Empowerment of the Scheduled Castes: Approaches, Framework and Challenges of Measuring Empowerment

U P ANILKUMAR

Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation

The empowerment of weaker sections of society, especially Scheduled Castes and Tribes in India, has been one of the proclaimed priorities of all welfare states worldwide. Although the Government of India, like many other countries, has declared empowerment as its primary objective in the policies of upliftment for the oppressed sections of society, the government does not define the concept of empowerment precisely at all, and there is no attempt to devise a method to quantify it. In reality, empowerment means approaches to realistic behaviour that affect material life and the mental perspective of all actors, including policymakers and recipients. Therefore, there is a need to explore different approaches to empowerment, a context to consider its organisational roles and major challenges in creating an empowerment assessment method.

The agenda of empowerment in the context of Scheduled Caste starts from the Ninth Five Year Plan, with the renaming of the Union Ministry of Welfare, which dealt with the welfare of Scheduled Castes, as Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (Annual report, 2011-12). The Ministry is entrusted with the responsibility of empowering the disadvantaged and marginalised sections of society, including Scheduled Castes.[1] The vision of the Ministry is to build a society wherein SCs [and other disadvantaged sections] can lead productive, safe and dignified lives, with all their basic needs being fulfilled, and where equal opportunities are ensured for their growth and development. The Ministry's mission is to empower Scheduled Castes [and other target groups] through educational, economic and social development programmes. In Kerala, the former Harijan Welfare Department was renamed as the Scheduled Castes Development Department, and it holds three visions viz., education, employment and empowerment. Both the Central and State governments accepted in principle the concept of empowerment as their vision and mission in the socio-economic upliftment process of Scheduled Castes.

The renaming of these government departments paved the way to unlock a theoretical discourse on the governmental approach and the attitude of the general public towards the empowerment of Scheduled Castes. Usually, the empowerment activities of the government are welcomed by the general public. Despite criticisms against many of such activities designed for Scheduled Castes, specifically reservation and economic development schemes, the government pursued such plans. It is necessary to examine the theory behind such governmental

---

[1]Other marginalized sections dealt by this Ministry are OBCs, Persons with Disabilities (PwDs), Senior Citizens and Victims of Substance Abuse.

empowerment initiatives. It also requires assessing the effectiveness of the implemented empowerment policy and the extent of its beneficial effect. Despite the implementation of several programmes and pumping of enormous amounts of money for the empowerment of SCs, there is a widespread objection that these programmes are not delivering anticipated results commensurate with their investments (Economic Review, 2002).

The problem of empowerment of Scheduled Castes is a methodological issue. Empowerment terminology makes it possible to analyse power, inequality, and oppression, but the concept requires a precise and deliberate definition to be of value in the illuminating development practice as it is multidimensional, broad, and complicated. So, this article attempts to discuss the undefined concept of empowerment to explore the possibility of measuring it in order to evaluate the empowerment programmes and empowerment of beneficiaries effectively.

Concept of Empowerment

Without a definition and measuring tool, empowerment programmes are like a loaded ship in the ocean without a compass and captain. Lack of clear conceptualisation from the policy level itself is a handicap in defining the term empowerment properly. Many disciplines and arenas have their own concept of empowerment as per their requirements. So, any attempt to define empowerment is highly relative to its context and the people it deals with. Various strategies and initiatives are notionally espoused by the State such as 'emancipation', 'development', 'social uplift', 'social development' and 'empowerment'. While the first three of these notions have been in operation for the last several decades in developing societies as corrective to social imbalances, obviously without much political commitment, the last two are of very recent origin. However, the very essence of empowerment and social development cannot be adequately understood without understanding the related operational concept.

The term 'empowerment' refers to a unique and vital aspect of social life. Many authors postulate a link between empowerment and crucial social and political goals, such as democracy, development, good governance, poverty reduction, and social justice. However, this link is not empirically proven globally due to the non-availability of data and deficiency of research in this field. So, this link remains as a hypothesised one. Since the concept of empowerment has many dimensions, this paper attempts to define empowerment at the level of community development and the socio-economic development of weaker sections of the society. In this context, the goal of the empowerment process is to address issues relating to subordination, inequality and inequity. Therefore, it is a shift from powerlessness towards strategic social, economic and political participation. This implies taking on power both at the individual and social levels (Malhotra, 2004).

Generally, empowerment is defined as 'a process whereby people become able to organise themselves to increase their own self-reliance, to assert their independent right to make choices and to control resources which will assist in challenging and eliminating their own subordination.' (Malhotra, Schuler & Boender, 2002, p. 6). Drury and Reicher (2005) defined it as a psycho-social state of confidence in one's ability to challenge existing relations of domination. According to them, if the feeling of empowerment endures beyond the collective action itself, it could affect participants' personal lives and motivate involvement in further collective action. The apparent significance of this is in terms of social change. Empowerment has also

been considered a process that takes people toward a better tomorrow by enabling them to liberate themselves from exploitative order. It begins by articulating a vision of a just society. It involves taking up issues of immediate concern to the community and working in a planned manner on the issues, thus moving in the direction of the vision. It brings the marginalised people to the centre of the process by developing and nurturing community leadership. It also seeks and makes space for support from friends outside the community. It nurtures democratic functioning by taking people into confidence, increasing their self-confidence and self-respect. It increases the bargaining power of the people by realising the potential of non-violent, direct mass action (Sommer, 2002).

From the World Bank perspective, empowerment is, 'the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives.' (Narayanan, 2005, p. 5). This definition can be applied to understand and track changes in the unequal relationships between poor people and the State, markets, or civil society, as well as gender inequalities, even within the household. For LokshinandRavallion (2002), empowerment refers to 'taking actions that selectively empower those with little power to redress power inequality'. As per the definition given by Malena (2005), empowerment means enabling or giving 'power to do' and 'power to whom' and 'power to do what', and these determine the nature of empowerment too. Oppenheim, Mason and Smith (2003) emphasise that through empowerment, 'people are able to control their own destinies.' According to Philip (2003), it is 'the capacity to do things that community members want to do and going beyond political or legal permission to participate in the national political system.' An analysis of various definitions of empowerment reveals three issues fundamental to its understanding. Firstly, empowerment is multidimensional in that it occurs within sociological, psychological, economic, political, and other dimensions and occurs at various levels, such as individual, group and community. Secondly, empowerment, by definition, is a social process because it occurs in relation to others. Thirdly, empowerment is an outcome that can be enhanced, measured and evaluated against its expected achievements (Hur, 2006).

Elements in Empowerment

The first challenge in measuring empowerment is to reduce the concept into measurable components or attributes. Experts, however, differ on the attributes to measure empowerment. The empowerment framework promoted by the World Bank identifies four elements, namely access to information; inclusion/participation; social accountability; and local organisational capacity (Narayan, 2002). In addition to these four, Rogers et al. (1997) identified decision-making power, freedom of choices, assertiveness, collective action, skill development, increasing one's positive self-image, overcoming stigma, etc. Boehm and Staples (2002) added mastery and self-determination as the components. The following table (Table 1) gives a list of various components of empowerment emphasised by various scholars.

TABLE 1. Components of Empowerment Emphasized by various Scholars

Components of Empowerment	Scholar/s
knowledge, capacities, skills	Mann HyungHur (2006:523-540)
Academic success and bicultural identity	Diversi&Mecham (2005:301-40)
Self-confidence, self-determination, self-sufficiency, and decision-making ability	Larson, Walker, & Pearce (2005:55-74) Boehm & Staples (2002:270-80) Becker, Kovach &Gronseth (2004:327-342) Fetterman (1996:3-46) Thomas &Velthouse (1990:666-681)
Personal sense of control and efficacy, critical consciousness	Speer (2000:51-61), Lee (1994) Moreaum (1990 : 53-67)
Competence-promotion	Breton (1994:27-44)

The above discussion shows that the concept of empowerment is multidimensional, liable to change from context to context and working at various levels such as personal, community and State. Empowerment is integral to meeting critical development objectives such as the provision of basic services, improving local and national governance, access to markets and access to justice. Empowerment has a psychological component that gives one the feeling of empowerment, making him/her self-reliant with a personal sense of control. This analysis of various components of empowerment leads to two crucial questions that 1) to what extent the ongoing empowerment programmes formulated for SCs recognise these components and 2) to what extent they influenced the SCs for their empowerment, and these questions will be examined later.

Different Viewpoints on Empowerment

There is a wide range of viewpoints or approaches regarding the empowerment of the marginalised sections of society. Examining them will be helpful to identify what is relevant and appropriate to the empowerment of the Scheduled Castes.

Post-Marxists Viewpoint of Empowerment

The post-Marxist viewpoint of empowerment considers empowerment as a matter of collective mobilisation of marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of the State and market (Giles & Stokke, 2000). It implies that the State will not work for the empowerment of the poor people; rather, try to disempower them and empower the market forces. So, a collective mobilisation of the disempowered is required against the disempowering activities of the State.

In India, in general, and Kerala in particular, the caste structure and class structures are more or less equivalent. In a close examination, it can be found that only the question of the amount and extent of mobility is the differentiating factor between caste and class in the Indian social system. The castes having mobility in socio-political, economic and cultural fronts form the class. Though the marginalised

sections include population from different classes and different castes, the envisioned collective mobilisation of the marginalised sections is not possible due to the existing class conflict. So instead of collective mobilisation of all marginalised, only the specialised mobilisation of separate groups of marginalised sections is possible due to the cultural and hierarchical conflict created by the caste system. This is why the Marxist Party in Kerala (CPI-M) organises Scheduled Castes separately under the banner of PattikajathiKshemaSamithi even though they are the inevitable, indispensable part of the proletariat class. Secondly, the government formation of Marxists in Kerala becomes one of the biggest obstacles for the collective mobilisation of the marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of the State and market. Along with the government formation, the Marxists become identified with the State, thereby the Marxists having to fight against their policies. In this context, the Scheduled Castes, who adhere to the Marxist ideology, face a political dilemma in their consolidated movement against State. Hence, this viewpoint is not appropriate in the empowerment of Scheduled Castes due to the conflict between class and caste interests and tangled within the ideological barriers attached to the formation of Marxian governments.

Radical Viewpoint on Empowerment

The radical viewpoint for empowerment suggests that the organised civil society exerts its pressure on autocratic and unresponsive States and supports democratic stability and good governance. It requires a top-down strategy to make institutions more efficient within the existing power structures and emphasise institutional transformation. This viewpoint emphasises the competence of the actors in civil society to pressurise the existing government. Theoretically, civil society consists of the non-governmental and non-profitable organisations that manifest interest and general will of the people and its valuable role is to empower people (Halloway, 2001). However, in India, the actors, programmes, processes and spaces of civil society are organised, decided and controlled by the pressure or interest groups from the middle class, upper-middle-class, higher class and the media. Their demand for good governance and institutional transformation lacks active coverage of specific interests of the marginalised sections. Also, there exists an apathetic response from the organised dominant classes towards conducting a consolidated movement of disadvantaged classes, including SCs. The dominant classes aim to protect their own economic and political interests, which are naturally detrimental to the interest of the Scheduled castes due to the inherent conflict between dominant and disadvantaged classes. Since civil society is a web of autonomous associations independent of the State, in the absence of effective organisational strength, it is difficult for SCs to successfully influence the civil society agenda (Nuscheler, 2003).

Secondly, the civil society activists want to project a secularist, democratic and casteless and classless image. So, they are neither serious in addressing the questions of reservation nor the special financial allocation like Special Component Plan (SCP) in favour of Scheduled Castes. They, in a way, undermine the vital issues of SCs but claim to be the champions of anti-discrimination. Thirdly, civil society activists are reluctant to share social leadership with marginalised sections. The existing government and bureaucracy have been loaded with personnel from dominant classes, particularly at the decision-making level. The existing power structure is the fiefdom of the dominant class desiring to maintain the status quo. The effect of

media in civil society is the fourth concern. The media will not allow Scheduled Castes to use it against the interest of the existing power structure, which is mainly controlled by the elite classes of civil society. Hence, the socio-political interests of SCs and civil society are contradicting and opposite, proving the radical view that espouses existing power structure to be ineffective for the empowerment of Scheduled Castes.

Capacity-building

The capacity-building entails enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes and thus suggests that it is both a process and a result. Alsop and Heinsohn (2005) describe this viewpoint more broadly that empowerment is increasing people's choices and freedom of action; therefore, it is important for its intrinsic value and instrumental value in improving development effectiveness for poor people. The empowerment framework promoted by the World Bank also shows inclination towards this viewpoint. The speciality of this viewpoint in comparison with the earlier two is that it considers empowerment as a process and an outcome and addresses the empowerment of individual and group. As a process, it provides an opportunity to develop its beneficiaries the required life skills, and as an outcome, it provides an assessable, measurable aim to be achieved through the empowerment process. Hence, the process by which some systematic steps are taken to achieve their desired goals in a stipulated time, including its aim is called empowerment.

In the post-Marxist and radical approaches, Scheduled Castes do not get enough space to pass through a process of empowerment by their efforts. They have only a nominal role as participants in the whole process. They are neither the initiators nor the organisers, nor do they control or guide factors of that process. Their share in the empowerment outcome in terms of quantity and quality is negligible. However, the capacity building approach is more subjective and objective, which envisions the independent empowerment of the disempowered through a procedural manner so that the critical elements of empowerment such as awareness, access, participation, self-reliance, self-esteem and independence can be materialised more compared to the post-Marxist and radical approaches. Among the three approaches, capacity building approach seems to be more appropriate to the empowerment of Scheduled Castes.

The Very Special Nature of Empowerment: A Process and an Outcome

The characteristics of empowerment are that it is an outcome and a process to attain that outcome (Malhotra, 2004, pp. 54). Empowerment as the declared goal of the State policy cannot be achieved unless the schemes of empowerment are passed through a process of empowerment. Empowerment of the disadvantaged and marginalised sections of the society is not a mere mechanical process of sharing, distribution or redistribution of power. Instead, it involves more comprehensive changes in social and economic institutional arrangements, political ideologies, and traditional practices and even in the mindset of the people. Such changes should have demanding purposes, such as i) creating a new collective identity of the marginalised group, which is essential to demolish the structure of subordination imposed on them. ii) to provide the required space for their intervention in all

issues of their collective social concern. iii) to provide access to knowledge, ideology and resources for their material and social well being. iv) to generate a social environment, free of inequalities disfavouring these people. v) to ensure that basic enabling provision to each member of the society required for their self-fulfilment and expression (Roy, 2001, pp. 14).

McWhirter also saw empowerment as the process by which people, organisations or groups who are powerless (a) become aware of the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others and (d) support the empowerment of others in the community (McWhirter, 1991, pp. 222-7). Ruth Alsop and Nina Heinsohn (2005) shared a similar view. The government of Kerala also holds the same view of empowerment as a process wherein awareness, consciousness, choices with live alternatives, resources at their disposal, voice, agency and participation are to be considered as these are related to the enhancement of capabilities and decisions the beneficiaries take individually or collectively for themselves. (Economic Review, 2011, pp. 475). Nevertheless, empowerment as a process is fluid, often unpredictable, and changeable over time and place.

Empowerment embodies the hopes and dreams of the marginalised groups for a social environment free of social, political and economic inequalities (Roy, 20019). It is the creation of an own space in the mainstream and liberation from human-made bondages. Empowerment incorporates two essential features: attitudinal changes of the disempowered classes and the other- acquisition of required skills and resources to realise empowerment. (Roy, 1999). To attain this position, they have to undergo a systematic process comprising acquiring knowledge, developing skills, building capacity, gaining and exercising control, supporting others. After passing through this process, the expected outcome (empowerment) is direct changes in the behaviour, relationships, activities, and status of individuals or groups.

A Framework for Measuring Empowerment

To assess empowerment holistically, a multidimensional approach is required, as there is no single valid indicator that can capture the complex nature of the concept. Drawing on both the rich body of theoretical work on empowerment and the documented practical knowledge of practitioners all over the world, Helmut Anheier proposes four different areas such as structure, external environment, values and impact of activities to be considered while developing a framework for measuring empowerment (Anheier, 2004). These areas help to pay sufficient attention to cover different settings of empowerment and to ensure that the proposed framework addresses possible vicinities of empowerment (Heinrich & Kumi, 2011). These areas are briefly explained below:

Structure

This is the first area to be considered while developing a framework for measuring empowerment. The term structure means getting a clear understanding of the empowerment arena. It includes the size of beneficiaries, level of administrative setup, resources available, main actors in the empowerment process,

therelationships among them. Understanding the structural areas of empowerment helps the framework consider to what extent and manner the beneficiary can be involved in the empowerment process. It also helps to identify the strengths and weaknesses expected to be faced in the empowerment process. Here, as far as the empowerment programmes of SCP are concerned, the structural part of the empowerment framework considers the size, status and level of SCs, their organisations, the supporters from the general public and the governmental and non-governmental agencies working for them. The factor of structure in the empowerment framework also helps assess the depth of the beneficiary participation, capacity for collective action, availability of financial, human and technological resources.

External Environment

External environment refers to space where empowerment programmes work. Although this is not a direct part of empowerment itself, it becomes crucial for the effective functioning of empowerment programmes in the empowerment framework. A proper environment is required as a precondition for the successful implementation of empowerment programmes. As far as the disempowered sections are concerned, empowerment is their individual or collective goal. Yet to attain that goal, they have to pass through the external environment where their oppressors and supporters work. The external environment of the empowerment framework includes legal factors such as statutes, executive orders, judicial intervention, which give legitimacy to the empowerment programmes. An assessment of political, constitutional, social, economic, and cultural factors in the environment is also imperative. It is a paradoxical and complicated situation that the empowerment of Scheduled Castes has to be materialised within the environment, which disempowered them and the forces disempowering them continue to operate in that environment actively. This external environment is capable of disabling SC empowerment, and empowerment programmes are not likely to manifestly yield tangible results easily in such a constraining environment. The relationship of SCs with the State and private sector is also a crucial factor. Hence the external environment becomes a serious factor to be considered when developing a framework for measuring empowerment.

Values

The existing social, political and cultural values in the society are another area to be considered in the empowerment framework. The principles and values adhered to, practised and promoted by actors in the empowerment arena influence empowerment. The most critical value in an empowering process is democracy. But unless it is practised as a way of life rather than a form of government, attainment of empowerment becomes difficult. Transparency, another significant value, substantially influences the effectiveness of the implementation of all empowerment programmes and the elimination of corruption. Tolerance is another value that acts as the balancing force between tolerant and intolerant forces within an empowerment process. Since SCs are the natural victims of societal intolerance, this value is highly essential for the success of their empowerment programmes. Therefore, without considering the above mentioned and such kinds of values, the empowerment framework cannot be completed. When the disempowering agents in society try to

disvalue the empowerment values, the empowerment framework has to overcome such resistance and establish positive values to promote empowerment among disempowered sections.

Impact

Impact encompasses the essential 'core function' of empowerment. Without this, the empowerment framework cannot be completed. Impact includes assessing how active and successful an empowerment programme has been in attaining its defined goal and its impact on the target group and society. It is concerned about the whole process of achieving empowerment as much as the end process. Though this is the final stage in the empowerment framework, it is strong enough to influence public policy and budgeting for future empowerment programmes as feedback. Here empowerment takes its actual role and widely recognised function of empowering citizens. Evaluation of empowerment as both means and as an end is also done in this area. The actual measurement of empowerment is assessed through its impact on people's lives. Since this is the area where the performance of empowerment is assessed, the empowerment framework has to include the methods of assessing empowerment. The areas described above provide insight for developing a framework for measuring empowerment. It explains the importance of considering the factors such as structure, external environment, values and impact of empowerment while assessing the usefulness of existing methodologies for measuring empowerment. It also provides a guideline in formulating new methodologies for the same. Hence, it is necessary to develop a new framework that includes the above areas of empowerment. A key challenge here is to develop adequate methodologies and tools for measuring empowerment which ensures that the above areas are addressed, assessed and scored in an informed and accurate manner from the viewpoint of the beneficial class, here the Scheduled Castes.

Conclusion

Over the years, the objectives of SCP have undergone timely changes; at last, instead of welfare and development, 'empowerment' has been declared as the ultimate objective. In dealing with empowerment, the first challenge is its diversified nature. Its abstractness, variety of dimensions, diversities in the level of application and various degrees of functioning create challenges in formulating empowering programmes for weaker sections. Due to these difficulties, even empowering authorities for SCs seldom defined empowerment. The second challenge is measuring empowerment. Unless it is measured, its attainment cannot be recognised. The traditional empowerment measuring mechanisms depend on officials more and neither consider beneficiaries' responses nor their psychological satisfaction.

References

Ruth, A. & Nina, H.(2005). *Measuring Empowerment in Practice: Structuring Analysis and Framing Indicators*. World Bank.

Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. (2013). *Annual report 2011-12*.

Phil, B.F.W. (2003). *The Sociology of Communities: An Introduction*.

Becker, J., Kovach, A. C. & Gronseth, D.L. (2004). Individual empowerment: How community health workers operationalize self-determination, self-sufficiency, and decision-making abilities of low-income mothers. *Journal of Community Psychology.32*(3), 327–342.

Boehm, A. & Staples, L.H. (2002). Empowerment: The point of view of consumer. *Families in Society.85*(2). 270–280.

Breton, M. (1994). Relating competence-promotion and empowerment. *Journal of Progressive Human Services. 5*, 27–44.

Diversi, M &Mecham, C (2005). Latino(a) students and Caucasian mentors in a rural after school program: Towards empowering the adult-youth relationship. *Journal of Community Psychology. 33*(1),31–40.

Drury, J. & Reicher, S. (2005). Explaining enduring empowerment: A comparative study of collective action and psychological outcomes. *European Journal of Social Psychology. 35,* pp. 35–58.

State Planning Board, Government of Kerala. (2002). *Economic Review*.

Fetterman, D. M. (1996). Empowerment evaluation: An introduction to theory and practice. In D.M. Fetterman, S.J. Kaftarian and A. Wandersman (Eds.), *Empowerment evaluation: Knowledge and tools for self-assessment and Accountability* (pp. 3–46). Sage Publications.

Mohan, G. & Stokke, K. (2000). Participatory Development and Empowerment: the Dangers of Localism. *Third World Quarterly.21*(2), 247-268.

Halloway, R. (2001). *Towards Self Reliance: A Handbook for Resource Mobilisation for Civil Society Organizations in the South.*Earthscan Publications.

Hur, M. H. (2006). Empowerment in terms of Theoretical Perspectives: Exploring A Typology of the Process and Components across Disciplines. *Journal of Community Psychology. 34* (5), 523-540.

Larson, R. Walker, K. & Pearce, N. (2005). A Comparison of youth-driven and adult-driven youth programs: Balancing inputs from youth and adults. *Journal of Community Psychology. 33*(1), 57–74.

Lee, L. (1994). *The Empowerment Approach to Social Work Practice.* Columbia University Press.

Lokshin, M. & Ravallion, M. (2002). *Rich and Powerful? Subjective Power and Welfare in Russia.* World Bank.

Malena, C. & Heinrich, V.F. (2005). The CIVICUS Civil Society Index. In D. Narayanan, (Ed.), *Measuring Empowerment, Cross disciplinary perspectives* (pp. 341-364). World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/7441/344100PAPER0Me101Official0use00nly1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

Malhotra, M. (Ed.). (2004). *Empowerment of Women* (Vol 1, 2). Isha Books.

Mason, K. O. & Smith, H. L. (2003). *Women's Empowerment and Social Context: Results from Five Asian Countries.* World Bank.

McWhirter, E. H. (1991). Empowerment in Counselling. *Journal of Counselling and Development. 69*, 222-7.

Moreaum, M. (1990). Empowerment through advocacy and consciousness raising. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare. 17,* 53–67.

Narayan D. (Ed.). (2002). *Empowerment and poverty reduction, A Source Book*. World Bank.

Narayan, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Conceptual Framework and Methodological Challenges, Measuring Empowerment Cross-disciplinary perspectives*. World Bank.

Nuscheler, F. (2003, April). *Civil-society actors: A democratic corrective for international Organizations*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/0204 6.pdf

Rogers S, E., Chamberlin, J. & Crean, T. (1997). Consumer-Constructed Scale to Measure Empowerment Among Users of Mental Health Services. *Psychiatric Services. 48*(8), 1042-7. doi: 10.1176/ps.48.8.1042.

Roy, D.K.S. (Ed.). (2001). *Social Development and the Empowerment of the Marginalised Groups: Perspectives and Strategies*. Sage Publications.

Sommer, J.G. (2002). *Empowering the Oppressed: Grassroots Advocacy Movements in India*. Sage Publications.

Speer, P. W. (2000). Intrapersonal and interactional empowerment: Implication for theory. *Journal of Community Psychology. 28*(1), 51–61.

Thomas, K. & Velthouse, B. (1990). Cognitive elements of empowerment: An interpretive model intrinsic task motivation. *Management Review. 15*, 666–681.