occupation/s?	Frequency	Percent
Parliamentarian	2	.1
Judiciary	1	.1
Civil Servant	65	4.2
Government Corporate Employee	12	.8
Private Corporate Employee	14	.9
Private Business	54	3.5
Gup	9	.6
Mangmi	13	.8
Tshogpa	26	1.7
Chupon	33	2.1
Local Community Leader	2	.1
Farmer	1127	73.4
Monk	29	1.9
Student	143	9.3
Army	6	.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your monthly income (in Ngulturm)?	Frequency	Percent
Below 1500	654	42.6
1500-3000	438	28.5
3000-5000	134	8.7
5000-10000	99	6.4
10000-15000	43	2.8
15000-20000	29	1.9
20000-30000	28	1.8
Over 30000	14	.9
No Income	97	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your main source of Income?	Frequency	Percent
Salary	138	9.0
Business	182	11.8
Cash crops	1047	68.2
Dividends	4	.3
Rental of Properties	18	1.2
No Source	147	9.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	231	15.0
Agree	534	34.8
Neutral	295	19.2
Disagree	345	22.5
Strongly Disagree	131	8.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	185	12.0
Agree	783	51.0
Neutral	321	20.9
Disagree	188	12.2
Strongly Disagree	59	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	200	13.0
Agree	676	44.0
Neutral	445	29.0
Disagree	186	12.1
Strongly Disagree	29	1.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	204	13.3
Agree	646	42.1
Neutral	456	29.7
Disagree	189	12.3
Strongly Disagree	41	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmi, gups, etc.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	624	40.6
Agree	588	38.3
Neutral	224	14.6
Disagree	75	4.9
Strongly Disagree	25	1.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	274	17.8
Agree	744	48.4
Neutral	420	27.3
Disagree	77	5.0
Strongly Disagree	21	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women are portrayed as less capable than men.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	159	10.4
Agree	571	37.2
Neutral	338	22.0
Disagree	355	23.1
Strongly Disagree	113	7.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Leadership and politics are seen as a masculine activity.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	94	6.1
Agree	494	32.2
Neutral	452	29.4
Disagree	359	23.4
Strongly Disagree	137	8.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	238	15.5
Agree	705	45.9
Neutral	324	21.1
Disagree	209	13.6
Strongly Disagree	60	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	105	6.8
Agree	551	35.9
Neutral	359	23.4
Disagree	422	27.5
Strongly Disagree	99	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Men are leaders and women have to follow.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	111	7.2
Agree	362	23.6
Neutral	305	19.9
Disagree	482	31.4
Strongly Disagree	276	18.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	116	7.6
Agree	472	30.7
Neutral	350	22.8
Disagree	427	27.8
Strongly Disagree	171	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>There are not many role-models for women to look up to.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	135	8.8
Agree	559	36.4
Neutral	380	24.7
Disagree	368	24.0
Strongly Disagree	94	6.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women are restricted to form groups.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	63	4.1
Agree	397	25.8
Neutral	376	24.5
Disagree	547	35.6
Strongly Disagree	153	10.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women are restricted from public spaces.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	53	3.5
Agree	380	24.7
Neutral	362	23.6
Disagree	546	35.5
Strongly Disagree	195	12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	70	4.6
Agree	367	23.9
Neutral	449	29.2
Disagree	476	31.0
Strongly Disagree	174	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	187	12.2
Agree	587	38.2
Neutral	391	25.5
Disagree	299	19.5
Strongly Disagree	72	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women have poor self-image.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	135	8.8
Agree	588	38.3
Neutral	401	26.1
Disagree	328	21.4
Strongly Disagree	84	5.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	181	11.8
Agree	620	40.4
Neutral	341	22.2
Disagree	302	19.7
Strongly Disagree	92	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	169	11.0
Agree	687	44.7
Neutral	372	24.2
Disagree	216	14.1
Strongly Disagree	92	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	90	5.9
Agree	619	40.3
Neutral	489	31.8
Disagree	303	19.7
Strongly Disagree	35	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	117	7.6
Agree	672	43.8
Neutral	419	27.3
Disagree	226	14.7
Strongly Disagree	102	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	105	6.8
Agree	562	36.6
Neutral	434	28.3
Disagree	345	22.5
Strongly Disagree	90	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	291	18.9
Agree	710	46.2
Neutral	303	19.7
Disagree	192	12.5
Strongly Disagree	40	2.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women depend on men for financial matters.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	128	8.3
Agree	540	35.2
Neutral	380	24.7
Disagree	383	24.9
Strongly Disagree	105	6.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Women lack access and control over income and other resources.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	102	6.6
Agree	516	33.6
Neutral	413	26.9
Disagree	396	25.8
Strongly Disagree	109	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	127	8.3
Agree	417	27.1
Neutral	484	31.5
Disagree	337	21.9
Strongly Disagree	171	11.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Our election system being – 'One Candidate per Constituency' – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	143	9.3
Agree	586	38.2
Neutral	561	36.5
Disagree	200	13.0
Strongly Disagree	46	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Our political system being – 'Winner take all type' – women do not get elected.</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	119	7.7
Agree	510	33.2
Neutral	488	31.8
Disagree	364	23.7
Strongly Disagree	55	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	290	18.9
Agree	642	41.8
Neutral	430	28.0
Disagree	147	9.6
Strongly Disagree	27	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	163	10.6
Agree	673	43.8
Neutral	540	35.2
Disagree	148	9.6
Strongly Disagree	12	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	139	9.0
Agree	646	42.1
Neutral	617	40.2
Disagree	123	8.0
Strongly Disagree	11	.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	138	9.0
Agree	728	47.4
Neutral	534	34.8
Disagree	127	8.3
Strongly Disagree	9	.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	98	6.4
Agree	603	39.3
Neutral	584	38.0
Disagree	206	13.4
Strongly Disagree	45	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	112	7.3
Agree	597	38.9
Neutral	634	41.3
Disagree	175	11.4
Strongly Disagree	18	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	332	21.6
Agree	634	41.3
Neutral	336	21.9
Disagree	193	12.6
Strongly Disagree	41	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	223	14.5
Agree	710	46.2
Neutral	365	23.8
Disagree	215	14.0
Strongly Disagree	23	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	174	11.3
Agree	630	41.0
Neutral	584	38.0
Disagree	137	8.9
Strongly Disagree	11	.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	149	9.7
Agree	559	36.4
Neutral	525	34.2
Disagree	241	15.7
Strongly Disagree	62	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	132	8.6
Agree	505	32.9
Neutral	518	33.7
Disagree	313	20.4
Strongly Disagree	68	4.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	251	16.3
Agree	779	50.7
Neutral	370	24.1
Disagree	122	7.9
Strongly Disagree	14	.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	99	6.4
Agree	509	33.1
Neutral	592	38.5
Disagree	294	19.1
Strongly Disagree	42	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	99	6.4
Agree	532	34.6
Neutral	646	42.1
Disagree	217	14.1
Strongly Disagree	42	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	301	19.6
Agree	627	40.8
Neutral	503	32.7
Disagree	92	6.0
Strongly Disagree	13	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	194	12.6
Agree	810	52.7
Neutral	423	27.5
Disagree	96	6.3
Strongly Disagree	13	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	94	6.1
Agree	641	41.7
Neutral	652	42.4
Disagree	128	8.3
Strongly Disagree	21	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	102	6.6
Agree	612	39.8
Neutral	668	43.5
Disagree	142	9.2
Strongly Disagree	12	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	252	16.4
Agree	792	51.6
Neutral	398	25.9
Disagree	79	5.1
Strongly Disagree	15	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There is generally a gender responsive enabling environments in place.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	92	6.0
Agree	666	43.4
Neutral	671	43.7
Disagree	97	6.3
Strongly Disagree	10	.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	149	9.7
Agree	692	45.1
Neutral	556	36.2
Disagree	127	8.3
Strongly Disagree	12	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	177	11.5
Agree	745	48.5
Neutral	512	33.3
Disagree	93	6.1
Strongly Disagree	9	.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	108	7.0
Agree	599	39.0
Neutral	703	45.8
Disagree	110	7.2
Strongly Disagree	16	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	93	6.1
Agree	527	34.3
Neutral	686	44.7
Disagree	210	13.7
Strongly Disagree	20	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	95	6.2
Agree	526	34.2
Neutral	672	43.8
Disagree	222	14.5
Strongly Disagree	21	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A. Double or Triple Burden	Frequency	Percent
1	292	19.0
2	195	12.7
3	106	6.9
4	104	6.8
5	106	6.9
6	88	5.7
7	97	6.3
8	109	7.1
9	131	8.5
10	308	20.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

B. Attitudes and Stereotypes	Frequency	Percent
1	68	4.4
2	135	8.8
3	125	8.1
4	163	10.6
5	131	8.5
6	184	12.0
7	205	13.3
8	202	13.2
9	261	17.0
10	62	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

C. Patriarchal Values	Frequency	Percent
1	80	5.2
2	94	6.1
3	122	7.9
4	128	8.3
5	145	9.4
6	167	10.9
7	185	12.0
8	312	20.3
9	197	12.8
10	106	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem	Frequency	Percent
1	108	7.0
2	174	11.3
3	202	13.2
4	204	13.3
5	164	10.7
6	169	11.0
7	240	15.6
8	99	6.4
9	73	4.8
10	103	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

E. Decision-Making	Frequency	Percent
1	140	9.1
2	120	7.8
3	194	12.6
4	204	13.3
5	228	14.8
6	283	18.4
7	124	8.1
8	94	6.1
9	77	5.0
10	72	4.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

F. Socio-Economic Barriers	Frequency	Percent
1	67	4.4
2	72	4.7
3	124	8.1
4	161	10.5
5	339	22.1
6	169	11.0
7	178	11.6
8	186	12.1
9	160	10.4
10	80	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

G. Election System and Processes	Frequency	Percent
1	64	4.2
2	67	4.4
3	144	9.4
4	270	17.6
5	112	7.3
6	126	8.2
7	153	10.0
8	139	9.0
9	208	13.5
10	253	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

H. Functional Language Skills	Frequency	Percent
1	114	7.4
2	249	16.2
3	297	19.3
4	117	7.6
5	129	8.4
6	151	9.8
7	149	9.7
8	169	11.0
9	98	6.4
10	63	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I. Education and Training	Frequency	Percent
1	367	23.9
2	340	22.1
3	132	8.6
4	78	5.1
5	97	6.3
6	91	5.9
7	107	7.0
8	99	6.4
9	129	8.4
10	96	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment	Frequency	Percent
1	244	15.9
2	95	6.2
3	81	5.3
4	115	7.5
5	93	6.1
6	116	7.6
7	101	6.6
8	123	8.0
9	191	12.4
10	377	24.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How interested are you to participate as candidate in the future local governance elections?	Frequency	Percent
Very Interested	276	18.0
Interested	622	40.5
Slightly interested	276	18.0
Not interested at all	362	23.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How are you involved in the current local governance elections?	Frequency	Percent
Very involved	161	10.5
Involved	685	44.6
Less involved	402	26.2
Not involved at all	265	17.3
Would rather not say	23	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Would you like to be more involved in the political process than you are at the moment?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1158	75.4
No	378	24.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much would you like to be involved in the political process than you are at the moment?	Frequency	Percent
Highly involved	238	15.5
Involved	684	44.5
Less involved	427	27.8
Not involved at all	187	12.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Overall, how fair do you think the electoral process is at the local governance level?	Frequency	Percent
Very fair	481	31.3
Fair	854	55.6
Not fair	157	10.2
Would rather not say	44	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who is traditionally allowed to inherit land/property or other assets in your community?	Frequency	Percent
All family members	903	58.8
male family members only	452	29.4
Female family members only	181	11.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Household expenditure	Frequency	Percent
Olderst member	224	14.6
Male	260	16.9
Female	269	17.5
Male and female jointly	693	45.1
All members including children	90	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Education	Frequency	Percent
Olderst member	118	7.7
Male	189	12.3
Female	160	10.4
Male and female jointly	877	57.1
All members including children	192	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Health	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	142	9.2
Male	171	11.1
Female	184	12.0
Male and female jointly	863	56.2
All members including children	176	11.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Political decisions	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	197	12.8
Male	307	20.0
Female	149	9.7
Male and female jointly	722	47.0
All members including children	161	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Marriage Choices	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	228	14.8
Male	133	8.7
Female	126	8.2
Male and female jointly	855	55.7
All members including children	194	12.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Religious	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	526	34.2
Male	140	9.1
Female	117	7.6
Male and female jointly	531	34.6
All members including children	222	14.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Sale of family properties	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	353	23.0
Male	150	9.8
Female	112	7.3
Male and female jointly	578	37.6
All members including children	343	22.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Household expenditure	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	342	22.3
Fairly high degree	688	44.8
Small degree	456	29.7
Not at all	50	3.3
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Education	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	379	24.7
Fairly high degree	724	47.1
Small degree	393	25.6
Not at all	40	2.6
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Health	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	427	27.8
Fairly high degree	691	45.0
Small degree	378	24.6
Not at all	40	2.6
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Political decisions	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	266	17.3
Fairly high degree	696	45.3
Small degree	470	30.6
Not at all	104	6.8
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Marriage Choices	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	265	17.3
Fairly high degree	666	43.4
Small degree	503	32.7
Not at all	102	6.6
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Religious	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	379	24.7
Fairly high degree	738	48.0
Small degree	371	24.2
Not at all	48	3.1
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Sale of family properties	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	181	11.8
Fairly high degree	629	41.0
Small degree	487	31.7
Not at all	239	15.6
Total	1536	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

To what degree do you feel you have control over decisions regarding your own personal welfare, health and body?	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	371	24.2
High degree	722	47.0
Small degree	402	26.2
Not at all	41	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Where do you go on your own?	Frequency	Percent
Everywhere I want to	286	18.6
Most places I want to	695	45.2
Some places i want to	446	29.0
Nowhere	109	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO1	Frequency	Percent
	208	13.5
Chupon	2	.1
Community	135	8.8
Dungpa	3	.2
Dzongda	1	.1
Elderly People	41	2.7
GAO	5	.3
Gup	914	59.5
Known person in the village	9	.6
Mangmi	14	.9
National Council	1	.1
Tshogpa	203	13.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO1	Frequency	Percent
	208	13.5
Chupon	2	.1
Community	135	8.8
Dungpa	3	.2
Dzongda	1	.1
Elderly People	41	2.7
GAO	5	.3
Gup	914	59.5
Known person in the village	9	.6
Mangmi	14	.9
National Council	1	.1
Tshogpa	203	13.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO2	Frequency	Percent
	229	14.9
Business Community	2	.1
Chupon	18	1.2
Community	1	.1
Dungpa	1	.1
DYT	5	.3
Dzongda	2	.1
Elderly People	25	1.6
GAO	2	.1
Gup	174	11.3
GYT	12	.8
Head of the family	2	.1
Known person in the village	11	.7
Mangmi	737	48.0
Public	28	1.8
Rich People	2	.1
Tshogpa	285	18.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO3	Frequency	Percent
	254	16.5
Business Community	1	.1
Chupon	21	1.4
Community	6	.4
Drangpon	1	.1
Dungpa	1	.1
DYT	4	.3
Dzongda	84	5.5
Elderly People	4	.3
Elderly Peoples	17	1.1
GAO	6	.4
Gup	122	7.9
Head of the family	1	.1
Influential peoples	1	.1
Known person in the village	5	.3
Mangmi	141	9.2
Politician (MP)	3	.2
Public	121	7.9
Sector Head	1	.1
Tshogpa	742	48.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How involved do you feel in these decision-making processes within your community?	Frequency	Percent
Involved all the time	238	15.5
Involved in important issues	761	49.5
Less involved	411	26.8
Not involved at all	126	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much would you like to be involved in these decision-making processes within your community?	Frequency	Percent
Involved all the time	295	19.2
Involved in important issues	747	48.6
Less involved	369	24.0
Not involved at all	125	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much influence do you feel you have in community level decision-making processes?	Frequency	Percent
High	101	6.6
Medium	737	48.0
Low	333	21.7
No influence	365	23.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Does Bhutan's Electoral System and Processes and electoral legislation pose difficulties for women voters as well as for women candidates?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	560	36.5
No	976	63.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Would it make a positive difference if women are in the local government?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1055	68.7
No	481	31.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Blank no comments	1310	85.3
Encourage women to participate.	1	.1
Encourage women to participate. Provided Education	1	.1
All should be made aware of the testing centre	1	.1
At present it would be difficult for women to take decision due to low educated women at village level. Therefore, Govt. should impart various trainings to build the capacity of women in the village levels.	1	.1
Being a woman and not educated it is very difficult to participate in public decision making. Therefore, it is no necessary to maintain the qualification for <i>Tshogpa and Mangmi</i> .	1	.1
Bhutanese women are not many participating in the LG elections is due to : 1.There are not many role models for women to look up. 2. Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	1	.1
Both men and women should get equal chance to participate in LG election. People should not think or say negative comments when women participate in LG elections. It is necessary that the Govt. encourage women to participate in LG elections.	1	.1
Capable and educated	1	.1
capable, educated and community benefiting	1	.1
capable, educated and public benefiting	1	.1
choice for the public, educated, public benefiting	1	.1
communication skills, educated and confident	1	.1
communication skills, sincere, educated, courages and active	1	.1
communication, sincerity and educated	1	.1
courageous, educated and eloquent	1	.1
Easy leaner criteria for women	1	.1
Educate	2	.1
Educate and good mannered	1	.1
Educate them	1	.1
Educate women. Encouraged women to participate	1	.1
Educated and capable	1	.1
educated and community benefiting	1	.1

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Educated and good mannered	1	.1
Educated women knows the problems of women and difference will be there. If the Govt. support by providing some sorts of training	1	.1
Educated young women should take active role in politics and decision making and at the same time Govt. should provide training.	1	.1
Educated, active	1	.1
Educated, capable	1	.1
Educated, confident and courageous	1	.1
Educated, confident and public welfare	1	.1
Educated, confident, adjustable to everybody	1	.1
Educated, confident, courageous	1	.1
educated, confident, courageous and active	1	.1
Educated, courageous and active	2	.1
Educated, Courageous and active, capable	1	.1
Educated, courageous, active, good mannered	1	.1
Educated, courageous, confident	1	.1

Educated, courageous, punctual	1	.1
Educated, courageous and active	1	.1
Educated, deliver peoples thoughts	1	.1
Educated, eloquent and courageous	1	.1
Educated, eloquent, dedicated for public welfare	1	.1
Educated, eloquent, practical	1	.1
Educated, equal to men	1	.1
Educated, equal treatment of all, eloquent	1	.1
Educated, equal treatment to all, capable	1	.1
Educated, equality based, community welfare	1	.1
Educated, equality, punctuality, sincerity	1	.1
Educated, experienced and capable	1	.1
Educated, experienced and courageous	1	.1
Educated, Experienced and good mannered	1	.1
Educated, experienced, capable	1	.1
Educated, experienced, capable of speaking in front of the public	1	.1
Educated, experienced, communication skills	1	.1
Educated, experienced, frank and open	1	.1
Educated, experienced, good relationship, public benefiting	1	.1
Educated, experienced, one who maintains good relationship	1	.1
Educated, experienced, sincere, courageous	1	.1

<b>What are your overall recommendations?</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Educated, experienced, confident, courageous	1	.1
Educated, experienced. community benefiting, proper communication link	1	.1
Educated, frank and active	1	.1
Educated, good manner, understands the law	1	.1
Educated, good mannered and community benefiting	1	.1
Educated, good mannered and courageous	1	.1
Educated, good mannered and eloquent	1	.1
Educated, good mannered, capable for community service	1	.1
Educated, kind heart, punctual	1	.1
Educated, One who stands on behalf of the public	1	.1
Educated, one who thinks of public welfare	2	.1
Educated, practical	1	.1
Educated, practical and trustworthy	1	.1
Educated, problem solving, public benefiting	1	.1
Educated, proper decision	1	.1
Educated, public benefiting	1	.1
Educated, public oriented and eloquent	1	.1
Educated, public welfare oriented	1	.1
Educated, punctual and sincere	1	.1
Educated, punctual, sincere	1	.1
Educated, sincere, benefiting public	1	.1
Educated, sincere, public helping	1	.1
Educated, soft communication skills	1	.1
Educated, who can benefit community, courageous and active	1	.1

Education and training from Government	1	.1
Education Male	1	.1
Education, Training	3	.2

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Education, and women becomes equally capable like men	1	.1
Education, Experiences, Information	1	.1
Education, good leadership and way of speaking	1	.1
Education, punctuality, sincerity, experienced	1	.1
Educative and disciplined	1	.1
Encourage educated women to participate in any decision making process by support in term of moral support	1	.1
Every thing is going well in political process	1	.1
Experienced, educate and kind hearted	1	.1
Experienced, educated and eloquent	2	.1
Experienced, educated, able to speak on behalf of the public	1	.1
Experienced, educated, courageous and active	1	.1
Experienced, educated, eloquent	1	.1
Fair elections	1	.1
Female can do it.	1	.1
Frankness, good at heart, eloquent	1	.1
From my view it is very idealistic thing to take services for the survey on women's participation in local govt. election 2011. It is really very important that women's should take part in the LG election because it is the good sign of development in the nation. Thank you for taking me as person to give my opinion to write on this survey.	1	.1
Girls are not useless	1	.1
Girls have to stand as a candidate. There should we equality and justices	1	.1
Give education and give opportunity to young ones, so that they can be more experienced	1	.1
Educate them	1	.1
Educate women. Encouraged women to participate	1	.1
Educated and capable	1	.1
Educated and community benefiting	1	.1

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Give education to all women	1	.1
Give education to all women and make them to participate, so that they can do well	1	.1
Give education to women	1	.1
Give equal importance to women and encourage women	1	.1
Give equal opportunity to both male and female. Give education.	1	.1
Give good salary to encourage them to participants	1	.1
Give leadership training more to women so that they will gain confident and also education.	1	.1
Give more opportunity for education to women	1	.1
Give more opportunity to participate in many activities to move. Expose women to public places. encourage women to participate.	1	.1
Give more opportunity to participate in many activities to move. Expose women to public places. encourage women to participate.	1	.1
Give opportunity to participate in different activities so that they become more experienced	1	.1
Give opportunity to those who are more experienced	2	.1

Give training and give education to women	1	.1
Giving more important for women in term of Education, Training etc. By encouraging them in political . By making them to know how much they are important in Bhutan	1	.1
Good relationship, educated, punctual and sincere	1	.1
Gup and Chimis are highly demanded	1	.1
I am grateful to our govt. i have a great hope that we the women will get great opportunity to participate in political form of govt. now.	1	.1
I feel are have to support our women in any way so, that they will contribute a lot to the country	1	.1
I really thank out gov. for provided us a such a good opportunity to express our thought	1	.1
I thank the Govt for all that is achieved abd availed so far. I would be greatly encouraged if these surveys are positively understood.	1	.1
I think it is good of taking services for the survey on women's participation in local govt. election 2011. It is really very important that women's should take part in the LG elction because it is the good sign of development in the nation. Thank you for taking me as person to give my opinion to write on this survey.	1	.1
I think women van do as same as men because all are given the chance to participate	1	.1
I would say that i am fully satisfied for those pragms made by concern dept. which govt. can judge for lady/women capacity to become leadership	1	.1
I would say that what ever men do women can also do, women and men have no difference	1	.1
I would strongly encourage women to participate in the Local Govt. Elections and expose their views and ideas about politics to the public.	1	.1
If women participate in LG election, there will be more competition among the participants which would bring effective results.	1	.1
Improve women's confidence	1	.1

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
It depends upon the individuals to implement the development activities in the Village irrespective of gender. Therefore, the educated women should encourage to participate in decision making and provide some training for improvement.	1	.1
It encouraging find women participants in the LG Elections	1	.1
It is a great chance to view my feelings about survey on women's participation in LG lection . So i would like to thank all the members as well as the owner for giving me great opportunity.	1	.1
It makes us awareness about rights of women	1	.1
Kind hearted and educated	1	.1
Less and easier criteria for women (ECB)	1	.1
Less participation	1	.1
Let the election be fair	1	.1
Make all the people aware of gender equality	1	.1
Men are discouraging since Govt. today is emphasizing on Women's maximum opportunities	1	.1
Men are not highly appreciated to be dominating	1	.1
Must be equal to men, educated, good manner	1	.1
Need of Good Education and behaviour change through education	1	.1
Needs to be happy if the local could gets the best of local election	1	.1
No difference between male and female	1	.1
Nothings is impossible so women can also participate	1	.1
One who can benefit public and impartial	1	.1
One who knows the laws, confident and good relationship	1	.1
One who thinks of public welfare, educated and equal treatment	1	.1

Ones who thinks about public welfare and is educated	1	.1
People are not aware of the political aspects of Govt. role for up -lifting women	1	.1
Provide chance to women they will do better	2	.1
Provide education for women	1	.1
Provide more sensitization and coverage through education and special training for the women	1	.1
Public benefiting, educated	1	.1
Punctual, sincere, educated, understands the law	1	.1
Religious minded, educated and community caring	1	.1
Setup NFE centers for education to women in remote areas	1	.1
Since our Bhutanese were lack of idea about the political form of Govt. so with this advertisement they came with more knowledge about it, so i am really grateful about it to or govt.	1	.1
Sincere, educated, frank, experienced	1	.1
Sincere, eloquent, practical	1	.1
Special Criteria for women candidates	1	.1

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Special preference should be given to women so that they will develop confidence indecision making in politics	1	.1
Support from Male and Govt. for empowerment of women in decision making	1	.1
Thanks for involving me in this women's participation survey of local Govt. Election	1	.1
Thanks for RGOB providing education to women	1	.1
The educated women leaders will make difference in the village if the Govt. Support by providing training and sensitization in the villages.	1	.1
The elected candidate should not done according to gender it should be done by looking the ability of the candidate	1	.1
There should be equality in both the gender. Women should be encouraged to participate in politic	1	.1
There should be fix slot for women participants in every govt issues.	1	.1
They should be given grounds for participation	1	.1
This election process is not fair enough, because in whole Gewog Dzongkhag old Gups won the election again	1	.1
Training, Education, Advice/Awareness	1	.1
Trustworthy, active, courageous, frank	1	.1
Understands laws, educated, good manners	1	.1
We want women to be uplifted. said the dzongkhag Geog Officer	1	.1
Well begun is half done. So if Govt. begins well by encouraging women, Bhutanese election is of course a success.	1	.1
Who is concerned about public welfare, kind, trustworthy and educated	1	.1
With women we would be able to share our views better	1	.1
Women and men both should equally participate in LG election, because what ever women think men will be not able to think is same manner and vice versa. For example, women can produce baby but men can't. so therefore, men and women should equally participate in LG elections.	1	.1
Women and men should give equal opportunity in every field	1	.1
Women are always down looked by village people	1	.1
Women are better	1	.1
Women are better than men in any sense and women will do better if they are leaders such as Gups.	1	.1

Women are better than men, Give chance	1	.1
Women are capable, they need opportunities	1	.1
Women are for sure looked down in the society. There should be some active initiative to update women participants.	1	.1
Women are given equal priority like men, but they don't grab the opportunity an its totally their fault.	1	.1

What are your overall recommendations?	Frequency	Percent
Women are low self-esteemed	1	.1
Women are still inferior in our village	1	.1
Women are to be given equal importance in decision making at all levels	1	.1
Women as equal power as men	1	.1
Women can also be the candidate in LG Elections, Elected women in LG can bring much more development and be role models in community.	1	.1
Women can also be the Gup, Mangmi and Tshogpa	1	.1
Women can also be the leader	1	.1
Women can do equally	1	.1
Women can do requally good	1	.1
Women can't take responsibilities like men	1	.1
Women empowerment program, education to women in remote areas	1	.1
Women have equal power as men	1	.1
Women have lost faith in Chiwog and govt. Our gup women participants lost the LG election 2011.	1	.1
Women have to participate in he Gup election.	1	.1
Women lost the election so it's not fair at all.	1	.1
Women must be encouraged. It creates fair atmosphere and balanced political society. Some may get their (hoped) expected showcase to show their talent and abilities.	1	.1
Women must take part in LGE	1	.1
Women require extra education and trainings	1	.1
Women should be set free from the four walls of the house	1	.1
Women should be encouraged along with it, they must be helped. Our help can turn their weakness to strength	1	.1
Women should be encouraged to participate	1	.1
Women should be given first priority	1	.1
Women should be given more importance at the LG level	1	.1
Women should be given opportunities to voice their rights	1	.1
Women should get equal respect as men	1	.1
Women should not depend for men in any cases. People should not differentiate women and men	1	.1
Womens' status fairly growing	1	.1
WOULD BE GREAT IF I GET THE OPPORTUNITY	1	.1
Would be best if the people would not misused what HM has given to the people and country	1	.1
Would be happy if English subject is added in the NEF education	1	.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1536</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Annex 8: Sex-disaggregated data

Dzongkhag	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Punakha	98	11.9	94	13.2
Paro	104	12.7	88	12.3
Zhemgang	97	11.8	95	13.3
Tsirang	102	12.4	90	12.6
Dagana	100	12.2	92	12.9
Samtse	124	15.1	68	9.5
Monggar	101	12.3	91	12.7
P/gatshel	96	11.7	96	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Dungkhag	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	601	73.1	551	77.2
Lhamoy Zingkha	49	6.0	47	6.6
Nganglam	48	5.8	48	6.7
Sipsu	124	15.1	68	9.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gewog	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Drujegang	51	6.2	45	6.3
Lhamoy Zingkha	49	6.0	47	6.6
Drepong	53	6.4	43	6.0
Jurmey	48	5.8	48	6.7
Hungrel	50	6.1	46	6.4
Dopshari	54	6.6	42	5.9
Dechenling	48	5.8	48	6.7
Khar	48	5.8	48	6.7
Toewang	52	6.3	44	6.2
Kabesa	46	5.6	50	7.0
Namgaycholing	75	9.1	21	2.9
Tashicholing	49	6.0	47	6.6
Rangthangling	54	6.6	42	5.9
Singkhar	49	6.0	47	6.6
Nangor	48	5.8	48	6.7
Mendrelgang	48	5.8	48	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Chiwog	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Tambi Damchu Thambji	52	6.3	44	6.2
Sirigang Wako Damchi	46	5.6	50	7.0
Gaupel	50	6.1	46	6.4
Kempa Kudophoog	54	6.6	42	5.9
Dakphel Tali	48	5.8	48	6.7
Wamling	49	6.0	47	6.6
Pangna Patala	51	6.2	45	6.3
Lhamoy Zingkha (Lungsisa)	49	6.0	47	6.6
Namgaycholing	75	9.1	21	2.9
Dangling Gangjoog	49	6.0	47	6.6
Dzamling Zor	48	5.8	48	6.7
Neymedsa	54	6.6	42	5.9
Khar Yagur	48	5.8	48	6.7
Dechenling Goenpa (Gonpong Lhakhang)	48	5.8	48	6.7
Bainangri Nyanla	53	6.4	43	6.0
Kognala Yarala	48	5.8	48	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Town/Village	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Dakpai	18	2.2	19	2.7
Dangling	33	4.0	40	5.6
Gangjoong	14	1.7	6	.8
Gola Bazaar			1	.1
Gonpawoong	48	5.8	48	6.7
Kognala			14	2.0
lower pangna	42	5.1	38	5.3
Namgaycholing	75	9.1	21	2.9
Neymedsa	54	6.6	42	5.9
Pahagoan	2	.2		
Tali	30	3.6	29	4.1
upper pangna	9	1.1	7	1.0
Village	449	54.6	415	58.1
Yarala	48	5.8	34	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Area	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Urban			3	.4
Semi-Urban	34	4.1	25	3.5
Semi-Remote	330	40.1	307	43.0
Remote	361	43.9	284	39.8
Difficult Place	97	11.8	95	13.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Age group	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
18-25 years	189	23.0	117	16.4
26-35 years	230	28.0	159	22.3
36-45 years	157	19.1	158	22.1
46-55 years	130	15.8	116	16.2
56-65 years	84	10.2	99	13.9
66 years and above	32	3.9	65	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Age group	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Single	148	18.0	122	17.1
Married	576	70.1	540	75.6
Divorced	59	7.2	34	4.8
Widowed	39	4.7	18	2.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What educational level have you reached at the moment?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
No Education	425	51.7	325	45.5
Non-Formal Education	143	17.4	79	11.1
Below class VI	82	10.0	85	11.9
Below class VII	33	4.0	38	5.3
Below class X	56	6.8	40	5.6
Below XII	63	7.7	58	8.1
Bachelors	11	1.3	19	2.7
Masters and above	1	.1	6	.8
Vocational Education	4	.5	6	.8
Monastic Education	4	.5	58	8.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your current occupation?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Parliamentarian	1	.1	3	.4
Civil Servant	22	2.7	39	5.5
Government Corporate Employee	6	.7	6	.8
Private Corporate Employee	2	.2	8	1.1
Private Business	34	4.1	38	5.3
Gup			2	.3
Mangmi			4	.6
Tshogpa	3	.4	12	1.7
Chupon	3	.4	6	.8
Local Community Leader	4	.5	1	.1
Farmer	684	83.2	534	74.8
Monk	1	.1	6	.8
Student	62	7.5	54	7.6
Village aHealth Worker			1	.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What has been your previous occupation/s?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Parliamentarian	1	.1	1	.1
Judiciary			1	.1
Civil Servant	20	2.4	45	6.3
Government Corporate Employee	7	.9	5	.7
Private Corporate Employee	5	.6	9	1.3
Private Business	27	3.3	27	3.8
Gup			9	1.3
Mangmi			13	1.8
Tshogpa	6	.7	20	2.8
Chupon	6	.7	27	3.8
Local Community Leader	1	.1	1	.1
Farmer	670	81.5	457	64.0
Monk	2	.2	27	3.8
Student	77	9.4	66	9.2
Army			6	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your monthly income (in Ngultrum)?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Below 1500	392	47.7	262	36.7
1500-3000	228	27.7	210	29.4
3000-5000	52	6.3	82	11.5
5000-10000	51	6.2	48	6.7
10000-15000	19	2.3	24	3.4
15000-20000	10	1.2	19	2.7
20000-30000	12	1.5	16	2.2
Over 30000	6	.7	8	1.1
No Income	52	6.3	45	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

What is your main source of Income?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Salary	55	6.7	83	11.6
Business	98	11.9	84	11.8
Cash crops	584	71.0	463	64.8
Dividends	3	.4	1	.1
Rental of Properties	9	1.1	9	1.3
No Source	73	8.9	74	10.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	127	15.5	104	14.6
Agree	290	35.3	244	34.2
Neutral	134	16.3	161	22.5
Disagree	195	23.7	150	21.0
Strongly Disagree	76	9.2	55	7.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	92	11.2	93	13.0
Agree	428	52.1	355	49.7
Neutral	170	20.7	151	21.1
Disagree	103	12.5	85	11.9
Strongly Disagree	29	3.5	30	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	95	11.6	105	14.7
Agree	384	46.7	292	40.9
Neutral	221	26.9	224	31.4
Disagree	112	13.6	74	10.4
Strongly Disagree	10	1.2	19	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	112	13.6	92	12.9
Agree	345	42.0	301	42.2
Neutral	251	30.5	205	28.7
Disagree	93	11.3	96	13.4
Strongly Disagree	21	2.6	20	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmi, gups, etc.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	331	40.3	293	41.0
Agree	322	39.2	266	37.3
Neutral	117	14.2	107	15.0
Disagree	44	5.4	31	4.3
Strongly Disagree	8	1.0	17	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	155	18.9	119	16.7
Agree	404	49.1	340	47.6
Neutral	208	25.3	212	29.7
Disagree	45	5.5	32	4.5
Strongly Disagree	10	1.2	11	1.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	93	11.3	66	9.2
Agree	330	40.1	241	33.8
Neutral	165	20.1	173	24.2
Disagree	171	20.8	184	25.8
Strongly Disagree	63	7.7	50	7.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Leadership and politics are seen as a masculine activity.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	42	5.1	52	7.3
Agree	260	31.6	234	32.8
Neutral	249	30.3	203	28.4
Disagree	191	23.2	168	23.5
Strongly Disagree	80	9.7	57	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	126	15.3	112	15.7
Agree	368	44.8	337	47.2
Neutral	179	21.8	145	20.3
Disagree	112	13.6	97	13.6
Strongly Disagree	37	4.5	23	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	54	6.6	51	7.1
Agree	298	36.3	253	35.4
Neutral	184	22.4	175	24.5
Disagree	225	27.4	197	27.6
Strongly Disagree	61	7.4	38	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Men are leaders and women have to follow.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	59	7.2	52	7.3
Agree	198	24.1	164	23.0
Neutral	157	19.1	148	20.7
Disagree	250	30.4	232	32.5
Strongly Disagree	158	19.2	118	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	61	7.4	55	7.7
Agree	251	30.5	221	31.0
Neutral	175	21.3	175	24.5
Disagree	235	28.6	192	26.9
Strongly Disagree	100	12.2	71	9.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	65	7.9	70	9.8
Agree	299	36.4	260	36.4
Neutral	204	24.8	176	24.6
Disagree	198	24.1	170	23.8
Strongly Disagree	56	6.8	38	5.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women are restricted to form groups.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	34	4.1	29	4.1
Agree	226	27.5	171	23.9
Neutral	202	24.6	174	24.4
Disagree	276	33.6	271	38.0
Strongly Disagree	84	10.2	69	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women are restricted from public spaces.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	33	4.0	20	2.8
Agree	218	26.5	162	22.7
Neutral	187	22.7	175	24.5
Disagree	296	36.0	250	35.0
Strongly Disagree	88	10.7	107	15.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	36	4.4	34	4.8
Agree	211	25.7	156	21.8
Neutral	249	30.3	200	28.0
Disagree	226	27.5	250	35.0
Strongly Disagree	100	12.2	74	10.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	98	11.9	89	12.5
Agree	337	41.0	250	35.0
Neutral	186	22.6	205	28.7
Disagree	159	19.3	140	19.6
Strongly Disagree	42	5.1	30	4.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	73	8.9	62	8.7
Agree	341	41.5	247	34.6
Neutral	185	22.5	216	30.3
Disagree	175	21.3	153	21.4
Strongly Disagree	48	5.8	36	5.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	99	12.0	82	11.5
Agree	332	40.4	288	40.3
Neutral	179	21.8	162	22.7
Disagree	152	18.5	150	21.0
Strongly Disagree	60	7.3	32	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	91	11.1	78	10.9
Agree	365	44.4	322	45.1
Neutral	188	22.9	184	25.8
Disagree	128	15.6	88	12.3
Strongly Disagree	50	6.1	42	5.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	42	5.1	48	6.7
Agree	328	39.9	291	40.8
Neutral	258	31.4	231	32.4
Disagree	172	20.9	131	18.3
Strongly Disagree	22	2.7	13	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	61	7.4	56	7.8
Agree	362	44.0	310	43.4
Neutral	217	26.4	202	28.3
Disagree	128	15.6	98	13.7
Strongly Disagree	54	6.6	48	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	58	7.1	47	6.6
Agree	302	36.7	260	36.4
Neutral	238	29.0	196	27.5
Disagree	180	21.9	165	23.1
Strongly Disagree	44	5.4	46	6.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	160	19.5	131	18.3
Agree	394	47.9	316	44.3
Neutral	161	19.6	142	19.9
Disagree	88	10.7	104	14.6
Strongly Disagree	19	2.3	21	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women depend on men for financial matters.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	64	7.8	64	9.0
Agree	300	36.5	240	33.6
Neutral	199	24.2	181	25.4
Disagree	201	24.5	182	25.5
Strongly Disagree	58	7.1	47	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	47	5.7	55	7.7
Agree	280	34.1	236	33.1
Neutral	220	26.8	193	27.0
Disagree	213	25.9	183	25.6
Strongly Disagree	62	7.5	47	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	70	8.5	57	8.0
Agree	216	26.3	201	28.2
Neutral	249	30.3	235	32.9
Disagree	196	23.8	141	19.7
Strongly Disagree	91	11.1	80	11.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	75	9.1	68	9.5
Agree	331	40.3	255	35.7
Neutral	293	35.6	268	37.5
Disagree	96	11.7	104	14.6
Strongly Disagree	27	3.3	19	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	77	9.4	42	5.9
Agree	262	31.9	248	34.7
Neutral	268	32.6	220	30.8
Disagree	187	22.7	177	24.8
Strongly Disagree	28	3.4	27	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	177	21.5	113	15.8
Agree	344	41.8	298	41.7
Neutral	220	26.8	210	29.4
Disagree	71	8.6	76	10.6
Strongly Disagree	10	1.2	17	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	95	11.6	68	9.5
Agree	359	43.7	314	44.0
Neutral	294	35.8	246	34.5
Disagree	70	8.5	78	10.9
Strongly Disagree	4	.5	8	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	85	10.3	54	7.6
Agree	342	41.6	304	42.6
Neutral	321	39.1	296	41.5
Disagree	68	8.3	55	7.7
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	5	.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	76	9.2	62	8.7
Agree	375	45.6	353	49.4
Neutral	302	36.7	232	32.5
Disagree	64	7.8	63	8.8
Strongly Disagree	5	.6	4	.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	58	7.1	40	5.6
Agree	304	37.0	299	41.9
Neutral	338	41.1	246	34.5
Disagree	112	13.6	94	13.2
Strongly Disagree	10	1.2	35	4.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	69	8.4	43	6.0
Agree	297	36.1	300	42.0
Neutral	361	43.9	273	38.2
Disagree	86	10.5	89	12.5
Strongly Disagree	9	1.1	9	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	192	23.4	140	19.6
Agree	335	40.8	299	41.9
Neutral	179	21.8	157	22.0
Disagree	102	12.4	91	12.7
Strongly Disagree	14	1.7	27	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	104	12.7	119	16.7
Agree	391	47.6	319	44.7
Neutral	197	24.0	168	23.5
Disagree	124	15.1	91	12.7
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	17	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	87	10.6	87	12.2
Agree	340	41.4	290	40.6
Neutral	328	39.9	256	35.9
Disagree	63	7.7	74	10.4
Strongly Disagree	4	.5	7	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	79	9.6	70	9.8
Agree	293	35.6	266	37.3
Neutral	280	34.1	245	34.3
Disagree	143	17.4	98	13.7
Strongly Disagree	27	3.3	35	4.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	73	8.9	59	8.3
Agree	270	32.8	235	32.9
Neutral	283	34.4	235	32.9
Disagree	171	20.8	142	19.9
Strongly Disagree	25	3.0	43	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	137	16.7	114	16.0
Agree	429	52.2	350	49.0
Neutral	187	22.7	183	25.6
Disagree	63	7.7	59	8.3
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	8	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	51	6.2	48	6.7
Agree	291	35.4	218	30.5
Neutral	321	39.1	271	38.0
Disagree	143	17.4	151	21.1
Strongly Disagree	16	1.9	26	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	53	6.4	46	6.4
Agree	300	36.5	232	32.5
Neutral	358	43.6	288	40.3
Disagree	95	11.6	122	17.1
Strongly Disagree	16	1.9	26	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	155	18.9	146	20.4
Agree	348	42.3	279	39.1
Neutral	281	34.2	222	31.1
Disagree	32	3.9	60	8.4
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	7	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	105	12.8	89	12.5
Agree	440	53.5	370	51.8
Neutral	227	27.6	196	27.5
Disagree	45	5.5	51	7.1
Strongly Disagree	5	.6	8	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are effective gender sensitization pro-programmes in place on prevailing gender stereo-types.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	49	6.0	45	6.3
Agree	347	42.2	294	41.2
Neutral	353	42.9	299	41.9
Disagree	64	7.8	64	9.0
Strongly Disagree	9	1.1	12	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	56	6.8	46	6.4
Agree	323	39.3	289	40.5
Neutral	367	44.6	301	42.2
Disagree	70	8.5	72	10.1
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	6	.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	131	15.9	121	16.9
Agree	423	51.5	369	51.7
Neutral	226	27.5	172	24.1
Disagree	37	4.5	42	5.9
Strongly Disagree	5	.6	10	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There is generally a gender responsive enabling environments in place.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	50	6.1	42	5.9
Agree	361	43.9	305	42.7
Neutral	364	44.3	307	43.0
Disagree	44	5.4	53	7.4
Strongly Disagree	3	.4	7	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	81	9.9	68	9.5
Agree	380	46.2	312	43.7
Neutral	297	36.1	259	36.3
Disagree	59	7.2	68	9.5
Strongly Disagree	5	.6	7	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	86	10.5	91	12.7
Agree	391	47.6	354	49.6
Neutral	292	35.5	220	30.8
Disagree	46	5.6	47	6.6
Strongly Disagree	7	.9	2	.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	58	7.1	50	7.0
Agree	303	36.9	296	41.5
Neutral	397	48.3	306	42.9
Disagree	60	7.3	50	7.0
Strongly Disagree	4	.5	12	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	54	6.6	39	5.5
Agree	262	31.9	265	37.1
Neutral	391	47.6	295	41.3
Disagree	109	13.3	101	14.1
Strongly Disagree	6	.7	14	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	54	6.6	41	5.7
Agree	255	31.0	271	38.0
Neutral	393	47.8	279	39.1
Disagree	112	13.6	110	15.4
Strongly Disagree	8	1.0	13	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A. Double or Triple Burden	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	156	19.0	136	19.0
2	106	12.9	89	12.5
3	63	7.7	43	6.0
4	59	7.2	45	6.3
5	43	5.2	63	8.8
6	45	5.5	43	6.0
7	44	5.4	53	7.4
8	52	6.3	57	8.0
9	74	9.0	57	8.0
10	180	21.9	128	17.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

B. Attitudes and Stereotypes	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	28	3.4	40	5.6
2	76	9.2	59	8.3
3	70	8.5	55	7.7
4	74	9.0	89	12.5
5	64	7.8	67	9.4
6	106	12.9	78	10.9
7	110	13.4	95	13.3
8	116	14.1	86	12.0
9	139	16.9	122	17.1
10	39	4.7	23	3.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

C. Patriarchal Values	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	48	5.8	32	4.5
2	51	6.2	43	6.0
3	57	6.9	65	9.1
4	77	9.4	51	7.1
5	72	8.8	73	10.2
6	93	11.3	74	10.4
7	101	12.3	84	11.8
8	164	20.0	148	20.7
9	105	12.8	92	12.9
10	54	6.6	52	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	58	7.1	50	7.0
2	89	10.8	85	11.9
3	103	12.5	99	13.9
4	108	13.1	96	13.4
5	92	11.2	72	10.1
6	97	11.8	72	10.1
7	131	15.9	109	15.3
8	52	6.3	47	6.6
9	41	5.0	32	4.5
10	51	6.2	52	7.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

E. Decision-Making	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	70	8.5	70	9.8
2	63	7.7	57	8.0
3	102	12.4	92	12.9
4	109	13.3	95	13.3
5	133	16.2	95	13.3
6	147	17.9	136	19.0
7	67	8.2	57	8.0
8	52	6.3	42	5.9
9	36	4.4	41	5.7
10	43	5.2	29	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

F. Socio-Economic Barriers	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	36	4.4	31	4.3
2	34	4.1	38	5.3
3	66	8.0	58	8.1
4	96	11.7	65	9.1
5	188	22.9	151	21.1
6	87	10.6	82	11.5
7	101	12.3	77	10.8
8	97	11.8	89	12.5
9	78	9.5	82	11.5
10	39	4.7	41	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

G. Election System and Processes	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	31	3.8	33	4.6
2	41	5.0	26	3.6
3	77	9.4	67	9.4
4	142	17.3	128	17.9
5	62	7.5	50	7.0
<b>6</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>7.3</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>9.7</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>8.1</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>13.6</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>18.8</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

H. Functional Language Skills	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	63	7.7	51	7.1
2	134	16.3	115	16.1
3	161	19.6	136	19.0
4	59	7.2	58	8.1
5	63	7.7	66	9.2
<b>6</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>11.2</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>8.3</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>11.6</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>5.6</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>3.6</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I. Education and Training	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	198	24.1	169	23.7
2	183	22.3	157	22.0
3	73	8.9	59	8.3
4	39	4.7	39	5.5
5	53	6.4	44	6.2
<b>6</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>6.2</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>8.0</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5.2</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>8.2</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>8.7</b>
<b>10</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>6.4</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1	134	16.3	110	15.4
2	46	5.6	49	6.9
3	44	5.4	37	5.2
4	59	7.2	56	7.8
5	62	7.5	31	4.3
6	62	7.5	54	7.6
7	48	5.8	53	7.4
8	62	7.5	61	8.5
9	103	12.5	88	12.3
10	202	24.6	175	24.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How interested are you to participate as candidate in the future local governance elections?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very Interested	128	15.6	148	20.7
Interested	330	40.1	292	40.9
Slightly interested	150	18.2	126	17.6
Not interested at all	214	26.0	148	20.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How are you involved in the current local governance elections?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very involved	75	9.1	86	12.0
Involved	364	44.3	321	45.0
Less involved	229	27.9	173	24.2
Not involved at all	143	17.4	122	17.1
Would rather not say	11	1.3	12	1.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Would you like to be more involved in the political process than you are at the moment?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	600	73.0	558	78.2
No	222	27.0	156	21.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much would you like to be involved in the political process than you are at the moment?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Highly involved	115	14.0	123	17.2
Involved	358	43.6	326	45.7
Less involved	253	30.8	174	24.4
Not involved at all	96	11.7	91	12.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Overall, how fair do you think the electoral process is at the local governance level?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very fair	235	28.6	246	34.5
Fair	487	59.2	367	51.4
Not fair	77	9.4	80	11.2
Would rather not say	23	2.8	21	2.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who is traditionally allowed to inherit land/property or other assets in your community?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
All family members	492	59.9	411	57.6
Male family members only	222	27.0	230	32.2
Female family members only	108	13.1	73	10.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Household expenditure	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	115	14.0	109	15.3
Male	121	14.7	139	19.5
Female	167	20.3	102	14.3
Male and female jointly	379	46.1	314	44.0
All members including children	40	4.9	50	7.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Education	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	61	7.4	57	8.0
Male	89	10.8	100	14.0
Female	107	13.0	53	7.4
Male and female jointly	459	55.8	418	58.5
All members including children	106	12.9	86	12.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Health	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	75	9.1	67	9.4
Male	76	9.2	95	13.3
Female	127	15.5	57	8.0
Male and female jointly	452	55.0	411	57.6
All members including children	92	11.2	84	11.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Political decisions	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	102	12.4	95	13.3
Male	146	17.8	161	22.5
Female	112	13.6	37	5.2
Male and female jointly	384	46.7	338	47.3
All members including children	78	9.5	83	11.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Marriage Choices	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	126	15.3	102	14.3
Male	52	6.3	81	11.3
Female	92	11.2	34	4.8
Male and female jointly	460	56.0	395	55.3
All members including children	92	11.2	102	14.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Religious	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	289	35.2	237	33.2
Male	62	7.5	78	10.9
Female	86	10.5	31	4.3
Male and female jointly	285	34.7	246	34.5
All members including children	100	12.2	122	17.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Decision - Sale of family properties	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Oldest member	201	24.5	152	21.3
Male	76	9.2	74	10.4
Female	71	8.6	41	5.7
Male and female jointly	312	38.0	266	37.3
All members including children	162	19.7	181	25.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Household expenditure	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	179	21.8	163	22.8
Fairly high degree	387	47.1	301	42.2
Small degree	234	28.5	222	31.1
Not at all	22	2.7	28	3.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Education	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	167	20.3	212	29.7
Fairly high degree	420	51.1	304	42.6
Small degree	215	26.2	178	24.9
Not at all	20	2.4	20	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Health	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	210	25.5	217	30.4
Fairly high degree	377	45.9	314	44.0
Small degree	215	26.2	163	22.8
Not at all	20	2.4	20	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Political decisions	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	119	14.5	147	20.6
Fairly high degree	365	44.4	331	46.4
Small degree	282	34.3	188	26.3
Not at all	56	6.8	48	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Marriage Choices	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	133	16.2	132	18.5
Fairly high degree	349	42.5	317	44.4
Small degree	283	34.4	220	30.8
Not at all	57	6.9	45	6.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Religious	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	198	24.1	181	25.4
Fairly high degree	384	46.7	354	49.6
Small degree	212	25.8	159	22.3
Not at all	28	3.4	20	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Personal Decision Degree - Sale of family properties	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	76	9.2	105	14.7
Fairly high degree	341	41.5	288	40.3
Small degree	269	32.7	218	30.5
Not at all	136	16.5	103	14.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

To what degree do you feel you have control over decisions regarding your own personal welfare, health and body?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very high degree	186	22.6	185	25.9
High degree	400	48.7	322	45.1
Small degree	215	26.2	187	26.2
Not at all	21	2.6	20	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Where do you go on your own?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Everywhere I want to	133	16.2	153	21.4
Most places I want to	375	45.6	320	44.8
Some places i want to	254	30.9	192	26.9
Nowhere	60	7.3	49	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO1	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	115	14.0	93	13.0
Chupon	1	.1	1	.1
Community	65	7.9	70	9.8
Dungpa	1	.1	2	.3
Dzongda	1	.1		
Elderly People	26	3.2	15	2.1
GAO	2	.2	3	.4
Gup	492	59.9	422	59.1
Known person in the village	3	.4	6	.8
Mangmi	6	.7	8	1.1
National Council			1	.1
Tshogpa	110	13.4	93	13.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO2	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	127	15.5	102	14.3
Business Community	2	.2		
Chupon	12	1.5	6	.8
Community	1	.1		
Dungpa	1	.1		
DYT	3	.4	2	.3
Dzongda			2	.3
Elderly People	12	1.5	13	1.8
GAO			2	.3
Gup	94	11.4	80	11.2
GYT	5	.6	7	1.0
Head of the family	2	.2		
Known person in the village	6	.7	5	.7
Mangmi	376	45.7	361	50.6
Public	18	2.2	10	1.4
Rich People	1	.1	1	.1
Tshogpa	162	19.7	123	17.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Who makes the decisions about public services in your community? NO3	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
	139	16.9	115	16.1
Business Community			1	.1
Chupon	9	1.1	12	1.7
Community	5	.6	1	.1
Drangpon	1	.1		
Dungpa			1	.1
DYT	2	.2	2	.3
Dzongda	43	5.2	41	5.7
Elderly People	3	.4	1	.1
Elderly Peoples	10	1.2	7	1.0
GAO	5	.6	1	.1
Gup	63	7.7	59	8.3
Head of the family	1	.1		
Influential peoples			1	.1
Known person in the village	3	.4	2	.3
Mangmi	89	10.8	52	7.3
Politician (MP)	2	.2	1	.1
Public	68	8.3	53	7.4
Sector Head	1	.1		
Tshogpa	378	46.0	364	51.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How involved do you feel in these decision-making processes within your community?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Involved all the time	95	11.6	143	20.0
Involved in important issues	396	48.2	365	51.1
Less involved	249	30.3	162	22.7
Not involved at all	82	10.0	44	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much would you like to be involved in these decision-making processes within your community?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Involved all the time	132	16.1	163	22.8
Involved in important issues	386	47.0	361	50.6
Less involved	226	27.5	143	20.0
Not involved at all	78	9.5	47	6.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

How much influence do you feel you have in community level decision-making processes?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
High	35	4.3	66	9.2
Medium	377	45.9	360	50.4
Low	195	23.7	138	19.3
No influence	215	26.2	150	21.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Does Bhutan's Electoral System and Processes and electoral legislation pose difficulties for women voters as well as for women candidates?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	316	38.4	244	34.2
No	506	61.6	470	65.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Would it make a positive difference if women are in the local government?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	589	71.7	466	65.3
No	233	28.3	248	34.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>822</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>714</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Annex-9: Output - overall - subtopic-average

DOUBLE TRIPLE BURDEN	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	231	15.0	534	34.8	295	19.2	345	22.5	131	8.5	1536	100
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	185	12.0	783	51.0	321	20.9	188	12.2	59	3.8	1536	100
Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.	200	13.0	676	44.0	445	29.0	186	12.1	29	1.9	1536	100
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	204	13.3	646	42.1	456	29.7	189	12.3	41	2.7	1536	100
Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmi, gups, etc.	624	40.6	588	38.3	224	14.6	75	4.9	25	1.6	1536	100
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	274	17.8	744	48.4	420	27.3	77	5.0	21	1.4	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>18.6</b>		<b>43.1</b>		<b>23.4</b>		<b>11.5</b>		<b>3.3</b>		<b>100</b>

ATTITUDE AND STEREOTYPES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	159	10.4	571	37.2	338	22.0	355	23.1	113	7.4	1536	100
Leadership and politics are seen as a masculine activity.	94	6.1	494	32.2	452	29.4	359	23.4	137	8.9	1536	100
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	238	15.5	705	45.9	324	21.1	209	13.6	60	3.9	1536	100
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	105	6.8	551	35.9	359	23.4	422	27.5	99	6.4	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9.7</b>		<b>37.8</b>		<b>24.0</b>		<b>21.9</b>		<b>6.7</b>		<b>100</b>

PATRIARCHAL VALUES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	111	7.2	362	23.6	305	19.9	482	31.4	276	18.0	1536	100
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	116	7.6	472	30.7	350	22.8	427	27.8	171	11.1	1536	100
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	135	8.8	559	36.4	380	24.7	368	24.0	94	6.1	1536	100
Women are restricted to form groups.	63	4.1	397	25.8	376	24.5	547	35.6	153	10.0	1536	100
Women are restricted from public spaces.	53	3.5	380	24.7	362	23.6	546	35.5	195	12.7	1536	100
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	70	4.6	367	23.9	449	29.2	476	31.0	174	11.3	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>5.9</b>		<b>27.5</b>		<b>24.1</b>		<b>30.9</b>		<b>11.5</b>		<b>100</b>

SELF-IMAGE SELF-ESTEEM	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	187	12.2	587	38.2	391	25.5	299	19.5	72	4.7	1536	100
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	135	8.8	588	38.3	401	26.1	328	21.4	84	5.5	1536	100
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	181	11.8	620	40.4	341	22.2	302	19.7	92	6.0	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10.9</b>		<b>39.0</b>		<b>24.6</b>		<b>20.2</b>		<b>5.4</b>		<b>100</b>

DECISION MAKING	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	169	11.0	687	44.7	372	24.2	216	14.1	92	6.0	1536	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	90	5.9	619	40.3	489	31.8	303	19.7	35	2.3	1536	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	117	7.6	672	43.8	419	27.3	226	14.7	102	6.6	1536	100
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	105	6.8	562	36.6	434	28.3	345	22.5	90	5.9	1536	100
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	291	18.9	710	46.2	303	19.7	192	12.5	40	2.6	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10.1</b>		<b>42.3</b>		<b>26.3</b>		<b>16.7</b>		<b>4.7</b>		<b>100</b>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women depend on men for financial matters.	128	8.3	540	35.2	380	24.7	383	24.9	105	6.8	1536	100
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	102	6.6	516	33.6	413	26.9	396	25.8	109	7.1	1536	100
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	127	8.3	417	27.1	484	31.5	337	21.9	171	11.1	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>7.7</b>		<b>32.0</b>		<b>27.7</b>		<b>24.2</b>		<b>8.4</b>		<b>100</b>

ELECTION SYSTEM AND PROCESS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Our election system being – ‘One candidate per Constituency’ –political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	143	9	586	38	561	37	200	13	46	3	1536	100
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	119	8	510	33	488	32	364	24	55	4	1536	100
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	290	19	642	42	430	28	147	10	27	2	1536	100
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	163	11	673	44	540	35	148	10	12	1	1536	100
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	139	9	646	42	617	40	123	8	11	1	1536	100
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	138	9	728	47	534	35	127	8	9	1	1536	100
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	98	6	603	39	584	38	206	13	45	3	1536	100
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	112	7	597	39	634	41	175	11	18	1	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>41</b>		<b>36</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE SKILLS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	332	21.6	634	41.3	336	21.9	193	12.6	41	2.7	1536	100
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	223	14.5	710	46.2	365	23.8	215	14.0	23	1.5	1536	100
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	174	11.3	630	41.0	584	38.0	137	8.9	11	.7	1536	100
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	149	9.7	559	36.4	525	34.2	241	15.7	62	4.0	1536	100
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	132	8.6	505	32.9	518	33.7	313	20.4	68	4.4	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>13.2</b>		<b>39.6</b>		<b>30.3</b>		<b>14.3</b>		<b>2.7</b>		<b>100</b>

EDUCATION AND TRAINING	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	251	16	779	51	370	24	122	8	14	1	1536	100
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	99	6	509	33	592	39	294	19	42	3	1536	100
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	99	6	532	35	646	42	217	14	42	3	1536	100
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	301	20	627	41	503	33	92	6	13	1	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>34</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	194	13	810	53	423	28	96	6	13	1	1536	100
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	94	6	641	42	652	42	128	8	21	1	1536	100
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	252	16	792	52	398	26	79	5	15	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	149	10	692	45	556	36	127	8	12	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	108	7	599	39	703	46	110	7	16	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	93	6	527	34	686	45	210	14	20	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	95	6	526	34	672	44	222	14	21	1	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>43</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>100</b>

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	194	13	810	53	423	28	96	6	13	1	1536	100
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	94	6	641	42	652	42	128	8	21	1	1536	100
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	252	16	792	52	398	26	79	5	15	1	1536	100

There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	149	10	692	45	556	36	127	8	12	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	108	7	599	39	703	46	110	7	16	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	93	6	527	34	686	45	210	14	20	1	1536	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	95	6	526	34	672	44	222	14	21	1	1536	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>43</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>100</b>	

<b>A. Double or Triple Burden</b>	5.39
<b>B. Attitudes and Stereotypes</b>	5.95
<b>C. Patriarchal Values</b>	6.18
<b>D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem</b>	5.12
<b>E. Decision-Making</b>	4.98
<b>F. Socio-Economic Barriers</b>	5.80
<b>G. Election System and Processes</b>	6.26
<b>H. Functional Language Skills</b>	4.84
<b>I. Education and Training</b>	4.20
<b>J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment</b>	6.17

## Annex-10: Female-Subtopic - average

DOUBLE/TRIPLE BURDEN	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	127	15.5	290	35.3	134	16.3	195	23.7	76	9.2	822	100.0
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	92	11.2	428	52.1	170	20.7	103	12.5	29	3.5	822	100.0
Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.	95	11.6	384	46.7	221	26.9	112	13.6	10	1.2	822	100.0
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	112	13.6	345	42.0	251	30.5	93	11.3	21	2.6	822	100.0
Women can participate not only as voters but also as <i>tshogpas, mangmi, gups</i> , etc.	331	40.3	322	39.2	117	14.2	44	5.4	8	1.0	822	100.0
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	155	18.9	404	49.1	208	25.3	45	5.5	10	1.2	822	100.0
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>18.5</b>		<b>44.1</b>		<b>22.3</b>		<b>12.0</b>		<b>3.1</b>		<b>100.0</b>

ATTITUDE AND STEREOTYPES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	93	11	330	40	165	20	171	21	63	8	822	100
Leadership and politics are seen as a masculine activity.	42	5	260	32	249	30	191	23	80	10	822	100
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	126	15	368	45	179	22	112	14	37	5	822	100
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	54	7	298	36	184	22	225	27	61	7	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>21</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>100</b>

PATRIARCHAL VALUES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	59	7	198	24	157	19	250	30	158	19	822	100
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	61	7	251	31	175	21	235	29	100	12	822	100
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	65	8	299	36	204	25	198	24	56	7	822	100
Women are restricted to form groups.	34	4	226	27	202	25	276	34	84	10	822	100
Women are restricted from public spaces.	33	4	218	27	187	23	296	36	88	11	822	100
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	36	4	211	26	249	30	226	27	100	12	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>28</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>30</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>100</b>

SELF-IMAGE&SELF-ESTEEM	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	98	12	337	41	186	23	159	19	42	5	822	100
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	73	9	341	41	185	23	175	21	48	6	822	100
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	99	12	332	40	179	22	152	18	60	7	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>41</b>		<b>22</b>		<b>20</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>100</b>

DECISION-MAKING	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	91	11	365	44	188	23	128	16	50	6	822	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	42	5	328	40	258	31	172	21	22	3	822	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	61	7	362	44	217	26	128	16	54	7	822	100
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	58	7	302	37	238	29	180	22	44	5	822	100
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	160	19	394	48	161	20	88	11	19	2	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>42.6</b>		<b>26</b>		<b>17</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>100</b>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women depend on men for financial matters.	64	8	300	36	199	24	201	24	58	7	822	100
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	47	6	280	34	220	27	213	26	62	8	822	100
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	70	9	216	26	249	30	196	24	91	11	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>7</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>25</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>100</b>

ELECTIONS SYSTEM AND PROCESS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	75	9	331	40	293	36	96	12	27	3	822	100
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	77	9	262	32	268	33	187	23	28	3	822	100
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	177	22	344	42	220	27	71	9	10	1	822	100
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	95	12	359	44	294	36	70	9	4		822	100
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	85	10	342	42	321	39	68	8	6	1	822	100
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	76	9	375	46	302	37	64	8	5	1	822	100
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	58	7	304	37	338	41	112	14	10	1	822	100
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	69	8	297	36	361	44	86	10	9	1	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>36</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE SKILLS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	192	23	335	41	179	22	102	12	14	2	822	100
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	104	13	391	48	197	24	124	15	6	1	822	100
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	87	11	340	41	328	40	63	8	4		822	100
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	79	10	293	36	280	34	143	17	27	3	822	100
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	73	9	270	33	283	34	171	21	25	3	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>13</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>31</b>		<b>15</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE SKILLS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	137	17	429	52	187	23	63	8	6	1	822	100
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	51	6	291	35	321	39	143	17	16	2	822	100
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	53	6	300	36	358	44	95	12	16	2	822	100
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	155	19	348	42	281	34	32	4	6	1	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>42</b>		<b>35</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>100</b>

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	105	13	440	54	227	28	45	5	5	1	822	100
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	49	6	347	42	353	43	64	8	9	1	822	100
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	56	7	323	39	367	45	70	9	6	1	822	100
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	131	16	423	51	226	27	37	5	5	1	822	100
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environments in place.	50	6	361	44	364	44	44	5	3		822	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	81	10	380	46	297	36	59	7	5	1	822	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	86	10	391	48	292	36	46	6	7	1	822	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	58	7	303	37	397	48	60	7	4		822	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	54	7	262	32	391	48	109	13	6	1	822	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	54	7	255	31	393	48	112	14	8	1	822	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>42</b>		<b>40</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>100</b>

<b>A. Double or Triple Burden</b>	5.44
<b>B. Attitudes and Stereotypes</b>	6.06
<b>C. Patriarchal Values</b>	6.14
<b>D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem</b>	5.15
<b>E. Decision-Making</b>	5.02
<b>F. Socio-Economic Barriers</b>	5.75
<b>G. Election System and Processes</b>	6.19
<b>H. Functional Language Skills</b>	4.87
<b>I. Education and Training</b>	4.18
<b>J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment</b>	6.15

## Annex-11: Male - Subtopic-average

DOUBLE/TRIPLE BURDEN	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women's roles are seen as only reproductive and in charge of homes.	104	15	244	34	161	23	150	21	55	8	714	100
Women's participation in public life is prevented by practical roles they play as housewives and mothers.	93	13	355	50	151	21	85	12	30	4	714	100
Having to make a choice between "mother-work" and "other-work" discriminates women from public life.	105	15	292	41	224	31	74	10	19	3	714	100
Women's double burden of income generation and domestic work discourages and prevents women from entering politics as it leaves them with less time and energy for public life.	92	13	301	42	205	29	96	13	20	3	714	100
Women can participate not only as voters but also as tshogpas, mangmi, gups, etc.	293	41	266	37	107	15	31	4	17	2	714	100
Women need to strike a balance between family and public life.	119	17	340	48	212	30	32	4	11	2	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>19</b>		<b>42</b>		<b>25</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>100</b>

ATTITUDE AND STEREOTYPES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women are portrayed as less capable than men.	66	9	241	34	173	24	184	26	50	7	714	100
Leadership and politics are seen as a masculine activity.	52	7	234	33	203	28	168	24	57	8	714	100
Women accept that they are emotional, soft, passive and weak.	112	16	337	47	145	20	97	14	23	3	714	100
Women have lower expectations of their leadership capability and role in politics.	51	7	253	35	175	25	197	28	38	5	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>37</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>23</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>100</b>

PATRIARCHAL VALUES	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Men are leaders and women have to follow.	52	7	164	23	148	21	232	32	118	17	714	100
Women are inferior and subordinate to men, and therefore dependent on men.	55	8	221	31	175	25	192	27	71	10	714	100
There are not many role-models for women to look up to.	70	10	260	36	176	25	170	24	38	5	714	100
Women are restricted to form groups.	29	4	171	24	174	24	271	38	69	10	714	100
Women are restricted from public spaces.	20	3	162	23	175	25	250	35	107	15	714	100
Women cannot assert themselves in the Bhutanese society.	34	5	156	22	200	28	250	35	74	10	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>6</b>		<b>26</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>100</b>

SELF-IMAGE&SELF-ESTEEM	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women have extremely low self-esteem.	89	12	250	35	205	29	140	20	30	4	714	100
Bhutanese women have poor self-image.	62	9	247	35	216	30	153	21	36	5	714	100
Bhutanese women lack experience of working in public spaces.	82	11	288	40	162	23	150	21	32	4	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>11</b>		<b>37</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>21</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>100</b>

DECISION-MAKING	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at home	78	11	322	45	184	26	88	12	42	6	714	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making in the village/community	48	7	291	41	231	32	131	18	13	2	714	100
Bhutanese women are passive participants in decision-making at the geog level	56	8	310	43	202	28	98	14	48	7	714	100
Bhutanese women are denied a meaningful and visible decision-making role in public spaces, including politics.	47	7	260	36	196	27	165	23	46	6	714	100
Don't talk like "Aum-Tshu Morem!" is a frequently heard expression whether at home or in public spaces.	131	18	316	44	142	20	104	15	21	3	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>10</b>		<b>42</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>16</b>		<b>5</b>		<b>100</b>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Women depend on men for financial matters.	64	9	240	34	181	25	182	25	47	7	714	100
Women lack access and control over income and other resources.	55	8	236	33	193	27	183	26	47	7	714	100
It is rare for women to have ownership of land and properties.	57	8	201	28	235	33	141	20	80	11	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>32</b>		<b>28</b>		<b>24</b>		<b>8</b>		<b>100</b>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Our election system being – ‘One Candidate per Constituency’ – political parties fill in the most eligible candidates which are not necessarily women candidates.	68	10	255	36	268	38	104	15	19	3	714	100
Our political system being – ‘Winner take all type’ – women do not get elected.	42	6	248	35	220	31	177	25	27	4	714	100
Government should introduce a system of quotas or seat reservations for women to bring about proportional representation of women in the local governance.	113	16	298	42	210	29	76	11	17	2	714	100
Election system and processes have inbuilt mechanism to motivate women participation in Local elections.	68	10	314	44	246	34	78	11	8	1	714	100
I am aware of the Existence of specific laws or policies that can strengthen the grounds for political and economic empowerment of women.	54	8	304	43	296	41	55	8	5	1	714	100
I am aware of the Measures adopted by ECB to encourage women to participate in local elections as effective decision-makers.	62	9	353	49	232	32	63	9	4	1	714	100
I am aware of the Existence of gender sensitive budgeting by the ECB.	40	6	299	42	246	34	94	13	35	5	714	100
I am aware of the Local Election Commission Boards having been sensitized on gender sensitivities.	43	6	300	42	273	38	89	12	9	1	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>42</b>		<b>35</b>		<b>13</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE SKILLS	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Functional Literacy - Fewer women are literate than men.	140	20	299	42	157	22	91	13	27	4	714	100
Functional Literacy - Most women lacked the confidence to participate.	119	17	319	45	168	24	91	13	17	2	714	100
Functional Literacy - FLT requirements were beyond the language skills developed through NFE programme.	87	12	290	41	256	36	74	10	7	1	714	100
Functional Literacy - Testing centres were too far to participate.	70	10	266	37	245	34	98	14	35	5	714	100
It was not necessary for high school dropouts to take FLT as a condition for their participation in local politics.	59	8	235	33	235	33	142	20	43	6	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>13</b>		<b>39</b>		<b>30</b>		<b>14</b>		<b>4</b>		<b>100</b>

EDUCATION AND TRAINING	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
Illiteracy or lower educational level is major barriers to women's participation in local governance.	114	16	350	49	183	26	59	8	8	1	714	100
FLT is unnecessary barrier for those high school dropouts participating in the LG elections.	48	7	218	31	271	38	151	21	26	4	714	100
Standard of FLT is unnecessarily high; functional literacy as equipped by NFE programme must suffice for the purpose.	46	6	232	32	288	40	122	17	26	4	714	100
Many women would be encouraged to join local governance if a system of offering political leadership training to interested women were arranged on a sustained basis.	146	20	279	39	222	31	60	8	7	1	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>12</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>34</b>		<b>14</b>		<b>2</b>		<b>100</b>

ENABLING ENVIRONMENT	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent	Freq- uency	Per- cent
There is an increased awareness among gewog and Dzongkhag functionaries on gender equality and equity	89	12	370	52	196	27	51	7	8	1	714	100
There are effective gender sensitization programmes in place on prevailing gender stereotypes.	45	6	294	41	299	42	64	9	12	2	714	100
Adequate arrangements are made to provide a sense of psychological security for women candidates in the LG elections.	46	6	289	40	301	42	72	10	6	1	714	100
Gross National Happiness Index has women's empowerment as one of its areas of happiness.	121	17	369	52	172	24	42	6	10	1	714	100
There is generally a gender responsive enabling environments in place.	42	6	305	43	307	43	53	7	7	1	714	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Strong supportive constituency particularly for women.	68	10	312	44	259	36	68	10	7	1	714	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Increased awareness of their rights and responsibilities as elected members.	91	13	354	50	220	31	47	7	2		714	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Training and information dissemination on governance processes.	50	7	296	41	306	43	50	7	12	2	714	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Gender sensitization of the male elected members.	39	5	265	37	295	41	101	14	14	2	714	100
There are mechanisms in place to facilitate and protect women in political participation marked by Provisions adopted to counter violence against women who contest elections or are elected to political posts.	41	6	271	38	279	39	110	15	13	2	714	100
<b>TOTAL AVERAGE</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>44</b>		<b>37</b>		<b>9</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>100</b>

<b>A. Double or Triple Burden</b>	<b>5.34</b>
<b>B. Attitudes and Stereotypes</b>	<b>5.83</b>
<b>C. Patriarchal Values</b>	<b>6.23</b>
<b>D. Self-Image, Self-Esteem</b>	<b>5.10</b>
<b>E. Decision-Making</b>	<b>4.94</b>
<b>F. Socio-Economic Barriers</b>	<b>5.86</b>
<b>G. Election System and Processes</b>	<b>6.33</b>
<b>H. Functional Language Skills</b>	<b>4.80</b>
<b>I. Education and Training</b>	<b>4.22</b>
<b>J. Enabling Environment for Women's Empowerment</b>	<b>6.19</b>

## Annex-12: Age group disaggregated Overall

DZONGKHAG	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Punakha	43	14.1	43	11.1	28	8.9	32	13.0	27	14.8	19	19.6
Paro	79	25.8	25	6.4	35	11.1	25	10.2	16	8.7	12	12.4
Zhemgang	26	8.5	37	9.5	44	14.0	37	15.0	33	18.0	15	15.5
Tsirang	25	8.2	91	23.4	50	15.9	16	6.5	9	4.9	1	1.0
Dagana	17	5.6	52	13.4	53	16.8	38	15.4	24	13.1	8	8.2
Samtse	47	15.4	63	16.2	35	11.1	32	13.0	9	4.9	6	6.2
Monggar	37	12.1	48	12.3	39	12.4	30	12.2	25	13.7	13	13.4
P/gatshel	32	10.5	30	7.7	31	9.8	36	14.6	40	21.9	23	23.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DUNGKHAG	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
	240	78.4	285	73.3	237	75.2	173	70.3	144	78.7	73	75.3
Lhamoy Zingkha	7	2.3	24	6.2	30	9.5	22	8.9	8	4.4	5	5.2
Nganglam	12	3.9	17	4.4	13	4.1	19	7.7	22	12.0	13	13.4
Sipsu	47	15.4	63	16.2	35	11.1	32	13.0	9	4.9	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

GEWOG	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Drujegang	10	3.3	28	7.2	23	7.3	16	6.5	16	8.7	3	3.1
Lhamoy Zingkha	7	2.3	24	6.2	30	9.5	22	8.9	8	4.4	5	5.2
Drepong	17	5.6	28	7.2	23	7.3	9	3.7	13	7.1	6	6.2
Jurmey	20	6.5	20	5.1	16	5.1	21	8.5	12	6.6	7	7.2
Hungrel	36	11.8	14	3.6	19	6.0	13	5.3	8	4.4	6	6.2
Dopshari	43	14.1	11	2.8	16	5.1	12	4.9	8	4.4	6	6.2
Dechenling	12	3.9	17	4.4	13	4.1	19	7.7	22	12.0	13	13.4
Khar	20	6.5	13	3.3	18	5.7	17	6.9	18	9.8	10	10.3
Toewang	6	2.0	16	4.1	19	6.0	20	8.1	23	12.6	12	12.4
Kabesa	37	12.1	27	6.9	9	2.9	12	4.9	4	2.2	7	7.2
Namgaycholing	23	7.5	37	9.5	18	5.7	14	5.7	1	.5	3	3.1
Tashicholing	24	7.8	26	6.7	17	5.4	18	7.3	8	4.4	3	3.1
Rangthangling	16	5.2	44	11.3	24	7.6	6	2.4	5	2.7	1	1.0
Singkhar	19	6.2	19	4.9	15	4.8	19	7.7	16	8.7	8	8.2
Nangor	7	2.3	18	4.6	29	9.2	18	7.3	17	9.3	7	7.2
Mendrelgang	9	2.9	47	12.1	26	8.3	10	4.1	4	2.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

CHIWOG	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Tambi Damchu Thambji	6	2.0	16	4.1	19	6.0	20	8.1	23	12.6	12	12.4
Sirigang Wako Damchi	37	12.1	27	6.9	9	2.9	12	4.9	4	2.2	7	7.2
Gaupel	36	11.8	14	3.6	19	6.0	13	5.3	8	4.4	6	6.2
Kempa Kudophoog	43	14.1	11	2.8	16	5.1	12	4.9	8	4.4	6	6.2
Dakphel Tali	7	2.3	18	4.6	29	9.2	18	7.3	17	9.3	7	7.2
Wamling	19	6.2	19	4.9	15	4.8	19	7.7	16	8.7	8	8.2
Pangna Patala	10	3.3	28	7.2	23	7.3	16	6.5	16	8.7	3	3.1
Lhamoy Zingkha (Lungsisa)	7	2.3	24	6.2	30	9.5	22	8.9	8	4.4	5	5.2
Namgaycholing	23	7.5	37	9.5	18	5.7	14	5.7	1	.5	3	3.1
Dangling Gangjoog	24	7.8	26	6.7	17	5.4	18	7.3	8	4.4	3	3.1
Dzamling Zor	9	2.9	47	12.1	26	8.3	10	4.1	4	2.2		
Neymedsa	16	5.2	44	11.3	24	7.6	6	2.4	5	2.7	1	1.0
Khar Yagur	20	6.5	13	3.3	18	5.7	17	6.9	18	9.8	10	10.3
Dechenling Goenpa (Gonpong Lhakhang)	12	3.9	17	4.4	13	4.1	19	7.7	22	12.0	13	13.4
Bainangri Nyanla	17	5.6	28	7.2	23	7.3	9	3.7	13	7.1	6	6.2
Kognala Yarala	20	6.5	20	5.1	16	5.1	21	8.5	12	6.6	7	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

TOWN\VILLAGE	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Dakpai	2	.7	7	1.8	11	3.5	5	2.0	8	4.4	4	4.1
Dangling	19	6.2	22	5.7	12	3.8	14	5.7	6	3.3		
Gangjoong	5	1.6	3	.8	4	1.3	3	1.2	2	1.1	3	3.1
Gola Bazaar					1	.3						
Gonpawoong	12	3.9	17	4.4	13	4.1	19	7.7	22	12.0	13	13.4
Kognala	3	1.0	4	1.0	1	.3	2	.8	2	1.1	2	2.1
lower pangna	8	2.6	25	6.4	20	6.3	10	4.1	14	7.7	3	3.1
Namgaycholing	23	7.5	37	9.5	18	5.7	14	5.7	1	.5	3	3.1
Neymedsa	16	5.2	44	11.3	24	7.6	6	2.4	5	2.7	1	1.0
Pahagoan			1	.3			1	.4				
Tali	5	1.6	11	2.8	18	5.7	13	5.3	9	4.9	3	3.1
upper pangna	2	.7	3	.8	3	1.0	6	2.4	2	1.1		
Village	194	63.4	199	51.2	175	55.6	134	54.5	102	55.7	60	61.9
Yarala	17	5.6	16	4.1	15	4.8	19	7.7	10	5.5	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>
Kognala Yarala	20	6.5	20	5.1	16	5.1	21	8.5	12	6.6	7	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

AREA	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Urban					1	.3			2	1.1		
Semi-Urban	7	2.3	11	2.8	16	5.1	9	3.7	9	4.9	7	7.2
Semi-Remote	155	50.7	117	30.1	129	41.0	109	44.3	78	42.6	49	50.5
Remote	105	34.3	222	57.1	138	43.8	88	35.8	66	36.1	26	26.8
Difficult Place	39	12.7	39	10.0	31	9.8	40	16.3	28	15.3	15	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

GENDER	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Female	189	61.8	230	59.1	157	49.8	130	52.8	84	45.9	32	33.0
Male	117	38.2	159	40.9	158	50.2	116	47.2	99	54.1	65	67.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

MARITAL STATUS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Single	210	68.6	46	11.8	2	.6	9	3.7			3	3.1
Married	85	27.8	318	81.7	295	93.7	204	82.9	149	81.4	65	67.0
Divorced	11	3.6	25	6.4	16	5.1	23	9.3	14	7.7	4	4.1
Widowed					2	.6	10	4.1	20	10.9	25	25.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHAT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL HAVE YOU REACHED AT THE MOMENT?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
No Education	42	13.7	148	38.0	173	54.9	173	70.3	137	74.9	77	79.4
Non-Formal Education	45	14.7	84	21.6	50	15.9	25	10.2	14	7.7	4	4.1
Below class VI	28	9.2	71	18.3	41	13.0	18	7.3	6	3.3	3	3.1
Below class VII	23	7.5	23	5.9	12	3.8	10	4.1	2	1.1	1	1.0
Below class X	55	18.0	24	6.2	8	2.5	5	2.0	2	1.1	2	2.1
Below XII	89	29.1	20	5.1	10	3.2	1	.4	1	.5		
Bachelors	16	5.2	8	2.1	1	.3	3	1.2	2	1.1		
Masters and above	2	.7	1	.3	1	.3			3	1.6		
Vocational Education	1	.3	4	1.0	2	.6			3	1.6		
Monastic Education	5	1.6	6	1.5	17	5.4	11	4.5	13	7.1	10	10.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHAT IS YOUR CURRENT OCCUPATION?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Parliamentarian	2	.7	1	.3			1	.4				
Civil Servant	15	4.9	24	6.2	9	2.9	4	1.6	9	4.9		
Government Corporate Employee	7	2.3	1	.3	3	1.0	1	.4				
Private Corporate Employee	2	.7	3	.8	3	1.0	1	.4	1	.5		
Private Business	16	5.2	17	4.4	19	6.0	12	4.9	3	1.6	5	5.2
Gup					1	.3	1	.4				
Mangmi			3	.8	1	.3						
Tshogpa	2	.7	6	1.5	3	1.0	3	1.2	1	.5		
Chupon	3	1.0	4	1.0	2	.6						
Local Community Leader	2	.7	1	.3			2	.8				
Farmer	152	49.7	322	82.8	272	86.3	216	87.8	168	91.8	88	90.7
Monk	1	.3					3	1.2			3	3.1
Student	104	34.0	7	1.8	2	.6	2	.8			1	1.0
Village aHealth Worker									1	.5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

WHAT HAS BEEN YOUR PREVIOUS OCCUPATION/S?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Parliamentarian					1	.3			1	.5		
Judiciary	1	.3										
Civil Servant	8	2.6	21	5.4	15	4.8	8	3.3	8	4.4	5	5.2
Government Corporate Employee	7	2.3	1	.3	2	.6	2	.8				
Private Corporate Employee	5	1.6	4	1.0	4	1.3	1	.4				
Private Business	16	5.2	13	3.3	14	4.4	7	2.8	2	1.1	2	2.1
Gup					3	1.0	1	.4	4	2.2	1	1.0
Mangmi	1	.3	1	.3	2	.6	2	.8	6	3.3	1	1.0
Tshogpa	3	1.0	4	1.0	6	1.9	6	2.4	3	1.6	4	4.1
Chupon	5	1.6	8	2.1	6	1.9	4	1.6	5	2.7	5	5.2
Local Community Leader	1	.3					1	.4				
Farmer	130	42.5	323	83.0	248	78.7	204	82.9	149	81.4	73	75.3
Monk	3	1.0	2	.5	11	3.5	6	2.4	3	1.6	4	4.1
Student	126	41.2	11	2.8	3	1.0	2	.8	1	.5		
Army			1	.3			2	.8	1	.5	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

WHAT IS YOUR MONTHLY INCOME (IN NGULTURM)?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Below 1500	97	31.7	139	35.7	131	41.6	123	50.0	107	58.5	57	58.8
1500-3000	55	18.0	147	37.8	107	34.0	58	23.6	48	26.2	23	23.7
3000-5000	16	5.2	39	10.0	31	9.8	28	11.4	16	8.7	4	4.1
5000-10000	22	7.2	33	8.5	19	6.0	19	7.7	3	1.6	3	3.1
10000-15000	15	4.9	12	3.1	5	1.6	7	2.8	3	1.6	1	1.0
15000-20000	5	1.6	9	2.3	11	3.5	4	1.6				
20000-30000	8	2.6	4	1.0	5	1.6	5	2.0	3	1.6	3	3.1
Over 30000	2	.7	1	.3	5	1.6	1	.4	2	1.1	3	3.1
No Income	86	28.1	5	1.3	1	.3	1	.4	1	.5	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHAT IS YOUR MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Salary	37	12.1	42	10.8	24	7.6	18	7.3	14	7.7	3	3.1
Business	21	6.9	73	18.8	62	19.7	16	6.5	5	2.7	5	5.2
Cash crops	141	46.1	259	66.6	215	68.3	200	81.3	152	83.1	80	82.5
Dividends			1	.3	2	.6	1	.4				
Rental of Properties			1	.3	6	1.9	4	1.6	4	2.2	3	3.1
No Source	107	35.0	13	3.3	6	1.9	7	2.8	8	4.4	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN'S ROLES ARE SEEN AS ONLY REPRODUCTIVE AND IN CHARGE OF HOMES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	35	11.4	42	10.8	49	15.6	41	16.7	40	21.9	24	24.7
Agree	100	32.7	123	31.6	95	30.2	104	42.3	76	41.5	36	37.1
Neutral	78	25.5	87	22.4	58	18.4	32	13.0	29	15.8	11	11.3
Disagree	56	18.3	114	29.3	87	27.6	48	19.5	22	12.0	18	18.6
Strongly Disagree	37	12.1	23	5.9	26	8.3	21	8.5	16	8.7	8	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE IS PREVENTED BY PRACTICAL ROLES THEY PLAY AS HOUSEWIVES AND MOTHERS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	34	11.1	37	9.5	37	11.7	38	15.4	23	12.6	16	16.5
Agree	124	40.5	186	47.8	180	57.1	142	57.7	95	51.9	56	57.7
Neutral	69	22.5	105	27.0	66	21.0	32	13.0	38	20.8	11	11.3
Disagree	60	19.6	52	13.4	26	8.3	26	10.6	14	7.7	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	19	6.2	9	2.3	6	1.9	8	3.3	13	7.1	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HAVING TO MAKE A CHOICE BETWEEN "MOTHER-WORK" AND "OTHER-WORK" DISCRIMINATES WOMEN FROM PUBLIC LIFE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	36	11.8	31	8.0	45	14.3	41	16.7	29	15.8	18	18.6
Agree	108	35.3	196	50.4	144	45.7	114	46.3	75	41.0	39	40.2
Neutral	92	30.1	116	29.8	95	30.2	63	25.6	52	28.4	27	27.8
Disagree	61	19.9	44	11.3	29	9.2	24	9.8	18	9.8	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	9	2.9	2	.5	2	.6	4	1.6	9	4.9	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN'S DOUBLE BURDEN OF INCOME GENERATION AND DOMESTIC WORK DISCOURAGES AND PREVENTS WOMEN FROM ENTERING POLITICS AS IT LEAVES THEM WITH LESS TIME AND ENERGY FOR PUBLIC LIFE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	30	9.8	40	10.3	41	13.0	45	18.3	27	14.8	21	21.6
Agree	102	33.3	174	44.7	151	47.9	114	46.3	71	38.8	34	35.1
Neutral	96	31.4	126	32.4	81	25.7	63	25.6	61	33.3	29	29.9
Disagree	64	20.9	45	11.6	35	11.1	18	7.3	17	9.3	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	14	4.6	4	1.0	7	2.2	6	2.4	7	3.8	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

WOMEN CAN PARTICIPATE NOT ONLY AS VOTERS BUT ALSO AS TSHOGPAS, MANGMI, GUPS, ETC.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	144	47.1	111	28.5	122	38.7	115	46.7	83	45.4	49	50.5
Agree	99	32.4	191	49.1	120	38.1	85	34.6	64	35.0	29	29.9
Neutral	34	11.1	61	15.7	57	18.1	28	11.4	32	17.5	12	12.4
Disagree	23	7.5	23	5.9	7	2.2	15	6.1	2	1.1	5	5.2
Strongly Disagree	6	2.0	3	.8	9	2.9	3	1.2	2	1.1	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN NEED TO STRIKE A BALANCE BETWEEN FAMILY AND PUBLIC LIFE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	65	21.2	63	16.2	52	16.5	39	15.9	28	15.3	27	27.8
Agree	126	41.2	198	50.9	157	49.8	142	57.7	82	44.8	39	40.2
Neutral	83	27.1	110	28.3	90	28.6	51	20.7	60	32.8	26	26.8
Disagree	24	7.8	14	3.6	15	4.8	11	4.5	10	5.5	3	3.1
Strongly Disagree	8	2.6	4	1.0	1	.3	3	1.2	3	1.6	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN ARE PORTRAYED AS LESS CAPABLE THAN MEN.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	27	8.8	27	6.9	33	10.5	34	13.8	22	12.0	16	16.5
Agree	81	26.5	161	41.4	127	40.3	93	37.8	68	37.2	41	42.3
Neutral	83	27.1	98	25.2	68	21.6	36	14.6	43	23.5	10	10.3
Disagree	75	24.5	80	20.6	66	21.0	68	27.6	40	21.9	26	26.8
Strongly Disagree	40	13.1	23	5.9	21	6.7	15	6.1	10	5.5	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

LEADERSHIP AND POLITICS ARE SEEN AS A MASCULINE ACTIVITY.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	19	6.2	14	3.6	15	4.8	24	9.8	13	7.1	9	9.3
Agree	72	23.5	148	38.0	113	35.9	79	32.1	53	29.0	29	29.9
Neutral	117	38.2	116	29.8	83	26.3	61	24.8	49	26.8	26	26.8
Disagree	68	22.2	83	21.3	74	23.5	63	25.6	48	26.2	23	23.7
Strongly Disagree	30	9.8	28	7.2	30	9.5	19	7.7	20	10.9	10	10.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN ACCEPT THAT THEY ARE EMOTIONAL, SOFT, PASSIVE AND WEAK.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	45	14.7	41	10.5	41	13.0	50	20.3	42	23.0	19	19.6
Agree	104	34.0	203	52.2	153	48.6	120	48.8	73	39.9	52	53.6
Neutral	64	20.9	84	21.6	80	25.4	47	19.1	36	19.7	13	13.4
Disagree	65	21.2	53	13.6	35	11.1	23	9.3	23	12.6	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	28	9.2	8	2.1	6	1.9	6	2.4	9	4.9	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN HAVE LOWER EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR LEADERSHIP CAPABILITY AND ROLE IN POLITICS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	19	6.2	20	5.1	18	5.7	25	10.2	14	7.7	9	9.3
Agree	88	28.8	172	44.2	122	38.7	84	34.1	54	29.5	31	32.0
Neutral	60	19.6	99	25.4	74	23.5	57	23.2	47	25.7	22	22.7
Disagree	98	32.0	90	23.1	86	27.3	67	27.2	55	30.1	26	26.8
Strongly Disagree	41	13.4	8	2.1	15	4.8	13	5.3	13	7.1	9	9.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

MEN ARE LEADERS AND WOMEN HAVE TO FOLLOW.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	20	6.5	19	4.9	21	6.7	27	11.0	15	8.2	9	9.3
Agree	52	17.0	102	26.2	81	25.7	63	25.6	42	23.0	22	22.7
Neutral	62	20.3	98	25.2	49	15.6	34	13.8	43	23.5	19	19.6
Disagree	97	31.7	108	27.8	98	31.1	88	35.8	58	31.7	33	34.0
Strongly Disagree	75	24.5	62	15.9	66	21.0	34	13.8	25	13.7	14	14.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN ARE INFERIOR AND SUBORDINATE TO MEN, AND THEREFORE DEPENDENT ON MEN.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	13	4.2	25	6.4	17	5.4	27	11.0	21	11.5	13	13.4
Agree	73	23.9	130	33.4	104	33.0	79	32.1	59	32.2	27	27.8
Neutral	68	22.2	100	25.7	70	22.2	53	21.5	39	21.3	20	20.6
Disagree	85	27.8	102	26.2	98	31.1	67	27.2	48	26.2	27	27.8
Strongly Disagree	67	21.9	32	8.2	26	8.3	20	8.1	16	8.7	10	10.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE NOT MANY ROLE-MODELS FOR WOMEN TO LOOK UP TO.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	17	5.6	26	6.7	21	6.7	34	13.8	23	12.6	14	14.4
Agree	96	31.4	164	42.2	123	39.0	92	37.4	54	29.5	30	30.9
Neutral	77	25.2	105	27.0	86	27.3	55	22.4	40	21.9	17	17.5
Disagree	89	29.1	82	21.1	64	20.3	49	19.9	53	29.0	31	32.0
Strongly Disagree	27	8.8	12	3.1	21	6.7	16	6.5	13	7.1	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN ARE RESTRICTED TO FORM GROUPS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	9	2.9	8	2.1	11	3.5	18	7.3	8	4.4	9	9.3
Agree	60	19.6	132	33.9	93	29.5	66	26.8	32	17.5	14	14.4
Neutral	84	27.5	107	27.5	72	22.9	51	20.7	42	23.0	20	20.6
Disagree	115	37.6	115	29.6	106	33.7	92	37.4	80	43.7	39	40.2
Strongly Disagree	38	12.4	27	6.9	33	10.5	19	7.7	21	11.5	15	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN ARE RESTRICTED FROM PUBLIC SPACES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	5	1.6	9	2.3	8	2.5	12	4.9	10	5.5	9	9.3
Agree	69	22.5	118	30.3	87	27.6	65	26.4	28	15.3	13	13.4
Neutral	80	26.1	106	27.2	76	24.1	46	18.7	37	20.2	17	17.5
Disagree	118	38.6	123	31.6	111	35.2	89	36.2	68	37.2	37	38.1
Strongly Disagree	34	11.1	33	8.5	33	10.5	34	13.8	40	21.9	21	21.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN CANNOT ASSERT THEMSELVES IN THE BHUTANESE SOCIETY.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	9	2.9	15	3.9	10	3.2	17	6.9	11	6.0	8	8.2
Agree	55	18.0	119	30.6	87	27.6	61	24.8	31	16.9	14	14.4
Neutral	86	28.1	124	31.9	100	31.7	61	24.8	54	29.5	24	24.7
Disagree	107	35.0	104	26.7	85	27.0	83	33.7	62	33.9	35	36.1
Strongly Disagree	49	16.0	27	6.9	33	10.5	24	9.8	25	13.7	16	16.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN HAVE EXTREMELY LOW SELF-ESTEEM.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	38	12.4	36	9.3	37	11.7	33	13.4	24	13.1	19	19.6
Agree	91	29.7	160	41.1	118	37.5	112	45.5	71	38.8	35	36.1
Neutral	81	26.5	120	30.8	86	27.3	43	17.5	47	25.7	14	14.4
Disagree	58	19.0	68	17.5	62	19.7	54	22.0	31	16.9	26	26.8
Strongly Disagree	38	12.4	5	1.3	12	3.8	4	1.6	10	5.5	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN HAVE POOR SELF- IMAGE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	25	8.2	29	7.5	21	6.7	27	11.0	18	9.8	15	15.5
Agree	79	25.8	165	42.4	124	39.4	118	48.0	66	36.1	36	37.1
Neutral	87	28.4	118	30.3	85	27.0	41	16.7	50	27.3	20	20.6
Disagree	75	24.5	67	17.2	71	22.5	53	21.5	39	21.3	23	23.7
Strongly Disagree	40	13.1	10	2.6	14	4.4	7	2.8	10	5.5	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN LACK EXPERIENCE OF WORKING IN PUBLIC SPACES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	30	9.8	39	10.0	29	9.2	42	17.1	27	14.8	14	14.4
Agree	85	27.8	175	45.0	147	46.7	105	42.7	63	34.4	45	46.4
Neutral	74	24.2	100	25.7	67	21.3	44	17.9	40	21.9	16	16.5
Disagree	72	23.5	65	16.7	56	17.8	48	19.5	43	23.5	18	18.6
Strongly Disagree	45	14.7	10	2.6	16	5.1	7	2.8	10	5.5	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN ARE PASSIVE PARTICIPANTS IN DECISION-MAKING AT HOME	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	38	12.4	24	6.2	28	8.9	33	13.4	26	14.2	20	20.6
Agree	128	41.8	174	44.7	134	42.5	122	49.6	90	49.2	39	40.2
Neutral	78	25.5	131	33.7	86	27.3	31	12.6	31	16.9	15	15.5
Disagree	45	14.7	43	11.1	49	15.6	46	18.7	23	12.6	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	17	5.6	17	4.4	18	5.7	14	5.7	13	7.1	13	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN ARE PASSIVE PARTICIPANTS IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE VILLAGE/ COMMUNITY	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	17	5.6	16	4.1	17	5.4	19	7.7	12	6.6	9	9.3
Agree	101	33.0	146	37.5	137	43.5	111	45.1	81	44.3	43	44.3
Neutral	113	36.9	149	38.3	100	31.7	56	22.8	49	26.8	22	22.7
Disagree	63	20.6	69	17.7	58	18.4	54	22.0	37	20.2	22	22.7
Strongly Disagree	12	3.9	9	2.3	3	1.0	6	2.4	4	2.2	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN ARE PASSIVE PARTICIPANTS IN DECISION-MAKING AT THE GEOG LEVEL	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	12	3.9	24	6.2	23	7.3	32	13.0	14	7.7	12	12.4
Agree	105	34.3	170	43.7	151	47.9	119	48.4	83	45.4	44	45.4
Neutral	99	32.4	119	30.6	91	28.9	43	17.5	47	25.7	20	20.6
Disagree	67	21.9	58	14.9	33	10.5	34	13.8	22	12.0	12	12.4
Strongly Disagree	23	7.5	18	4.6	17	5.4	18	7.3	17	9.3	9	9.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

BHUTANESE WOMEN ARE DENIED A MEANINGFUL AND VISIBLE DECISION-MAKING ROLE IN PUBLIC SPACES, INCLUDING POLITICS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	17	5.6	21	5.4	22	7.0	21	8.5	16	8.7	8	8.2
Agree	110	35.9	152	39.1	110	34.9	101	41.1	57	31.1	32	33.0
Neutral	80	26.1	117	30.1	113	35.9	52	21.1	51	27.9	21	21.6
Disagree	75	24.5	84	21.6	61	19.4	56	22.8	46	25.1	23	23.7
Strongly Disagree	24	7.8	15	3.9	9	2.9	16	6.5	13	7.1	13	13.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DON'T TALK LIKE "AUM-TSHU MOREM!" IS A FREQUENTLY HEARD EXPRESSION WHETHER AT HOME OR IN PUBLIC SPACES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	56	18.3	65	16.7	56	17.8	54	22.0	38	20.8	22	22.7
Agree	115	37.6	185	47.6	158	50.2	119	48.4	82	44.8	51	52.6
Neutral	65	21.2	92	23.7	57	18.1	40	16.3	37	20.2	12	12.4
Disagree	53	17.3	42	10.8	36	11.4	29	11.8	22	12.0	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	17	5.6	5	1.3	8	2.5	4	1.6	4	2.2	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN DEPEND ON MEN FOR FINANCIAL MATTERS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	28	9.2	21	5.4	25	7.9	28	11.4	18	9.8	8	8.2
Agree	80	26.1	150	38.6	118	37.5	98	39.8	63	34.4	31	32.0
Neutral	91	29.7	111	28.5	69	21.9	52	21.1	40	21.9	17	17.5
Disagree	78	25.5	80	20.6	78	24.8	62	25.2	52	28.4	33	34.0
Strongly Disagree	29	9.5	27	6.9	25	7.9	6	2.4	10	5.5	8	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOMEN LACK ACCESS AND CONTROL OVER INCOME AND OTHER RESOURCES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	20	6.5	20	5.1	9	2.9	28	11.4	16	8.7	9	9.3
Agree	77	25.2	150	38.6	127	40.3	85	34.6	50	27.3	27	27.8
Neutral	100	32.7	111	28.5	80	25.4	49	19.9	49	26.8	24	24.7
Disagree	81	26.5	86	22.1	83	26.3	68	27.6	49	26.8	29	29.9
Strongly Disagree	28	9.2	22	5.7	16	5.1	16	6.5	19	10.4	8	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

IT IS RARE FOR WOMEN TO HAVE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND PROPERTIES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	27	8.8	25	6.4	22	7.0	20	8.1	22	12.0	11	11.3
Agree	66	21.6	130	33.4	87	27.6	70	28.5	42	23.0	22	22.7
Neutral	91	29.7	136	35.0	102	32.4	73	29.7	53	29.0	29	29.9
Disagree	94	30.7	62	15.9	68	21.6	56	22.8	34	18.6	23	23.7
Strongly Disagree	28	9.2	36	9.3	36	11.4	27	11.0	32	17.5	12	12.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

OUR ELECTION SYSTEM BEING – ‘ONE CANDIDATE PER CONSTITUENCY’ – POLITICAL PARTIES FILL IN THE MOST ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES WHICH ARE NOT NECESSARILY WOMEN CANDIDATES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	25	8.2	33	8.5	27	8.6	25	10.2	17	9.3	16	16.5
Agree	70	22.9	164	42.2	149	47.3	101	41.1	68	37.2	34	35.1
Neutral	128	41.8	145	37.3	100	31.7	89	36.2	66	36.1	33	34.0
Disagree	56	18.3	40	10.3	34	10.8	28	11.4	31	16.9	11	11.3
Strongly Disagree	27	8.8	7	1.8	5	1.6	3	1.2	1	.5	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM BEING – ‘WINNER TAKE ALL TYPE’ – WOMEN DO NOT GET ELECTED.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	23	7.5	25	6.4	21	6.7	24	9.8	17	9.3	9	9.3
Agree	69	22.5	147	37.8	123	39.0	75	30.5	61	33.3	35	36.1
Neutral	100	32.7	143	36.8	92	29.2	77	31.3	57	31.1	19	19.6
Disagree	91	29.7	64	16.5	69	21.9	65	26.4	45	24.6	30	30.9
Strongly Disagree	23	7.5	10	2.6	10	3.2	5	2.0	3	1.6	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

GOVERNMENT SHOULD INTRO-DUCE A SYSTEM OF QUOTAS OR SEAT RESERVATIONS FOR WOMEN TO BRING ABOUT PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE LOCAL GOVERNANCE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	59	19.3	52	13.4	53	16.8	56	22.8	43	23.5	27	27.8
Agree	113	36.9	179	46.0	155	49.2	97	39.4	63	34.4	35	36.1
Neutral	84	27.5	113	29.0	83	26.3	64	26.0	58	31.7	28	28.9
Disagree	41	13.4	37	9.5	19	6.0	28	11.4	17	9.3	5	5.2
Strongly Disagree	9	2.9	8	2.1	5	1.6	1	.4	2	1.1	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

ELECTION SYSTEM AND PROCESSES HAVE INBUILT MECHANISM TO MOTIVATE WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ELECTIONS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	29	9.5	38	9.8	25	7.9	26	10.6	29	15.8	16	16.5
Agree	120	39.2	173	44.5	158	50.2	110	44.7	73	39.9	39	40.2
Neutral	109	35.6	142	36.5	111	35.2	84	34.1	63	34.4	31	32.0
Disagree	42	13.7	34	8.7	19	6.0	26	10.6	18	9.8	9	9.3
Strongly Disagree	6	2.0	2	.5	2	.6					2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I AM AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF SPECIFIC LAWS OR POLICIES THAT CAN STRENGTHEN THE GROUNDS FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	31	10.1	25	6.4	30	9.5	22	8.9	21	11.5	10	10.3
Agree	108	35.3	174	44.7	146	46.3	107	43.5	73	39.9	38	39.2
Neutral	144	47.1	157	40.4	117	37.1	90	36.6	71	38.8	38	39.2
Disagree	19	6.2	31	8.0	19	6.0	26	10.6	17	9.3	11	11.3
Strongly Disagree	4	1.3	2	.5	3	1.0	1	.4	1	.5		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I AM AWARE OF THE MEASURES ADOPTED BY ECB TO ENCOURAGE WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS AS EFFECTIVE DECISION-MAKERS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	34	11.1	19	4.9	29	9.2	25	10.2	22	12.0	9	9.3
Agree	138	45.1	187	48.1	152	48.3	125	50.8	79	43.2	47	48.5
Neutral	92	30.1	151	38.8	111	35.2	76	30.9	70	38.3	34	35.1
Disagree	41	13.4	29	7.5	21	6.7	18	7.3	12	6.6	6	6.2
Strongly Disagree	1	.3	3	.8	2	.6	2	.8			1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I AM AWARE OF THE EXISTENCE OF GENDER SENSITIVE BUDGETING BY THE ECB.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	15	4.9	20	5.1	22	7.0	15	6.1	16	8.7	10	10.3
Agree	114	37.3	174	44.7	128	40.6	90	36.6	64	35.0	33	34.0
Neutral	129	42.2	131	33.7	110	34.9	104	42.3	76	41.5	34	35.1
Disagree	42	13.7	58	14.9	46	14.6	26	10.6	19	10.4	15	15.5
Strongly Disagree	6	2.0	6	1.5	9	2.9	11	4.5	8	4.4	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I AM AWARE OF THE LOCAL ELECTION COMMISSION BOARDS HAVING BEEN SENSITIZED ON GENDER SENSITIVITIES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	28	9.2	18	4.6	22	7.0	17	6.9	18	9.8	9	9.3
Agree	100	32.7	167	42.9	124	39.4	98	39.8	72	39.3	36	37.1
Neutral	120	39.2	167	42.9	131	41.6	99	40.2	75	41.0	42	43.3
Disagree	53	17.3	29	7.5	35	11.1	30	12.2	18	9.8	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	5	1.6	8	2.1	3	1.0	2	.8				
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY - FEWER WOMEN ARE LITERATE THAN MEN.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	56	18.3	71	18.3	61	19.4	66	26.8	53	29.0	25	25.8
Agree	98	32.0	157	40.4	152	48.3	108	43.9	79	43.2	40	41.2
Neutral	88	28.8	106	27.2	67	21.3	37	15.0	28	15.3	10	10.3
Disagree	54	17.6	43	11.1	27	8.6	30	12.2	22	12.0	17	17.5
Strongly Disagree	10	3.3	12	3.1	8	2.5	5	2.0	1	.5	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY - MOST WOMEN LACKED THE CONFIDENCE TO PARTICIPATE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	41	13.4	47	12.1	35	11.1	47	19.1	29	15.8	24	24.7
Agree	126	41.2	160	41.1	154	48.9	127	51.6	93	50.8	50	51.5
Neutral	83	27.1	125	32.1	77	24.4	38	15.4	34	18.6	8	8.2
Disagree	51	16.7	52	13.4	48	15.2	30	12.2	22	12.0	12	12.4
Strongly Disagree	5	1.6	5	1.3	1	.3	4	1.6	5	2.7	3	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY - FLT REQUIREMENTS WERE BEYOND THE LANGUAGE SKILLS DEVELOPED THROUGH NFE PROGRAMME.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	34	11.1	35	9.0	30	9.5	38	15.4	17	9.3	20	20.6
Agree	109	35.6	160	41.1	140	44.4	108	43.9	74	40.4	39	40.2
Neutral	132	43.1	156	40.1	109	34.6	83	33.7	78	42.6	26	26.8
Disagree	30	9.8	34	8.7	33	10.5	16	6.5	12	6.6	12	12.4
Strongly Disagree	1	.3	4	1.0	3	1.0	1	.4	2	1.1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY - TESTING CENTRES WERE TOO FAR TO PARTICIPATE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	26	8.5	27	6.9	27	8.6	42	17.1	17	9.3	10	10.3
Agree	92	30.1	159	40.9	120	38.1	87	35.4	64	35.0	37	38.1
Neutral	109	35.6	128	32.9	107	34.0	80	32.5	70	38.3	31	32.0
Disagree	69	22.5	59	15.2	44	14.0	30	12.2	26	14.2	13	13.4
Strongly Disagree	10	3.3	16	4.1	17	5.4	7	2.8	6	3.3	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS TO TAKE FLT AS A CONDITION FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL POLITICS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	19	6.2	30	7.7	24	7.6	30	12.2	17	9.3	12	12.4
Agree	97	31.7	143	36.8	105	33.3	77	31.3	60	32.8	23	23.7
Neutral	99	32.4	127	32.6	112	35.6	87	35.4	64	35.0	29	29.9
Disagree	81	26.5	77	19.8	57	18.1	40	16.3	32	17.5	26	26.8
Strongly Disagree	10	3.3	12	3.1	17	5.4	12	4.9	10	5.5	7	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

ILLITERACY OR LOWER EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IS MAJOR BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	48	15.7	44	11.3	53	16.8	48	19.5	41	22.4	17	17.5
Agree	122	39.9	181	46.5	183	58.1	140	56.9	99	54.1	54	55.7
Neutral	92	30.1	131	33.7	59	18.7	40	16.3	34	18.6	14	14.4
Disagree	42	13.7	28	7.2	19	6.0	15	6.1	8	4.4	10	10.3
Strongly Disagree	2	.7	5	1.3	1	.3	3	1.2	1	.5	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

FLT IS UNNECESSARY BARRIER FOR THOSE HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS PARTICIPATING IN THE LG ELECTIONS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	18	5.9	18	4.6	22	7.0	21	8.5	10	5.5	10	10.3
Agree	93	30.4	141	36.2	116	36.8	76	30.9	56	30.6	27	27.8
Neutral	116	37.9	149	38.3	118	37.5	103	41.9	72	39.3	34	35.1
Disagree	71	23.2	69	17.7	51	16.2	39	15.9	40	21.9	24	24.7
Strongly Disagree	8	2.6	12	3.1	8	2.5	7	2.8	5	2.7	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

STANDARD OF FLT IS UNNECESSARILY HIGH; FUNCTIONAL LITERACY AS EQUIPPED BY NFE PROGRAMME MUST SUFFICE FOR THE PURPOSE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	23	7.5	15	3.9	25	7.9	14	5.7	14	7.7	8	8.2
Agree	97	31.7	157	40.4	110	34.9	85	34.6	52	28.4	31	32.0
Neutral	125	40.8	155	39.8	135	42.9	103	41.9	89	48.6	39	40.2
Disagree	48	15.7	53	13.6	38	12.1	40	16.3	25	13.7	13	13.4
Strongly Disagree	13	4.2	9	2.3	7	2.2	4	1.6	3	1.6	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

MANY WOMEN WOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN LOCAL GOVERNANCE IF A SYSTEM OF OFFERING POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING TO INTERESTED WOMEN WERE ARRANGED ON A SUSTAINED BASIS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	59	19.3	67	17.2	57	18.1	54	22.0	41	22.4	23	23.7
Agree	112	36.6	160	41.1	149	47.3	102	41.5	62	33.9	42	43.3
Neutral	94	30.7	140	36.0	92	29.2	79	32.1	68	37.2	30	30.9
Disagree	40	13.1	17	4.4	16	5.1	7	2.8	10	5.5	2	2.1
Strongly Disagree	1	.3	5	1.3	1	.3	4	1.6	2	1.1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE IS AN INCREASED AWARENESS AMONG GEWOG AND DZONGKHAG FUNCTIONARIES ON GENDER EQUALITY AND EQUITY	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	43	14.1	46	11.8	34	10.8	26	10.6	23	12.6	22	22.7
Agree	137	44.8	195	50.1	187	59.4	146	59.3	102	55.7	43	44.3
Neutral	100	32.7	121	31.1	80	25.4	55	22.4	40	21.9	27	27.8
Disagree	21	6.9	25	6.4	13	4.1	18	7.3	15	8.2	4	4.1
Strongly Disagree	5	1.6	2	.5	1	.3	1	.4	3	1.6	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE EFFECTIVE GENDER SENSITIZATION PROGRAMMES IN PLACE ON PREVAILING GENDER STEREOTYPES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	19	6.2	17	4.4	22	7.0	13	5.3	15	8.2	8	8.2
Agree	106	34.6	164	42.2	141	44.8	113	45.9	76	41.5	41	42.3
Neutral	142	46.4	169	43.4	126	40.0	99	40.2	77	42.1	39	40.2
Disagree	32	10.5	31	8.0	25	7.9	19	7.7	13	7.1	8	8.2
Strongly Disagree	7	2.3	8	2.1	1	.3	2	.8	2	1.1	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

ADEQUATE ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO PROVIDE A SENSE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SECURITY FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE LG ELECTIONS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	27	8.8	16	4.1	19	6.0	18	7.3	17	9.3	5	5.2
Agree	131	42.8	154	39.6	122	38.7	111	45.1	56	30.6	38	39.2
Neutral	104	34.0	179	46.0	146	46.3	106	43.1	93	50.8	40	41.2
Disagree	42	13.7	35	9.0	27	8.6	11	4.5	14	7.7	13	13.4
Strongly Disagree	2	.7	5	1.3	1	.3			3	1.6	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS INDEX HAS WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AS ONE OF ITS AREAS OF HAPPINESS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	52	17.0	51	13.1	46	14.6	41	16.7	39	21.3	23	23.7
Agree	147	48.0	195	50.1	176	55.9	144	58.5	86	47.0	44	45.4
Neutral	77	25.2	114	29.3	75	23.8	53	21.5	52	28.4	27	27.8
Disagree	25	8.2	26	6.7	15	4.8	8	3.3	2	1.1	3	3.1
Strongly Disagree	5	1.6	3	.8	3	1.0			4	2.2		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE IS GENERALLY A GENDER RESPONSIVE ENABLING ENVIRONMENTS IN PLACE.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	25	8.2	20	5.1	13	4.1	13	5.3	16	8.7	5	5.2
Agree	118	38.6	173	44.5	146	46.3	121	49.2	63	34.4	45	46.4
Neutral	135	44.1	173	44.5	131	41.6	97	39.4	90	49.2	45	46.4
Disagree	24	7.8	21	5.4	24	7.6	15	6.1	11	6.0	2	2.1
Strongly Disagree	4	1.3	2	.5	1	.3			3	1.6		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE MECHANISMS IN PLACE TO FACILITATE AND PROTECT WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MARKED BY STRONG SUPPORTIVE CONSTITUENCY PARTICULARLY FOR WOMEN.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	37	12.1	31	8.0	29	9.2	23	9.3	17	9.3	12	12.4
Agree	129	42.2	173	44.5	149	47.3	129	52.4	72	39.3	40	41.2
Neutral	104	34.0	163	41.9	108	34.3	78	31.7	67	36.6	36	37.1
Disagree	33	10.8	20	5.1	26	8.3	15	6.1	25	13.7	8	8.2
Strongly Disagree	3	1.0	2	.5	3	1.0	1	.4	2	1.1	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE MECHANISMS IN PLACE TO FACILITATE AND PROTECT WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MARKED BY INCREASED AWARENESS OF THEIR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES AS ELECTED MEMBERS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	43	14.1	37	9.5	24	7.6	35	14.2	16	8.7	22	22.7
Agree	137	44.8	166	42.7	168	53.3	131	53.3	94	51.4	49	50.5
Neutral	95	31.0	155	39.8	106	33.7	69	28.0	62	33.9	25	25.8
Disagree	28	9.2	30	7.7	14	4.4	10	4.1	11	6.0		
Strongly Disagree	3	1.0	1	.3	3	1.0	1	.4			1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE MECHANISMS IN PLACE TO FACILITATE AND PROTECT WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MARKED BY TRAINING AND INFORMATION DISSEMINATION ON GOVERNANCE PROCESSES.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	17	5.6	27	6.9	20	6.3	23	9.3	15	8.2	6	6.2
Agree	114	37.3	159	40.9	128	40.6	92	37.4	61	33.3	45	46.4
Neutral	137	44.8	166	42.7	151	47.9	113	45.9	91	49.7	45	46.4
Disagree	32	10.5	33	8.5	13	4.1	17	6.9	14	7.7	1	1.0
Strongly Disagree	6	2.0	4	1.0	3	1.0	1	.4	2	1.1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE MECHANISMS IN PLACE TO FACILITATE AND PROTECT WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MARKED BY GENDER SENSITIZATION OF THE MALE ELECTED MEMBERS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	18	5.9	16	4.1	17	5.4	23	9.3	13	7.1	6	6.2
Agree	96	31.4	144	37.0	119	37.8	81	32.9	54	29.5	33	34.0
Neutral	121	39.5	178	45.8	143	45.4	109	44.3	86	47.0	49	50.5
Disagree	66	21.6	44	11.3	34	10.8	32	13.0	25	13.7	9	9.3
Strongly Disagree	5	1.6	7	1.8	2	.6	1	.4	5	2.7		
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

THERE ARE MECHANISMS IN PLACE TO FACILITATE AND PROTECT WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MARKED BY PROVISIONS ADOPTED TO COUNTER VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WHO CONTEST ELECTIONS OR ARE ELECTED TO POLITICAL POSTS.	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Strongly Agree	25	8.2	21	5.4	12	3.8	19	7.7	14	7.7	4	4.1
Agree	98	32.0	141	36.2	115	36.5	81	32.9	59	32.2	32	33.0
Neutral	132	43.1	164	42.2	139	44.1	111	45.1	80	43.7	46	47.4
Disagree	45	14.7	60	15.4	45	14.3	32	13.0	26	14.2	14	14.4
Strongly Disagree	6	2.0	3	.8	4	1.3	3	1.2	4	2.2	1	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

A. DOUBLE OR TRIPLE BURDEN	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	66	21.6	62	15.9	66	21.0	41	16.7	38	20.8	19	19.6
2	42	13.7	43	11.1	38	12.1	30	12.2	25	13.7	17	17.5
3	26	8.5	26	6.7	14	4.4	25	10.2	9	4.9	6	6.2
4	14	4.6	14	3.6	23	7.3	25	10.2	17	9.3	11	11.3
5	15	4.9	26	6.7	18	5.7	23	9.3	15	8.2	9	9.3
6	15	4.9	31	8.0	15	4.8	9	3.7	12	6.6	6	6.2
7	15	4.9	24	6.2	21	6.7	19	7.7	12	6.6	6	6.2
8	21	6.9	30	7.7	26	8.3	17	6.9	12	6.6	3	3.1
9	33	10.8	33	8.5	22	7.0	22	8.9	11	6.0	10	10.3
10	59	19.3	100	25.7	72	22.9	35	14.2	32	17.5	10	10.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

B. ATTITUDES AND STEREOTYPES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	8	2.6	13	3.3	11	3.5	17	6.9	9	4.9	10	10.3
2	36	11.8	32	8.2	22	7.0	16	6.5	17	9.3	12	12.4
3	31	10.1	22	5.7	18	5.7	29	11.8	15	8.2	10	10.3
4	28	9.2	41	10.5	38	12.1	21	8.5	26	14.2	9	9.3
5	26	8.5	34	8.7	26	8.3	19	7.7	18	9.8	8	8.2
6	41	13.4	41	10.5	39	12.4	32	13.0	25	13.7	6	6.2
7	40	13.1	54	13.9	38	12.1	32	13.0	26	14.2	15	15.5
8	32	10.5	50	12.9	40	12.7	37	15.0	27	14.8	16	16.5
9	48	15.7	85	21.9	72	22.9	33	13.4	16	8.7	7	7.2
10	16	5.2	17	4.4	11	3.5	10	4.1	4	2.2	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

C. PATRIARCHAL VALUES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	12	3.9	12	3.1	13	4.1	18	7.3	15	8.2	10	10.3
2	20	6.5	16	4.1	15	4.8	26	10.6	15	8.2	2	2.1
3	29	9.5	33	8.5	19	6.0	16	6.5	13	7.1	12	12.4
4	29	9.5	37	9.5	22	7.0	20	8.1	11	6.0	9	9.3
5	39	12.7	31	8.0	25	7.9	27	11.0	13	7.1	10	10.3
6	32	10.5	45	11.6	31	9.8	29	11.8	20	10.9	10	10.3
7	43	14.1	43	11.1	29	9.2	26	10.6	30	16.4	14	14.4
8	47	15.4	99	25.4	76	24.1	40	16.3	34	18.6	16	16.5
9	35	11.4	51	13.1	48	15.2	30	12.2	23	12.6	10	10.3
10	20	6.5	22	5.7	37	11.7	14	5.7	9	4.9	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

D. SELF-IMAGE, SELF-ESTEEM	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	22	7.2	24	6.2	20	6.3	22	8.9	13	7.1	7	7.2
2	32	10.5	47	12.1	32	10.2	27	11.0	22	12.0	14	14.4
3	36	11.8	52	13.4	33	10.5	32	13.0	33	18.0	16	16.5
4	41	13.4	48	12.3	35	11.1	35	14.2	25	13.7	20	20.6
5	38	12.4	32	8.2	33	10.5	27	11.0	26	14.2	8	8.2
6	34	11.1	41	10.5	33	10.5	33	13.4	19	10.4	9	9.3
7	31	10.1	76	19.5	70	22.2	34	13.8	19	10.4	10	10.3
8	30	9.8	27	6.9	16	5.1	14	5.7	9	4.9	3	3.1
9	21	6.9	19	4.9	16	5.1	6	2.4	10	5.5	1	1.0
10	21	6.9	23	5.9	27	8.6	16	6.5	7	3.8	9	9.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

E. DECISION-MAKING	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	29	9.5	31	8.0	35	11.1	21	8.5	17	9.3	7	7.2
2	26	8.5	29	7.5	19	6.0	21	8.5	14	7.7	11	11.3
3	39	12.7	39	10.0	43	13.7	39	15.9	23	12.6	11	11.3
4	38	12.4	42	10.8	37	11.7	39	15.9	34	18.6	14	14.4
5	51	16.7	59	15.2	33	10.5	35	14.2	31	16.9	19	19.6
6	48	15.7	100	25.7	70	22.2	30	12.2	24	13.1	11	11.3
7	25	8.2	33	8.5	30	9.5	21	8.5	9	4.9	6	6.2
8	20	6.5	20	5.1	21	6.7	13	5.3	10	5.5	10	10.3
9	13	4.2	18	4.6	11	3.5	15	6.1	14	7.7	6	6.2
10	17	5.6	18	4.6	16	5.1	12	4.9	7	3.8	2	2.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

F. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	16	5.2	16	4.1	13	4.1	10	4.1	5	2.7	7	7.2
2	15	4.9	19	4.9	11	3.5	8	3.3	10	5.5	9	9.3
3	23	7.5	27	6.9	23	7.3	20	8.1	27	14.8	4	4.1
4	42	13.7	34	8.7	34	10.8	25	10.2	18	9.8	8	8.2
5	55	18.0	110	28.3	82	26.0	49	19.9	33	18.0	10	10.3
6	30	9.8	45	11.6	36	11.4	24	9.8	18	9.8	16	16.5
7	41	13.4	37	9.5	34	10.8	34	13.8	18	9.8	14	14.4
8	39	12.7	36	9.3	37	11.7	36	14.6	27	14.8	11	11.3
9	33	10.8	40	10.3	29	9.2	29	11.8	15	8.2	14	14.4
10	12	3.9	25	6.4	16	5.1	11	4.5	12	6.6	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

G. ELECTION SYSTEM AND PROCESSES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	23	7.5	11	2.8	12	3.8	7	2.8	8	4.4	3	3.1
2	8	2.6	25	6.4	14	4.4	8	3.3	8	4.4	4	4.1
3	23	7.5	43	11.1	28	8.9	25	10.2	17	9.3	8	8.2
4	43	14.1	96	24.7	69	21.9	30	12.2	21	11.5	11	11.3
5	24	7.8	23	5.9	24	7.6	20	8.1	14	7.7	7	7.2
6	31	10.1	26	6.7	26	8.3	23	9.3	13	7.1	7	7.2
7	41	13.4	33	8.5	33	10.5	21	8.5	17	9.3	8	8.2
8	29	9.5	33	8.5	26	8.3	29	11.8	14	7.7	8	8.2
9	35	11.4	48	12.3	47	14.9	37	15.0	26	14.2	15	15.5
10	49	16.0	51	13.1	36	11.4	46	18.7	45	24.6	26	26.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

H. FUNCTIONAL LANGUAGE SKILLS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	22	7.2	33	8.5	16	5.1	14	5.7	21	11.5	8	8.2
2	49	16.0	55	14.1	56	17.8	45	18.3	29	15.8	15	15.5
3	48	15.7	96	24.7	84	26.7	33	13.4	21	11.5	15	15.5
4	26	8.5	34	8.7	19	6.0	19	7.7	14	7.7	5	5.2
5	18	5.9	31	8.0	29	9.2	22	8.9	19	10.4	10	10.3
6	32	10.5	24	6.2	22	7.0	34	13.8	23	12.6	16	16.5
7	38	12.4	36	9.3	23	7.3	23	9.3	18	9.8	11	11.3
8	38	12.4	39	10.0	37	11.7	24	9.8	22	12.0	9	9.3
9	20	6.5	25	6.4	17	5.4	20	8.1	12	6.6	4	4.1
10	15	4.9	16	4.1	12	3.8	12	4.9	4	2.2	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

I. EDUCATION AND TRAINING	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
1	68	22.2	93	23.9	69	21.9	72	29.3	41	22.4	24	24.7
2	53	17.3	107	27.5	89	28.3	50	20.3	35	19.1	6	6.2
3	25	8.2	33	8.5	37	11.7	18	7.3	11	6.0	8	8.2
4	17	5.6	19	4.9	16	5.1	9	3.7	11	6.0	6	6.2
5	30	9.8	21	5.4	21	6.7	10	4.1	9	4.9	6	6.2
6	23	7.5	12	3.1	22	7.0	11	4.5	10	5.5	13	13.4
7	15	4.9	21	5.4	20	6.3	19	7.7	22	12.0	10	10.3
8	27	8.8	23	5.9	13	4.1	16	6.5	12	6.6	8	8.2
9	29	9.5	36	9.3	13	4.1	22	8.9	18	9.8	11	11.3
10	19	6.2	24	6.2	15	4.8	19	7.7	14	7.7	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

J. ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%	Fy	%	Fy	%	Fy	%	Fy	%
1	42	13.7	94	24.2	62	19.7	22	8.9	19	10.4	5	5.2
2	22	7.2	22	5.7	19	6.0	17	6.9	8	4.4	7	7.2
3	21	6.9	17	4.4	13	4.1	9	3.7	14	7.7	7	7.2
4	27	8.8	25	6.4	24	7.6	25	10.2	8	4.4	6	6.2
5	16	5.2	24	6.2	23	7.3	17	6.9	6	3.3	7	7.2
6	23	7.5	27	6.9	22	7.0	22	8.9	19	10.4	3	3.1
7	17	5.6	35	9.0	21	6.7	14	5.7	10	5.5	4	4.1
8	26	8.5	28	7.2	24	7.6	18	7.3	14	7.7	13	13.4
9	37	12.1	29	7.5	40	12.7	31	12.6	36	19.7	18	18.6
10	75	24.5	88	22.6	67	21.3	71	28.9	49	26.8	27	27.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100</b>

HOW INTERESTED ARE YOU TO PARTICIPATE AS CANDIDATE IN THE FUTURE LOCAL GOVERNANCE ELECTIONS?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very Interested	65	21.2	63	16.2	53	16.8	49	19.9	34	18.6	12	12.4
Interested	124	40.5	208	53.5	140	44.4	71	28.9	55	30.1	24	24.7
Slightly interested	54	17.6	53	13.6	63	20.0	53	21.5	35	19.1	18	18.6
Not interested at all	63	20.6	65	16.7	59	18.7	73	29.7	59	32.2	43	44.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HOW ARE YOU INVOLVED IN THE CURRENT LOCAL GOVERNANCE ELECTIONS?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very involved	24	7.8	46	11.8	33	10.5	27	11.0	20	10.9	11	11.3
Involved	111	36.3	184	47.3	166	52.7	99	40.2	93	50.8	32	33.0
Less involved	99	32.4	101	26.0	76	24.1	63	25.6	35	19.1	28	28.9
Not involved at all	68	22.2	54	13.9	39	12.4	49	19.9	33	18.0	22	22.7
Would rather not say	4	1.3	4	1.0	1	.3	8	3.3	2	1.1	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE MORE INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS THAN YOU ARE AT THE MOMENT?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Yes	230	75.2	315	81.0	243	77.1	184	74.8	131	71.6	55	56.7
No	76	24.8	74	19.0	72	22.9	62	25.2	52	28.4	42	43.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HOW MUCH WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE INVOLVED IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS THAN YOU ARE AT THE MOMENT?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Highly involved	46	15.0	55	14.1	45	14.3	41	16.7	34	18.6	17	17.5
Involved	129	42.2	187	48.1	160	50.8	100	40.7	77	42.1	31	32.0
Less involved	91	29.7	107	27.5	76	24.1	74	30.1	49	26.8	30	30.9
Not involved at all	40	13.1	40	10.3	34	10.8	31	12.6	23	12.6	19	19.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

OVERALL, HOW FAIR DO YOU THINK THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IS AT THE LOCAL GOVERNANCE LEVEL?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very fair	74	24.2	127	32.6	107	34.0	67	27.2	73	39.9	33	34.0
Fair	173	56.5	223	57.3	175	55.6	146	59.3	88	48.1	49	50.5
Not fair	46	15.0	32	8.2	25	7.9	29	11.8	16	8.7	9	9.3
Would rather not say	13	4.2	7	1.8	8	2.5	4	1.6	6	3.3	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHO IS TRADITIONALLY ALLOWED TO INHERIT LAND/ PROPERTY OR OTHER ASSETS IN YOUR COMMUNITY?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
All family members	206	67.3	207	53.2	173	54.9	139	56.5	113	61.7	65	67.0
male family members only	64	20.9	142	36.5	109	34.6	77	31.3	40	21.9	20	20.6
Female family members only	36	11.8	40	10.3	33	10.5	30	12.2	30	16.4	12	12.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	56	18.3	44	11.3	41	13.0	39	15.9	28	15.3	16	16.5
Male	56	18.3	81	20.8	30	9.5	52	21.1	24	13.1	17	17.5
Female	51	16.7	71	18.3	59	18.7	34	13.8	38	20.8	16	16.5
Male and female jointly	127	41.5	169	43.4	169	53.7	111	45.1	77	42.1	40	41.2
All members including children	16	5.2	24	6.2	16	5.1	10	4.1	16	8.7	8	8.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - EDUCATION	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	23	7.5	26	6.7	22	7.0	16	6.5	21	11.5	10	10.3
Male	45	14.7	50	12.9	30	9.5	40	16.3	13	7.1	11	11.3
Female	38	12.4	46	11.8	27	8.6	23	9.3	18	9.8	8	8.2
Male and female jointly	147	48.0	233	59.9	198	62.9	142	57.7	104	56.8	53	54.6
All members including children	53	17.3	34	8.7	38	12.1	25	10.2	27	14.8	15	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - HEALTH	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	31	10.1	31	8.0	29	9.2	20	8.1	22	12.0	9	9.3
Male	37	12.1	54	13.9	27	8.6	30	12.2	15	8.2	8	8.2
Female	46	15.0	45	11.6	26	8.3	32	13.0	19	10.4	16	16.5
Male and female jointly	135	44.1	230	59.1	194	61.6	145	58.9	106	57.9	53	54.6
All members including children	57	18.6	29	7.5	39	12.4	19	7.7	21	11.5	11	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - POLITICAL DECISIONS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	42	13.7	40	10.3	40	12.7	29	11.8	33	18.0	13	13.4
Male	65	21.2	80	20.6	52	16.5	62	25.2	23	12.6	25	25.8
Female	30	9.8	44	11.3	27	8.6	26	10.6	17	9.3	5	5.2
Male and female jointly	134	43.8	192	49.4	164	52.1	105	42.7	88	48.1	39	40.2
All members including children	35	11.4	33	8.5	32	10.2	24	9.8	22	12.0	15	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - MARRIAGE CHOICES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	67	21.9	50	12.9	54	17.1	23	9.3	22	12.0	12	12.4
Male	25	8.2	48	12.3	21	6.7	22	8.9	9	4.9	8	8.2
Female	20	6.5	41	10.5	23	7.3	22	8.9	15	8.2	5	5.2
Male and female jointly	144	47.1	212	54.5	187	59.4	150	61.0	109	59.6	53	54.6
All members including children	50	16.3	38	9.8	30	9.5	29	11.8	28	15.3	19	19.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - RELIGIOUS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	112	36.6	120	30.8	105	33.3	77	31.3	69	37.7	43	44.3
Male	29	9.5	43	11.1	25	7.9	25	10.2	10	5.5	8	8.2
Female	15	4.9	40	10.3	25	7.9	16	6.5	17	9.3	4	4.1
Male and female jointly	90	29.4	140	36.0	106	33.7	99	40.2	69	37.7	27	27.8
All members including children	60	19.6	46	11.8	54	17.1	29	11.8	18	9.8	15	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DECISION - SALE OF FAMILY PROPERTIES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Olderst member	90	29.4	81	20.8	64	20.3	51	20.7	43	23.5	24	24.7
Male	38	12.4	42	10.8	19	6.0	26	10.6	13	7.1	12	12.4
Female	18	5.9	30	7.7	23	7.3	19	7.7	18	9.8	4	4.1
Male and female jointly	97	31.7	162	41.6	136	43.2	95	38.6	63	34.4	25	25.8
All members including children	63	20.6	74	19.0	73	23.2	55	22.4	46	25.1	32	33.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	53	17.3	58	14.9	72	22.9	84	34.1	50	27.3	25	25.8
Fairly high degree	142	46.4	178	45.8	138	43.8	110	44.7	84	45.9	36	37.1
Small degree	91	29.7	147	37.8	98	31.1	48	19.5	43	23.5	29	29.9
Not at all	20	6.5	6	1.5	7	2.2	4	1.6	6	3.3	7	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - EDUCATION	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	87	28.4	72	18.5	67	21.3	70	28.5	55	30.1	28	28.9
Fairly high degree	137	44.8	184	47.3	160	50.8	126	51.2	82	44.8	35	36.1
Small degree	75	24.5	124	31.9	81	25.7	45	18.3	41	22.4	27	27.8
Not at all	7	2.3	9	2.3	7	2.2	5	2.0	5	2.7	7	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - HEALTH	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	76	24.8	91	23.4	82	26.0	92	37.4	57	31.1	29	29.9
Fairly high degree	138	45.1	173	44.5	141	44.8	111	45.1	86	47.0	42	43.3
Small degree	83	27.1	116	29.8	85	27.0	39	15.9	35	19.1	20	20.6
Not at all	9	2.9	9	2.3	7	2.2	4	1.6	5	2.7	6	6.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - POLITICAL DECISIONS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	45	14.7	64	16.5	45	14.3	49	19.9	38	20.8	25	25.8
Fairly high degree	145	47.4	176	45.2	128	40.6	127	51.6	83	45.4	37	38.1
Small degree	83	27.1	133	34.2	124	39.4	55	22.4	49	26.8	26	26.8
Not at all	33	10.8	16	4.1	18	5.7	15	6.1	13	7.1	9	9.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - MARRIAGE CHOICES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	44	14.4	64	16.5	48	15.2	57	23.2	33	18.0	19	19.6
Fairly high degree	137	44.8	158	40.6	139	44.1	118	48.0	76	41.5	38	39.2
Small degree	92	30.1	149	38.3	117	37.1	57	23.2	62	33.9	26	26.8
Not at all	33	10.8	18	4.6	11	3.5	14	5.7	12	6.6	14	14.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - RELIGIOUS	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	70	22.9	79	20.3	71	22.5	78	31.7	50	27.3	31	32.0
Fairly high degree	144	47.1	187	48.1	158	50.2	119	48.4	85	46.4	45	46.4
Small degree	76	24.8	113	29.0	80	25.4	42	17.1	43	23.5	17	17.5
Not at all	16	5.2	10	2.6	6	1.9	7	2.8	5	2.7	4	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

PERSONAL DECISION DEGREE - SALE OF FAMILY PROPERTIES	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	31	10.1	45	11.6	37	11.7	30	12.2	21	11.5	17	17.5
Fairly high degree	125	40.8	152	39.1	118	37.5	120	48.8	82	44.8	32	33.0
Small degree	87	28.4	145	37.3	116	36.8	59	24.0	51	27.9	29	29.9
Not at all	63	20.6	47	12.1	44	14.0	37	15.0	29	15.8	19	19.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE CONTROL OVER DECISIONS REGARDING YOUR OWN PERSONAL WELFARE, HEALTH AND BODY?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Very high degree	59	19.3	82	21.1	78	24.8	63	25.6	52	28.4	37	38.1
High degree	165	53.9	165	42.4	138	43.8	136	55.3	85	46.4	33	34.0
Small degree	71	23.2	135	34.7	93	29.5	41	16.7	40	21.9	22	22.7
Not at all	11	3.6	7	1.8	6	1.9	6	2.4	6	3.3	5	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHERE DO YOU GO ON YOUR OWN?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Everywhere I want to	55	18.0	55	14.1	52	16.5	52	21.1	46	25.1	26	26.8
Most places I want to	124	40.5	187	48.1	163	51.7	116	47.2	74	40.4	31	32.0
Some places i want to	102	33.3	113	29.0	84	26.7	66	26.8	52	28.4	29	29.9
Nowhere	25	8.2	34	8.7	16	5.1	12	4.9	11	6.0	11	11.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS ABOUT PUBLIC SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY? NO1	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
	32	10.5	71	18.3	53	16.8	26	10.6	22	12.0	4	4.1
Chupon									1	.5	1	1.0
Community	21	6.9	27	6.9	21	6.7	25	10.2	24	13.1	17	17.5
Dungpa			2	.5			1	.4				
Dzongda			1	.3								
Elderly People	5	1.6	11	2.8	10	3.2	7	2.8	5	2.7	3	3.1
GAO	1	.3			1	.3	2	.8			1	1.0
Gup	207	67.6	227	58.4	187	59.4	141	57.3	97	53.0	55	56.7
Known person in the village			1	.3	2	.6	1	.4	4	2.2	1	1.0
Mangmi	5	1.6	6	1.5			2	.8			1	1.0
National Council	1	.3										
Tshogpa	34	11.1	43	11.1	41	13.0	41	16.7	30	16.4	14	14.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS ABOUT PUBLIC SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY? NO2	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
	41	13.4	77	19.8	55	17.5	27	11.0	23	12.6	6	6.2
Business Community			1	.3	1	.3						
Chupon	4	1.3	5	1.3	1	.3	6	2.4	1	.5	1	1.0
Community			1	.3								
Dungpa	1	.3										
DYT	3	1.0			1	.3	1	.4				
Dzongda	1	.3					1	.4				
Elderly People	5	1.6	5	1.3	4	1.3	4	1.6	5	2.7	2	2.1
GAO	1	.3			1	.3						
Gup	33	10.8	43	11.1	32	10.2	37	15.0	21	11.5	8	8.2
GYT	3	1.0	3	.8	3	1.0	2	.8			1	1.0
Head of the family	1	.3	1	.3								
Known person in the village					2	.6	2	.8	4	2.2	3	3.1
Mangmi	171	55.9	176	45.2	146	46.3	104	42.3	90	49.2	50	51.5
Public	4	1.3	6	1.5	8	2.5	5	2.0	4	2.2	1	1.0
Rich People					2	.6						
Tshogpa	38	12.4	71	18.3	59	18.7	57	23.2	35	19.1	25	25.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WHO MAKES THE DECISIONS ABOUT PUBLIC SERVICES IN YOUR COMMUNITY? NO3	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
	41	13.4	87	22.4	61	19.4	33	13.4	23	12.6	9	9.3
Business Community									1	.5		
Chupon	8	2.6	4	1.0	2	.6	4	1.6			3	3.1
Community	2	.7	2	.5			1	.4			1	1.0
Drangpon			1	.3								
Dungpa							1	.4				
DYT	1	.3	1	.3	2	.6						
Dzongda	20	6.5	17	4.4	14	4.4	16	6.5	12	6.6	5	5.2
Elderly People			1	.3	1	.3	1	.4	1	.5		
Elderly Peoples	6	2.0	3	.8	3	1.0			3	1.6	2	2.1
GAO	1	.3	1	.3			2	.8	1	.5	1	1.0
Gup	10	3.3	23	5.9	23	7.3	19	7.7	31	16.9	16	16.5
Head of the family	1	.3										
Influential peoples	1	.3										
Known person in the village	1	.3			2	.6	1	.4	1	.5		
Mangmi	20	6.5	33	8.5	35	11.1	38	15.4	9	4.9	6	6.2
Politician (MP)			1	.3			2	.8				
Public	17	5.6	37	9.5	23	7.3	25	10.2	13	7.1	6	6.2
Sector Head			1	.3								
Tshogpa	177	57.8	177	45.5	149	47.3	103	41.9	88	48.1	48	49.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HOW INVOLVED DO YOU FEEL IN THESE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN YOUR COMMUNITY?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Involved all the time	18	5.9	55	14.1	56	17.8	52	21.1	35	19.1	22	22.7
Involved in important issues	151	49.3	209	53.7	163	51.7	115	46.7	93	50.8	30	30.9
Less involved	104	34.0	95	24.4	78	24.8	62	25.2	39	21.3	33	34.0
Not involved at all	33	10.8	30	7.7	18	5.7	17	6.9	16	8.7	12	12.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HOW MUCH WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE INVOLVED IN THESE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES WITHIN YOUR COMMUNITY?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Involved all the time	37	12.1	66	17.0	71	22.5	59	24.0	43	23.5	19	19.6
Involved in important issues	149	48.7	201	51.7	158	50.2	115	46.7	88	48.1	36	37.1
Less involved	87	28.4	91	23.4	70	22.2	55	22.4	38	20.8	28	28.9
Not involved at all	33	10.8	31	8.0	16	5.1	17	6.9	14	7.7	14	14.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

HOW MUCH INFLUENCE DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE IN COMMUNITY LEVEL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
High	11	3.6	18	4.6	20	6.3	22	8.9	17	9.3	13	13.4
Medium	149	48.7	209	53.7	150	47.6	114	46.3	82	44.8	33	34.0
Low	70	22.9	78	20.1	70	22.2	57	23.2	33	18.0	25	25.8
No influence	76	24.8	84	21.6	75	23.8	53	21.5	51	27.9	26	26.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

DOES BHUTAN'S ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PROCESSES AND ELECTORAL LEGISLATION POSE DIFFICULTIES FOR WOMEN VOTERS AS WELL AS FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Yes	116	37.9	143	36.8	100	31.7	99	40.2	72	39.3	30	30.9
No	190	62.1	246	63.2	215	68.3	147	59.8	111	60.7	67	69.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

WOULD IT MAKE A POSITIVE DIFFERENCE IF WOMEN ARE IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT?	AGE GROUP											
	18-25 years		26-35 years		36-45 years		46-55 years		56-65 years		66 years and above	
	Fy	%	Fy	%								
Yes	231	75.5	251	64.5	205	65.1	179	72.8	124	67.8	65	67.0
No	75	24.5	138	35.5	110	34.9	67	27.2	59	32.2	32	33.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>100.0</b>

# ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>West: Punakha & Paro; Central: Zhemgang & Dagana; South: Samtse & Tsirang; and East: Pemagatshel & Mongar.

<sup>2</sup>Source:<http://www.pcw.gov.ph/index.php/gender-maintreaming/37-faq-gender-mainstreaming-philippines/242-gad-terms>.

<sup>3</sup>BTI, 2008 (15); Tshering & Dolma (2008, p. 3); Global Cultures.

<sup>4</sup>RGOB & UN in Bhutan (2001, 11) found a reversed ratio of less than 40% women owning/inheriting property in Trashigang & Mongar.

<sup>5</sup>Tshering & Dolma, 2008, p.3.

<sup>6</sup>BDHRL, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>If family A has very urgent work to be done, they will request the support of their neighbor, family B. At a later date, family A will go and work for that number of days when family B asks for it.

<sup>8</sup>Labour of a woman of family A will be exchanged for that of a man's from family B because family B does not have enough women workforce and family A is short of men workforce.

<sup>9</sup>BDRL, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>RGOB & UN in Bhutan, 2001, p.3

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, p.8.

<sup>12</sup>Pommaret, Françoise, 1997, p. 200.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid, p. 201.

<sup>14</sup>Tashi Tshering Dukpa, 2008, pp. 60-61.

<sup>15</sup>Pommaret, Françoise, 1997, p. 234.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid, p. 234.

<sup>17</sup>With the adoption of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, these two committees are now called *Dzongkhag Tshogdu* and *Gewog Tshogde*, whose members are elected. Municipal council is called *Thromde Tshogde* with similar membership as the other two.

<sup>18</sup>CAPSD. Bhutan History Textbook for Class X. And Bhutan Civics Text book for class XI.

<sup>19</sup>The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, 2008, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup>Planning Commission, 2007, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup>ECB, 2010, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>Planning Commission, 2007, p. 32.

<sup>24</sup>GNHC & NCWC, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup>Sultana Kamal, 2009, p. 210.

<sup>26</sup>Helvetas, 2010-2013. Helvetas-Bhutan Gender Strategy, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup>GNHC & NCWC, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup>Figures for June 2008 as used by GNHC & NCWC in *National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013*, p. 22, has a slight variation with the information received from the RCSC in mid-July 2011 for the same period.

<sup>31</sup>Towards Gross National Happiness: A Journey with UNDP (Annual Report 2008-2009: 10).

<sup>32</sup>GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>34</sup>Acknowledged by erstwhile Planning Commission (2007) in *Bhutan MDGs: Needs Assessment and Costing Report 2006-2015*, p. 32.

<sup>35</sup>*Chimis* are also people's representatives in the National Assembly.

<sup>36</sup>Local Government Act of Bhutan 2007, Clause 48, p. 14 and Local Government Act of Bhutan 2009, Clause 66, p. 22.

<sup>37</sup>The Office of the *Chimi* is deemed withdrawn with the adoption of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan.

<sup>38</sup>In ECB, 2010. Strategy Development in Gender Support for Local Elections 2010, p. 18-19.

<sup>39</sup>Approximate number of *Tshogpas* in Pemagatshel as some *Gups* couldn't be reached over telephone.

<sup>40</sup>Approximate number of *Tshogpas* in Punakha as *Gups* from four *gewogs* couldn't be reached.

<sup>41</sup>Approximate number of *Tshogpas* in Sarpang as some *Gups* were not reachable.

<sup>42</sup>In ECB, 2010. Women and Election: Strategic Document to Enhance Political Participation of Women in Local Election, p. 18-19.

<sup>43</sup>In GNHC & NCWC National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup>Press Release ECB/NOTIF-01/2011/2601. In *Kuensel*, Saturday July 2, 2011, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup>Figure released by the ECB for the purpose of this report. Reported figure in press release is 1,204.

<sup>46</sup>Vacancy positions for 3 *Gups* and 360 *Gewogs Tshogpas* (As reported by Tenzin Namgyel (2011) *Kuensel*, Wednesday July 13, p. 3. Vacant positions reported by ECB in *Kuensel*, Saturday July 2, 2011, p. 19 is 1 *Gup* and 359 *Gewog Tshogpas* with a total of 370 vacancies.

<sup>47</sup>UNDP, 2010, p. 81. Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific. *Asia-Pacific Regional Human Development Report 2010*. Published for UNDP by Macmillan Publishers India Ltd. First published February 2010.

<sup>48</sup>Tamesis, Pauline, 2009, p. 218. Women in Politics:

Overcoming Barriers to Participation. In *Beyond the Ballot Box. Report from the Deepening and Sustaining Democracy in Asia Conference*, 11-14 October 2009. Centre for Bhutan Studies and UNDP Bhutan.

<sup>49</sup>UNDP, 2010, p. 102. Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific. *Asia-Pacific Regional Human Development Report 2010*. Published for UNDP by Macmillan Publishers India Ltd. First published, February 2010.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, p. 103.

<sup>51</sup>ILO, 2009. In UNDP, 2010, p. 103. Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific. In *Asia-Pacific Regional Human Development Report 2010*. Published for UNDP by Macmillan Publishers India Ltd. First published, February 2010.

<sup>52</sup>UNDP, 2010. Power, Voice and Rights: A Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific. In *Asia-Pacific Regional Human Development Report 2010*. Published for UNDP by Macmillan Publishers India Ltd. First published, February 2010, p. 103.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid, p. 103.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid, p. 104.

<sup>55</sup>UNICEF, 2006. Equality in politics and government. In *Women and Children: The Double Dividend of Gender Equality. The state of the world's children 2007*. UNICEF, New York. December 2006, p. 50.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid, p. 50.

<sup>57</sup>In fact, women's struggles and movements go back many centuries. Hamadeh-Banerjee and Oquist (2000:1) mention the work of a French woman and an English woman in the late 18th century. Self-educated butcher's daughter, Olympe de Gouges led women of all classes in presenting a women's reform agenda to the National Assembly in October 1789 and shortly after issued a written Declaration on the Rights of Women. And Mary Wollstonecraft, a middle-class English contemporary, published her *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792. (Source: Lina Hamadeh-Banerjee and Paul Oquist (2000:1) Chapter 1. Overview: Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges. In *Women's Political Participation & Good Governance: 21st Century Challenges*, p. 1)

<sup>58</sup>NCWC. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, p. 11.

<sup>59</sup>Faisal-Bin-Majid and Priyanka Kabir (Eds), 2008. *Breaking the Barriers: Claiming Women's Space in Politics in South Asia*. Regional Status Paper for Regional Conference of Gender Thematic Group, SAAPE, December 2008. Edited by Rokeya Kabir, Coordinator Gender Thematic Group, SAAPE, p. 10.

<sup>60</sup>ECB, 2010, p. 12.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid, p. 28.

<sup>62</sup>Thinley, D., 2005.

<sup>63</sup>Pedey, K., 2006.

<sup>64</sup>MOLHR, 2011. MOLHR/EOM/11/150. Sub: Revision

of National Work Force (NWF) Wage Rates. In *Kuensel*, Wednesday 27 July 2011, p. 10.

<sup>65</sup>GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013. Royal Government of Bhutan, p.154.

<sup>66</sup>Kinley Wangmo, 2011. Local Government: The women in the fray. 150 candidates are contesting the polls on equal terms with men. *Kuensel*, Saturday June 25, 2011, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid, p.2

<sup>68</sup>PHCB, 2005. In GNHC & NCWC. National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013. Royal Government of Bhutan, p.52.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid

<sup>70</sup>Ibid

<sup>71</sup>MOE, 2010. Annual Education Statistics 2010, p.2.

<sup>72</sup>PHCB 2005. In GNHC & NCWC. *National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013*. Royal Government of Bhutan, p.52.

<sup>73</sup>MOE, 2010. Annual Education Statistics 2010, p.2.

<sup>74</sup>Dahlerup, 2007, p. 78-87 – Almost 100 countries have some form of quotas in their electoral systems, most dominant being in 'Aspirant quotas', 'candidate quotas', and 'reserved seat quotas'. Candidate quotas, 'incremental model' – e.g. Brazil, Argentina, Sweden, Norway; Reserved seat quotas, 'fast track model' - e.g. India, Uganda, Afghanistan, Rwanda, Bangladesh, Jordan, Morocco, Tanzania, Taiwan.

<sup>75</sup>PHCB, 2005. In GNHC & NCWC. *National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013*. Royal Government of Bhutan, p.52.

<sup>76</sup>MOE (2010) Annual Education Statistics 2010, p.2.

<sup>77</sup>PHCB, 2005. In GNHC & NCWC. *National Plan of Action for Gender 2008-2013*. Royal Government of Bhutan, p.52

<sup>78</sup>MOE, 2010. Annual Education Statistics 2010, p.2.

