UNDERSTANDING CAPACITY-BUILDING NEEDS: CURRENT MODELS FOR EXCLUDED COMMUNITIES

Gagan Sethi, Jahnvi Andharia and Nupur

UNDERSTANDING CAPACITY-BUILDING NEEDS: CURRENT MODELS FOR EXCLUDED COMMUNITIES

Gagan Sethi, Jahnvi Andharia and Nupur

The Social Policy Working Paper series is intended to promote debate and discussion on key issues in social policy that need attention to improve the well-being of women and children in India.

The views expressed by authors in this series do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of UNICEF or partner organizations involved.

Contents

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Gagan Sethi is the Managing Trustee of Jan Vikas, Ahmedabad.

Jahnvi Andharia is the founder of ANANDI, Gujarat.

Nupur works with the Centre for Social Justice.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper is based on a recently initiated analytical assessment of 'capacity building' of excluded communities. Its purpose is to elucidate the specific capacity needs of individuals and collectives from vulnerable or excluded groups and present the models used for addressing these needs. The paper first defines capacity building as being a conceptual approach to development that enhances the abilities of individuals and organizations. It goes on to delineate the criteria required for capacity-building interventions. Here, it helps to identify certain minimum conditions necessary for capacity-building exercises, which would also help to identify the extent of its effectiveness. Given this context, it presents case studies from five organizations that address the needs of members of excluded communities, particularly women of vulnerable communities. These are the Area Networking and Development Initiatives (ANANDI), Ahmedabad, which focuses on leadership building, particularly for elected women representatives through an organization called the Mahila Swaraj Manch (MSM); the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ), Ahmedabad, which is an initiative that responds to human rights abuses and has extensive experience in training lawyers from the Dalit and tribal communities; the Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan (KMVS) in Kutch, Gujarat, which addresses women's issues; the Dalit Shakti Kendra (DSK), Ahmedabad, which runs vocational training centres for youth from the disadvantaged communities in Gujarat; and the Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal (MASUM) in Pune, Maharashtra, whose work with women in the area of community health has particular relevance for capacity building. The paper presents an analysis of the dynamics of capacity-building strategies in these organizations as a frame of reference for designing development programmes in this field and other related areas.

Understanding Capacity-Building Needs:
Current Models for Excluded Communities

LIST OF IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS

ANANDI	Area Networking and Development Initiatives
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice
FIR	First Information Report
HRD	Human Resources Development
KMVS	Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan
MGNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MSA	Mahila Swaraj Abhiyan
MSM	Mahila Swaraj Manch
NACDOR	National Conference of Dalit Organisations
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission
TRUCO	Trust and Confidence

1.   Introduction

Human resources are an essential means for achieving economic, social and development goals of a nation. Japan, though a small nation, which had once been devastated by war and more recently by natural disasters, has high developmental indices, owing to its outstanding leadership in human resources development (HRD). Capacity building of human competencies form an integral part of HRD processes. This paper presents an analysis of capacity development of excluded individuals and communities, drawing on relevant lessons from interventions in education, health and employment and their role in facilitating access to justice, primary services and credit. The micro-models represented in these capacity-building interventions may have relevance for policymakers for possible replication on a wider scale.

Capacity-building strategies through education are a vital component of community and individual empowerment. In Sweden, teaching in primary schools is one of the better-paid professions. Teacher trainees undergo comprehensive training, which includes visiting selected countries over a period of six months to help them develop a perspective that is

This paper presents an analysis of capacity development of excluded individuals and communities, drawing on relevant lessons from interventions in education, health and employment and their role in facilitating access to justice, primary services and credit.

universal and that deepens the value of diversity and equality. In contrast, the suicide of a boy belonging to a Dalit community in Gujarat, India, because of discriminatory treatment from his teacher in school represents the imbalances that need to be addressed in educational institutions and the social environment in other contexts.

This paper is based on a recently initiated analytical assessment of 'capacity building' of excluded individuals and communities, as part of a learning exercise[1]. The exercise had three key objectives:

1   to elucidate the specific capacity needs of individuals and /or collectives from identified vulnerable or excluded groups;

2   to identify the 'minimum' ingredients for capacity development and the possible different models or approaches that address the needs that have been identified; and

3   to analyse these issues in consultation with constituencies and segments of excluded communities.

Five case studies formed the basis of this report. They are:

1.   The Area Networking and Development Initiatives (ANANDI), Ahmedabad, which focuses on, among other concerns, leadership building, particularly for elected women representatives through the Mahila Swaraj Manch (MSM).

---

2. The Centre for Social Justice (CSJ), Ahmedabad, which is an initiative that responds to human rights abuses and has extensive experience in training lawyers from the Dalit and tribal communities.
3. The women-led Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan (KMVS) in Kutch, Gujarat, which addresses women's issues, their economic development and gender justice. It strengthens women's role in local self-governance by training panchayat representatives through their Sushasini initiative.
4. The Dalit Shakti Kendra (DSK), Ahmedabad, which is a vibrant capacity-building and vocational training centre for youth from the disadvantaged communities in Gujarat.
5. Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal (MASUM) in Pune, Maharashtra, which works for the welfare of women through campaign initiatives and programmes for women's empowerment. The authors have not been personally engaged in MASUM, but they draw upon the work of this organization in the area of community health.

2.   Context and Purpose

The context of capacity building as addressing the needs of marginalized groups is well brought out from the following excerpts:

It is now well accepted, as argued by Robert Chambers and others, that 'different concepts of poverty imply different interventions' at both the policy and operation level. It is also now almost axiomatic that poverty is both a diverse and complex phenomenon within and across all countries. It is therefore important to avoid a reductionist approach to poverty. Nonetheless poverty is a phenomenon which can be measured quantitatively (with a great deal of care) and qualitatively. Chambers was one of the first to argue persuasively that being poor was associated with lack of physical necessities, assets and income plus deprivation and lacking basic needs. He also noted that poverty interacts with the multiple dimensions of deprivation such as physical weakness, isolation and vulnerability and powerlessness. Vulnerability furthermore meant exposure and defencelessness to shocks, stresses and risks.

It is often thought that these exposures are about individual abilities, capacities and potentialities or, are related to issues of conflicts and warfare. But what is less understood is that governmental actions and especially economic and social policies are often directly contributing factors to their citizens' experiences of the multiple dimensions of poverty. Governmental actions and policies can set or wipe away the floor that provides the minimum acceptable under-pinning for people's experiences of poverty. This is the basis of the obligations that are laid out in the human rights instruments and which through the Millennium Declaration that promulgated the MDGs, committed governments and international actors to work to reduce the number of people living in extreme poverty[2].

UNDP (2009) states that 'The task of cutting world poverty in half is not happening fast enough, even as the deadline for reaching the Millennium Development Goals approaches. Development delivery has stalled; least developed and middle income countries alike cite limited capacity as a major reason why'[3].

It is in this context that this paper seeks to create an analytical framework that can help development organizations make informed decisions on the kinds of critical support available in the arena of capacity building, including tools for needs assessment

UNDP states that 'The task of cutting world poverty in half is not happening fast enough, even as the deadline for reaching the Millennium Development Goals approaches. Development delivery has stalled; least developed and middle income countries alike cite limited capacity as a major reason why'.

---

2.   Mariama Williams, Senior Fellow, South Centre,'Debt, debt relief and economic reform – Integrating human rights into debt-led and poverty reductions strategies intervention ', Regional Consultation on the Draft General Guidelines on Foreign Debt and Human Rights, organized by OHCHR, Palais des Nations, Day 1, Session 3, 20–21 June 2011.<Williams@southcentre.org>

3.   <www.beta.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/corporate/fast-facts/english/FF-capacity-development-2009-EN.pdf> as viewed on 4.7.2011

and strategies for empowering individuals and associations of excluded communities.

The primary purpose of this paper is to attempt to understand from available experiences the best or optimal methods for successful capacity building. It also seeks to cull out the elements that make a capacity-building effort productive and to show that a minimum number of non-negotiable conditions have to be present for this.

The paper aims to put forth a typology of different capacity needs of excluded communities. It seeks to put forth a set of conditions that can calibrate specific elements and processes that can help to define what constitutes capacity building, and that can measure different levels of capacity building – whether they are at minimum, desirable or ideal levels. It provides a frame of reference for development programmes to help them optimize allocation and spending of money, plan time schedules required for projects, and assign suitable human resources in order to attain expected, reasonable, minimum outcomes.

This analysis seeks to cull out the elements that make a capacity-building effort productive and to show that a minimum number of non-negotiable conditions have to be present for this.

3. Defining Capacity Building

Even as we seek to establish an understanding of capacity building, it is useful, first, to differentiate between related terms. These terms are often a part of but not complete in themselves to be used interchangeably with capacity building. These are given below:

1. Training: Organized activity aimed at imparting information and instructions to improve the recipient's performance or to help him or her attain a required level of knowledge or skill.

2. Training cycle: 'Series of steps or stages that constitute a complete training program[4]'

3. Skill development: An effort to enhance the ability to perform and add value to the life of the person and community; a learnt behaviour that is able to produce in a unique manner a different tangible or intangible product, which has an economic or social value. In other words, a productive tool acquired under guidance by the person.

---

4. <www.businessdictionary.com/definition/training-cycle.html>; training.html

4.   Hand-holding/Accompaniment: A process by which a person is supported by another as a method to enable the person to learn a new way of doing things.

Capacity building is a conceptual approach to development that focuses on understanding the obstacles that inhibit people, governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations from realizing their developmental goals while enhancing the abilities that will allow them to achieve measurable and sustainable results. It is a promotion of attitudes, behaviour and competencies in individuals and in partner organizations that encourages, enables and sustains autonomy and life. Therefore, capacity building supports individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and systems to develop themselves and their social and methodological competencies and capacities to enable them to identify and prioritize their needs in order to master more effectively life and development tasks.

Capacity building supports individuals, groups, organizations, institutions and systems to develop themselves and their social and methodological competencies.

Capacity building creates an enabling environment by providing information and opportunities about alternative ways of doing things and by assisting people to build a different but home-grown social system that reflects their desires and fulfils their needs. The creation of an enabling environment encourages direct involvement in development action to promote self-confidence in the individual and to establish new stable patterns of behaviour in a more just and equitable society. It helps people to create their own specific way of acting that would bring about an improved and desired future state.

It includes the strengthening of skills, competencies and abilities of people and communities in developing

societies so that they can overcome the causes of their exclusion and deprivation.

Thus, capacity development is defined as the 'process of developing and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes and resources that organizations and communities need to survive, adapt, and thrive in the fast-changing world[5].' It is a combination of knowledge – the underlying mental and psychological readiness to use the knowledge – and the threshold of skills that encourages self-practice. In the context of an individual in an organization or community, it includes in the broadest sense the following:

1. Human resources development, which is the process of equipping individuals with understanding and skills, along with access to information, knowledge and training to enable them to perform effectively.
2. Creation of an enabling physical and infrastructural environment to promote development.
3. Organizational development, which includes the elaboration of management structures, processes and procedures, not only within organizations but between the different organizations and sectors (public, private and community).
4. Institutional and legal framework development, the scope of which includes making legal and regulatory changes to enable organizations, institutions and agencies at all levels and in all sectors to enhance their capacities[6].

Capacity building includes human resources development, organizational development and institutional and legal framework development.

---

5. Ann Philbin,'Capacity Building in Social Justice Organizations', Ford Foundation, 1996.
6. Urban Capacity Building Network <www.gdrc.org>

Capacity building can be differentiated and classified using planned units and/or units that are designed. Areas of differentiation based on capacity-building needs are given below.

1.   Capacity building based on age, gender and vulnerability would include, for example, adolescents in war-torn economies; children of Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribes in public (government) schools; women in villages that have remittance economies; and widows who live in religious institutions, because they are forced out of their homes.

2.   Capacity building of local organizations of disadvantaged or excluded communities would include, for example, membership-based organizations; self-help groups; *mahila mandals* (women's forums); *sangathans* (federation of mahila mandals); or youth organizations. Capacity development becomes a means of providing a collective identity and consequently support to overcome vulnerabilities.

3.   Capacity building of centralized apex bodies would include, for example a federation of community-based organizations of disadvantaged communities such as NACDOR (National Conference of Dalit Organisations). Though there is an overlap with the earlier category, the apex organizations have distinctly separate trajectories and needs, especially in reorganizing power and responsibilities within themselves. Often these may take formal forms such as cooperatives, village development committees, etc.

     These organizations may be seen as having transient membership where members may, join or leave as they choose. Alternatively,

the organization or collective itself may be designed to be transient and may evolve into a mainstream organization (de jure legitimacy), or it may become defunct after having completed its primary task.

4. Capacity building of organizations and institutions created to prevent exclusion and discrimination would include those organizations that deliver services useful to the marginalized communities.

Capacity building within each mentioned category could be further subdivided based on age, issue and distinct socio-cultural regions. The principle here is that a specific combination of age, size, geographic area and social group produces a distinct identity that may defy standardization of capacity building or may call for special design and architecture. Still more specifically, if we juxtapose these classifications with vulnerability, a unique mix of design needs emerge. Thus, attempts at standardization of capacity-building outcomes are complex, because the needs of various categories of people differ.

Taking the various meanings given in the earlier section, one can say that in the context of marginalized and excluded communities, capacity building is a means of empowering people to develop strategies to deal with the negative and sometimes brutal impact of discrimination that the authors have termed the 'shackle of deficit'. The 'shackle of deficit' is defined here as a state of consciousness where members of excluded communities assume a normative identity either voluntarily or through a process of internalization. It induces a state where aspirations are negated by the members themselves and prevents them from being creative, independent and open to change.

The 'shackle of deficit' is defined here as a state of consciousness where members of excluded communities assume a normative identity either voluntarily or through a process of internalization.

Further, breaking the shackle entails overcoming deprivations and limitations determined by one's birth in a particular community and moving on to a stage of wanting to make a difference to one's life. It is here that we need to consider that while a mere absence of money makes one poor, it is the inability to earn despite having the means of production that puts one in a poverty cycle. The psychological and emotional state created by living in a poverty cycle becomes inescapable as does the poverty, because a person is bound by his or her social identity and subsequently by a sense of powerlessness.

Training in assessment of needs is imperative for a capacity-building exercise. When individuals in a community lack the confidence for addressing their needs, it is possibly because they are a part of a larger collective consciousness that, according to Friere, is' a magical state of consciousness or false consciousness'. This is an immersed state where the individuals see no hope and therefore believe that human endeavour does not count[7].

The shackle of deficit for women is created by persistent patriarchy, which translates into their having a low self-image of themselves – that is, the inability to regard themselves as being in control of their destinies, inability to give their interests and needs priority over that of male relatives, the tendency to 'fit in' and shy away from being in the limelight, and a belief that their fate is God's will. On the other hand, men live with an enlarged sense of their self-image, a consequence of which is that it keeps the shackles intact for women. Women are

---

7.   Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (London: Penguin Books, 1996)

socialized to be out of the public gaze and to be behind the veil, often to the extent that they feel that there is merit in their being invisible and in further invisibilizing all their roles, tasks, and skills.

Deficit for tribal communities is seen through the lens of a general mistrust of the 'civilised plains people', because these communities live in 'jungles' and have very limited engagement with the so-called outer world. They base their activities primarily on the cycle of seasons, which limits them to short-term prospects of work and planning, that is, for one year or the year immediately ahead as opposed to several years.

The deficit for minorities comprise, among other things, issues of security and their identity, their having to deal with dilemmas created by being different or distinct, and pressures to integrate. Thus, for example, Muslim families are secretive about eating non-vegetarian food in Gujarat, because it may offend the majority community.

The deficit gets complicated when one addresses issues regarding women from Dalit, minority or tribal communities. When we apply the broad definition of capacity building to a constituency (Dalits, minorities, tribals) facing economic deprivation and social exclusion or both, it can be seen then as largely dealing with the shackle of deficit. This presents a complex of intertwining issues that need to be unravelled and addressed. These issues cannot be addressed by providing economic relief alone. Thus, for example, a scholarship to pay the fees for a student from a Dalit family may be a minimum but not a sufficient condition to build capacity, because it may not be sufficient to break the shackle of deficit. The established development paradigm in India is based on increasing efficiency of delivery of state

development programmes and stimulating demand for them from the communities. However, there is no space for learning how to negotiate an effective needs-based realization of entitlements from the schemes or programmes, which are seen as being immutable.

Similarly for women, just giving them information or a set of skills may not be adequate for them to perform new roles, as in the role of elected representatives – although the legislation itself states, based on an analysis, that putting women in positions of power is one way of overcoming the shackle of patriarchy or exclusion.

In attempting to create a new identity to get rid of these shackles, women need to make an attitudinal shift necessary for the demands of the new roles offered to them.

In attempting to create a new identity to get rid of these shackles, the women need to make an attitudinal shift necessary for the demands of the new roles offered to them. As women have internalized their traditional roles, their assuming new roles may create a sense of shame or guilt in them, because they have to go against patriarchal norms to make this role transition. One way to deal with this is to acknowledge its existence and to convert it into a positive; for instance, in the Dalit Shakti Kendra (DSK), the definition of a Dalit has been changed to 'one who believes in equality, does not discriminate and protests against any form, therefore morally stronger and not superior.'

4. Criteria for Capacity Building

Though the focus of three of the case studies is on individuals, it is the capacity building of the communities they come from that has relevance to the interventions. The aggregate effort of individuals creates a cascading effect, leading to empowerment of whole communities. Though there is little direct evidence of this except in one case, there is anecdotal evidence of individuals' taking leadership roles in community efforts in the other cases.

The aggregate effort of individuals creates a cascading effect, leading to empowerment of whole communities.

Based on the various definitions of capacity building and the experiences from the case studies, this analysis finds that a capacity-building exercise has to meet certain requirements. These are as follows:

1. The subject matter of a capacity-building effort has to be such that it engages the person and has relevance to his or her context. It does not 'tell' but helps the person 'discover' the knowledge by himself or herself. This is essentially the difference between pedagogy and andragogy[8].

---

8. Pedagogy is child-centred learning based on a structured curriculum taught by teachers. Andragogy is adult-centred education based on self-learning through a system of guiding procedures and resources.

2. The curriculum should be tailored to suit the potential of the participant or actor.
3. The usefulness of the capacity or its application should have a direct correlation with enhancing the life skills of the person, which would lead to social or economic empowerment.
4. Acknowledgment and assertion of needs both by the person and by the system would show that the participant has moved in a new, better way or changed ways of behaving and acting.
5. The capacity-building process should place responsibility jointly on the person whose capacity is being built and the system that undertakes the training.

The various requirements are interrelated and its objectives are realized when there is congruence between the participant and process, though this is not necessarily by design. One feeds into the other and therefore the evidence is in the changed action or behaviour and demonstrable competence of the participant.

In addition, a capacity-building effort needs to develop five core capabilities in the participants. Though the capabilities overlap in their functions, all five are necessary to ensure overall capacity, none being sufficient by itself. This assessment tool focuses on these five capabilities in a development organization or system (such as a network or value chain). They are:
1. The capability to commit and act;
2. The capability to achieve development results;
3. The capability to relate;
4. The capability to adapt and self-renew;
5. The capability to achieve coherence[9].

---

9. IMPACT Alliance Organisational Capacity Assessment Tool , May 2011

The difference between training and capacity building has already been stated. Inputs such as lectures, training, skill-based practices that encourage participants' own efforts and involvement need not be capacity-building exercises. This is because the linkages, summation and analysis of the experience is left to the participants to assess and act upon without their being able to map out the results of the inputs, which are seen as being vaguely contributory but not substantive.

Training is differentiated from capacity building because it assumes that a good training programme is sufficient to independently make a difference to recipients who fit a certain profile. Capacity building is a process of internalization by an individual of certain competencies and supported externally over a period of time, enabling the person or communities to take on life tasks and roles hitherto unknown or unexplored.Training is one method or component of the capacity-building exercise which is far more broadly conceived. Training takes care of inputs and learning in the classroom/contact sessions or any controlled environment between the participant and the facilitator. Capacity building integrates such inputs into the larger learning agenda and includes self-learning, on-the- job assignments, and self-study and reflection.

Replicability of human endeavour is complex and variable. People as individuals or in communities are unique and diverse and hence their growth and effectiveness cannot be standardized. Therefore capacity building is an outcome and not an output of a planned architecture and its adequacy is determined by the attainment of specific outcomes.

People as individuals or in communities are unique and diverse and hence their growth and effectiveness cannot be standardized. Therefore capacity building is an outcome and not an output.

Though capacity building of human beings defies technology and standardization, one can create conditions where the likelihood of a minimum outcome can be expected. To ensure this minimum outcome we need to delineate a set of guiding principles towards this objective.

5. Guiding Principles

This section seeks to locate capacity building in the context of the organizations working for the disadvantaged communities, and it seeks to establish the linkages between principles and practice.

Overcoming the shackle of deficit

The training of individuals in the context of their community has to be seen as a capacity building of the community through the individual. The Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) is a pioneering organization in the field of access to justice. It has done seminal work in the area of setting up institutional interventions as a response mechanism that can address human rights violations at the grass roots. It has evolved a methodology for human rights training of various categories of people, like lawyers, paralegals, teachers, police, etc., that combines principles of andragogy and human rights and law. The process used for training lawyers is the subject of analysis for this document. The effort by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) at educating and training lawyers from disadvantaged communities is often criticized on the grounds that as many of those who

The Centre for Social Justice is a pioneering organization in the field of access to justice. It has done seminal work in the area of setting up institutional interventions as a response mechanism that can address human rights violations at the grass roots.

are trained join the mainstream legal profession, they do not give back to the community. The CSJ defends this by arguing that it has brought about systemic change by offering an engagement in training and capacity building, without which an individual would not have had a chance to survive in the competitive legal profession or get an opportunity to establish himself or herself. It contributes to the uplifting of the community in several ways, for example:

1. It gives alternative employment opportunities and life skills to the person, who otherwise would have gone back to traditional livelihoods of the community.
2. It allows for quality legal services to be made available to the community, even if community members have to pay for the services.
3. It creates an opportunity for the community to negotiate spaces and get exposed to a different reality.

There are several instances where even when the person trained as a lawyer formally leaves the organization, he or she has continued to take up cases of rights violations of the community. A mapping of the lawyers trained by the CSJ also indicated that most of them, even if they become part of the mainstream, have taken up cases dealing with banking, insurance or consumer issues, where they are not actively or overtly engaged in defending perpetrators of human rights violations.

At the CSJ, the capacity-building process in the first year focuses on 'humanizing' the person. It focuses on helping the person get in touch with his or her inner reality and understand his or her own gendered identity, which is, especially for women, further compromised because of negative socialization arising from being a member of a disadvantaged

community. It focuses on identifying hidden potential, building aspirations, identifying the negative impact of experiences of discrimination and experiencing the outcome of a positive sense of self-worth as a complete human being.

At another level, an effort is made to overcome the challenges faced by the individual. These could be simple things such as coaching in English, providing books or a book allowance, or, for lawyers, support from senior lawyers or to have translated versions of important judgements and laws.

The experiences of the Mahila Sarvangeen Utkarsh Mandal (MASUM) in their initiatives for addressing health issues of women in Pune are particularly relevant to this analysis of capacity development. MASUM's analysis of gender inequalities and social inequities prevailing in the region led them to design a capacity-building programme for women. The purpose was to create from among the affected communities a cadre of women, known as '*sadaphulis*', who had the information and ability to address health issues of the women and also become social change agents.

The name, *sadaphuli*, was decided upon by the first batch of trainees after much deliberation when the training programme that lasted 18 months came to an end. *Sadaphuli* in Marathi means ever blossoming and is also the name of a flower that blossoms the whole year round. Thus, this and its meaning provided an identity to the women for the new roles they had to carve out for themselves.

MASUM began their work with women of Purandar block in Pune, Maharashtra. The women were facing drought conditions, poverty, caste barriers and,

MASUM's analysis of gender inequalities and social inequities prevailing in the region led them to design a capacity-building programme for women. The purpose was to create from among the affected communities a cadre of women who had the information and ability to address health issues of the women.

most of all, severe ill health because of ignorance, neglect and high cost of medical care. Their literacy levels were poor. They came from a patriarchal, male-dominated community where women did not speak up to their husbands, or participate in household decision-making or speak about their health needs.

Since women's (poor) health is an outcome of a complex set of factors, the MASUM team spent the first six to seven phases of the training in providing inputs on social analysis, gender analysis, caste analysis, political analysis, and so on. It was only in the seventh phase of the 18-month training programme that they introduced topics such as understanding the needs of the body. For that too, they had to work on helping the women to overcome inhibitions about their own bodies. That three women dropped out of the course within seven months illustrates the deep-rooted inhibitions and notions of privacy. They chose to leave the training programme as speaking about exploring their own bodies was very uncomfortable for them. The other women who did stay on took almost a whole day before they could shed their inhibitions to take up the sessions about their bodies.

The Area Networking and Individual Development Initiatives (ANANDI), and Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan (KMVS) present important findings in their capacity-building initiatives of   training elected women representatives. This was an integral part of the initial phases of their capacity-building efforts. ANANDI was established in 1995 with the objective of promoting women-led people's organizations to address the needs of the most marginalized communities.

The Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan was set up in 1989 as a response to economic and social

challenges that women were encountering in Kutch. The aim of KMVS is to combine economic development with gender justice. From addressing violence against women, forming women's groups around economic issues to working on political empowerment, KMVS gradually started engaging with local governments.

For this, a Panchayat Knowledge Centre was set up in KMVS to support activities geared towards (i) developing a critical mass of elected women representatives across panchayats and creating positive role models for their peers; and (ii) facilitating a forum of elected women representatives in the district to raise issues in favour of good governance and inclusive development. The Knowledge Centre gradually grew to become a separate unit within KMVS called Sushasini, which was committed to the issue of strengthening women's role in local self-governance.

Mahila Swaraj Manch (MSM) initiated by ANANDI and Sushasini, the KMVS initiative, (both having goals of gender-sensitive governance) trained elected representatives and helped them to understand the implications of being an elected representative of an entire village comprising poor and marginalized sections and individuals. The aim of the MSM was not to create a large scale programme to train elected women representatives at panchayati raj – but to create an organization of current or past elected women representatives who will be required to innovate on how to make the panchayati raj more responsive to the needs of the vulnerable sections in general and women in particular.

They motivated women *sarpanches* to take part in public events in the village, such as flag hoisting,

MSM initiated by ANANDI and Sushasini, the KMVS initiative, both having goals of gender-sensitive governance, trained elected representatives and helped them to understand the implications of being an elected representative.

and encouraged them to play an active role in the gram sabha. This led to the women's claiming spaces that were not part of their stereotypical role. A representative of ANANDI spoke about how conscious reinforcing of responsibilities of Dalit panchayat leaders was undertaken, and how responsibilities are viewed as those to be undertaken by the leader as a person in his or her own right and not as a person defined by his or her identity as a Dalit.

There was special emphasis on explaining the various social security schemes, their procedures and the role that the elected representatives and the *sarpanch* can play in delivering these to the rightful beneficiaries.

While doing this, some of the *sarpanch* women received threats of violence and faced no-confidence motions, especially when it came to allotting plots of land to BPL (Below Poverty Line) families under the Indira Awas Yojana scheme, or when regularizing the PDS(Public Distribution System) shops. The collective support provided by the elected women representatives helped the women *sarpanches* to stand up to the situation and to use their political skills and the constitutional mechanisms to fulfil their duties. They not only overcame their shackles, they took the conflict to the public domain and created a new role model for good governance. Sumitra of ANANDI says, 'Many of these elected Sarpanch women may not sit on a daily basis at the Panchayat office, but they can be found at the ICDS centres, the PDS shops and thereby send out a new message.'

Today these organizations report that when they undertake pre-election voter-awareness campaigns in

their areas, they find that women in public positions have been effective in discharging their duties. They are able to motivate other women who wish to stand for elections and are able to counter, to an extent, the phenomenon of dummy candidates.

The experience of Sushasini shows that as their interventions are gaining credibility and as it has been nearly 20 years since the panchayat has had women representatives (33 per cent of the seats are reserved for women), those who join the capacity-building programme come with a strong expressed need to learn how to execute administrative roles. They know that a representative's term is for five years, and they are keen to learn their roles. Many women come with the aspiration of wanting to stand for elections at the *taluka* level. The experience points to a change where, over a period of time, certain aspects of the external environment actually shift to bring about a weakening or removal of traditional shackles. These women come with well-articulated aspirations of participating in the public sphere, and their desire to learn and perform is also an early indication that they see themselves as being accountable to the electorate.

The women leaders of the *sangathans* whom ANANDI and KMVS have been working with over 15 years are recognized as leaders that the community can approach when there is conflict. These women are associated with qualities of strength and ability, and they have the network and support of the *sangathans* to deal with injustice, whether it is at the state level or whether it is concerned with local vested interests. That most of them have largely remained out of party politics is claimed by them as their strength.

Sustainability

The Dalit Shakti Kendra (DSK) runs vocational education programmes for the youth of Dalit communities. It owes its existence to the efforts and vision of Mr Martin Macwan, who had been extensively involved with the Dalit movement at the grass roots, national and international levels. As leader of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), he had led the Indian Dalit contingent to the World Conference against Racism at Durban.

The DSK focuses on vocational training in addition to self-development and ensures that the trainees learn skills to earn their livelihood and become, therefore, truly part of a self-propelling movement.

The DSK focuses on self-development and ensures that the trainees learn skills to earn their livelihood and become, therefore, truly part of a self-propelling movement. The DSK is a demonstration of how goals of environmental, economic and educational sustainability are incorporated in the various programmes it runs.

Environmental sustainability is linked to the resources needed to run the DSK centre, economic sustainability is linked to the belief that one understands what has value and understands value because it is attached to a price. Finally, educational sustainability is brought about by the fact that the faculty of DSK is increasingly composed of past trainees who have excelled in their fields. These are key learning initiatives from the DSK.

Using technology that promotes environmental sustainability is actively promoted by the DSK. It has installed eco-san toilets at the centre, which is not only a water-saving measure it does away with manual scavenging as well. A practical demonstration of sustainability can be seen in how water is valued among students at the DSK who come from drought-

prone areas. They regard water as a resource and not a commodity.

Similarly, in the DSK hostels, not wasting food is an important part of the philosophy. The Dalit students pay for their stay and food, but they are not wasteful and that reinforces their pride in the belief of sustainable living, thus reinforcing their identity through an affirmative stance rather than one based on deprivation.

The DSK philosophy encourages working with one's own hands. The dignity of labour as a universal concept is important to demonstrate capacity building, and even the head of a development organization must be able to practise it. This work ethic is reflected in the students' habits of cleaning their rooms and campus, washing their plates, saving water, etc. These practices are part of a holistic exercise to convey the values of equality and the dignity of labour.

This attempt to create a self-reliant and autonomous identity through meaningful practices gives a new definition to the Dalit identity – *a person who believes in and practises equality, stands up to injustice and does not make the other person or himself subservient*. This meta-meaning-making process arises from the constant reinforcing of all activities that infuse confidence building and help to deal with the shackle of deficit.

Objectivity and externalization

Helping one to see one's situation outside of oneself leads to de-linking the feeling of victimhood from the aspirations one can have. This innate human ability of becoming a third party for oneself (ability

to reflect) is one of the major tools to deal with the shackle of deficit.

Writing diaries in DSK has proved to be an effective way of externalization. Telling your life story to the group or mapping your life journey with symbols has been used by CSJ, ANANDI and KMVS.

Victimhood as an agent of change

The narratives of participants in a training programme are stories of indignity, violence, and discrimination. Instead of focusing on victimization, the capacity-building process needs to focus on how to use victimhood as an agent of positive change. When the *sadaphulis*, a cadre of health workers in the **MASUM** intervention, shared their life stories, they learnt that women had to engage with patriarchy at different levels and degrees, whether they were from Dalit communities or OBCs (other backward communities) or whether they were middle-class urban facilitators. Thus capacity building also uses the power that pain unleashes to harness it for positive outcomes, though this process needs careful monitoring and balance.

Positive self-image and identity

Professionally trained members of the Dalit community become agents of change to trigger community initiatives and to work for the betterment of their own communities.

Professionally trained members of the Dalit community become agents of change to trigger community initiatives and to work for the betterment of their own communities. They then meet the objectives of responsibility as defined by a capacity-building programme. While the DSK model is working on the 'meta' (overarching construct), as described above, the shackle of deficit can be

broken by helping to build a new identity. 'Meta' in the context of change is the transformation of Dalit consciousness from within and without, especially in creating self-reliance and building self-worth.

Building identity is a key component in the CSJ's young lawyers training programme. This takes place at two levels. First, it takes place at the level of self where efforts are made to help the individual look at himself or herself positively as an empowered individual capable of bringing about change. Improved self-image is based on increased self-esteem, belief in self and looking at oneself not as a victim but as an actor in the existing social framework who is capable of bringing about systemic change. The focus also is to create a sense of belonging of the individuals to the larger community of the vulnerable. This entails going beyond the circumscribed identity of birth into the context of the larger society. In recognizing similar circumstances of members of their own communities, these individuals see themselves as agents of change in the broader human rights field and as leaders of their communities.

The second level of identity building takes place at the professional level by the creation of their professional identity – as when they are called social justice lawyers. This is done by working with them on a value system that they will collectively hold to increase their accountability and efficiency and quality of work. This would bring them recognition from their own community as well as from the legal fraternity. Today CSJ lawyers are recognized for their skill and innovative courtroom practice. One of the methods used for identity building is that the lawyer herself personally takes the *Sunavani*, a law journal in Gujarati well read by lawyers and

judges alike, and gives it to key stakeholders. This act demonstrates their affiliation to the organization and the values held by it. Another method used is to participate in or invite the participation of the State Legal Services Authority.

The ANANDI experience of developing women leadership, whether it was from the tribal, Dalit or Muslim communities, shows that one of the first steps for capacity building of women is to affirm the leadership qualities they already have or the strength they have shown when dealing with difficult personal crises.

Meticulous planning and practice

Pedagogical principles for adult education are rigorously followed at the DSK. The lesson plan diary, for example, used by the teaching staff, includes powerpoint slides and aids and simulation games that are planned and standardized. Systems of evaluation, formation of committees for efficient administration, etc., are planned in great detail. Technical information is given in handouts, manuals, booklets so that they can be standardized. These are essential for maintaining a basic level of skill and information with accuracy.

Identifying needs

Creating an environment to help people excel in a wide variety of competencies is an essential part of the programmes. Different activities have been conducted as seen across the five case studies. These include debating, sports, story-telling, painting, drawing and drama to express emotive experiences.

Building an environment of compassion, and giving and acknowledging space for emotions were also necessary in the capacity-building programmes.

Thresholds

Capacity-building process and growth are best described as being thresholds of positive and lasting change. In other words, the learning process culminates in the internalization of skillsets and identity building.

Deciding thresholds demarcates stages of mobility from one level to another and helps to plan inputs more systematically. Thresholds may be regarded also as stages at which participants opt out instead of crossing them to reach the next level.

Not everybody is able to attain their full potential for capacity building as several factors are in play. The overall success rate of the CSJ effort is about 50 per cent, that is, only 50 per cent of the people who join complete the programme consisting of four stages. About 70 per cent of the people who do not complete the programme are those dropped by the organization, while the rest drop out because of incompatibility or personal issues.

Historical circumstance or external forces also have an impact on the ability of the individual or organization to respond suitably to situations. This was shown by KMVS as they described the journey of the *sangathan*s over the past 20 years. As they reached the end of the first decade of their projects, they had to deal not only with the devastation caused by a cyclone in their region but also the huge damage wrought by an earthquake that followed shortly after.

The overall success rate of the CSJ effort is about 50 per cent, that is, only 50 per cent of the people who join complete the programme consisting of four stages.

The *sangathan* leaders were victims themselves, having lost homes and family in these disasters, but they were able to play important roles in the rehabilitation process. They were forced to think on a scale far exceeding their usual capacities. Their skills and beliefs acquired during the first ten years of the capacity-building process were again put to the test during the years that followed; for, in 2011, ten years after the earthquake, the *sangathan* became aware of the highly changed reality that faced them. The rapid industrialization and land alienation that were taking place in the region threw up new challenges for the women. The levels and nature of violence against women had changed, for example, the abduction of young girls was increasing, and alcoholism was on the rise. KMVS and the first rung of leaders of the local *sangathan*s are working towards developing a new set of skills, gathering information, building alliances and training younger leadership to deal with this new environment.

Finding women lawyers to work at the grass roots is also a difficult task. A large number of women that the CSJ has engaged have been struggling with difficult marriages, broken relationships or other forms of social stress. Often they are so overwhelmed by their own personal struggles that moving them out of their situation has been impossible. However, for some, their personal problems have been a justification for them to continue their professional lives. Where the women are financially supporting their families, their retention levels have been higher. Empowering women also opens up avenues to participate in party politics. In semi-rural areas, one does not find many of these women taking up leadership roles; however, because of their image of being sensitive to the issues of the poor and because of

their relations and linkages in the community, they become suitable candidates for political parties. In such circumstances it is not possible for the CSJ as a voluntary organization to employ elected representatives and thus CSJ has had to let go of the women who are in pursuit of political aspirations.

Among MASUM's *sadaphulis*, four women dropped out of the training programme, because they had inhibitions about learning how to conduct self-health examinations. The ones who stayed in the programme became part of the process of change. They were called health workers instead of *sadaphulis*, and they continued to work for12–13 years. The change was brought about because the role of a sadaphuli was not suited to the changed environment where health rights and the NRHM (National Rural Health Mission) made it necessary for them to communicate with officials of the state. The designation as health worker defined their work and also helped them to shift their roles from providing services to women to making the state accountable for the health needs of women.

Consequence management

The accompaniment process is critical to capacity building, for it involves the translation of what is learned in a controlled environment to its application in practical situations. The actions in real-life situations may lead to reactions from the larger society or family which threaten the participants. At such times, assisting the participants to cope with the situation and to formulate counter-strategies is all part of the capacity-building process. Such events may be emotional or politically charged and require special support. Thus consequence management is

an important part of the accompaniment process. It may not be possible to formulate a plan of action ahead, because predictability of events in such situations is difficult to assess. But a participant can rely on the organization to provide support if needed. Thus a planned backstopping of roles that is negotiated through an agreement between the organization responsible for capacity building and the participant is useful. Reinforcement and practice of the skills are non-negotiables in capacity building and therefore become part of the nudging process. This process helps to guide a course of action, as opposed to obeying directives occurring in a top-down approach.

Relationship between trainers and recipients

In the capacity-building intervention, the relationship between the two parties (trainers and recipients) engaged in the capacity-building endeavour has a defined politics. Thus a continuous redefinition of the power relationship between the two is important. It is dependent on trust levels, which in turn are dependent on both the external environment and the way each party constructs its identity (giver, receiver, dependent, co-dependent or interdependent.)

The questions such as when to let go, or hold back and knowing the right time for a course of action are constantly in play between the parties and are further accentuated when there are no time limitations.

The shifting of power and its boundaries between those in authority and those whose capacities are being built is inevitable. The contradiction generated when authority is challenged is a sign of progress in

In the capacity-building intervention, the relationship between the two parties (trainers and recipients) engaged in the capacity-building endeavour has a defined politics.

the relationship. The trainer's having to retain control need not lead to dysfunction – on the contrary, it is an acknowledgement of positive changes that are taking place among the learners. Absence of dissent indicates a stifled environment. Management of roles and responsibilities brings to the fore the contradiction or, in the truly Marxian sense, the dialectical relationship between the teacher and the student.

The process of capacity building must have an understanding of the power relations between the trainee and the trainer. As the process of capacity building enables assertion that transforms the relationship of the excluded communities with the larger society, tensions between trainers and trainees becomes a part of this process of assertion.

If a trainee does not have the freedom to express dissent constructively, it indicates that the locus of control still lies outside him or her. An open system of feedback needs to be established as also mechanisms to resolve conflicts.

It is quite likely that the traditional leadership finds itself being questioned as new-found power among a new set of people in the community emerges. This may cause power shifts, which may benefit the community or may create a class of elite in a new hierarchy of power.

The key perhaps lies in creating an environment of trust and mutual respect. An interesting example of trust building can be seen in the DSK shop experiment.

Building trust is an important component of the training at DSK. Different methods were adopted to reinforce the importance of trust. With one batch

of students, the DSK carried out an experiment of running a shop without having a shopkeeper to monitor transactions. However, it ended in theft. The students responsible for the breach of trust admitted to their actions, after their mentor went on a protracted fast. This exercise became a learning experience for the subsequent batches of students. Later, a group of girls of a following batch took up the challenge and successfully ran the shop without a shopkeeper.

Trust is understood at the DSK as a balance of integrity, achieving results and having concern or compassion for fellow beings, without competitiveness.

Local culture and its impact on capacity building

Although, in an earlier section, victimhood of the Dalit community members was given importance, not all experiences of the excluded communities are negative. Their own culture has elements that need to be celebrated as in the song and dance forms of tribal women. At the DSK centre, the walls are decorated with beautiful Godhana art frescoes of Bihar, which require detailed and fine execution.

Enabling interaction with the external environment

The relationship with the external community is usually exploitative and unequal. These relationships then get carried over into the ostensibly neutral institutions of the state such as the panchayats,

The relationship with the external community is usually exploitative and unequal. These relationships then get carried over into the ostensibly neutral institutions of the state.

courts and government departments. As India is well on its path of liberal policies, the market is proposed as another area that offers opportunities for growth and development[10].

It is well understood that when members of the excluded communities participate in these institutions, they have to not only overcome their shackles of deficit, they have to also realize the limitations of these institutions. Therefore, addressing the capacity building of excluded, marginalized communities entails designing the shift in engagement with the external community. Some examples are given below:

1.   Developing a planned mix of competencies:
The CSJ case study points out that when one is creating a cadre that has its own market potential, it is unrealistic to expect them to continue with an organization once their market potential grows beyond what the organization is capable of remunerating. Therefore, the programme has a clear exit strategy designed to deal with individuals' leaving the organization.

This ensures that the organization retains effective control of phasing out individuals so that it can continue with a level of competence. It also gives an opportunity to senior people to find meaning

---

10. There have been critiques of the way livelihoods are understood in the context of new emerging markets. The basic principles of neo-liberal economic policies that cause livelihood crises are never questioned. Many say that the concept of sustainable livelihood is the handmaiden of these policies, but as they only speak of increasing capitalization, the ownership of capital is conveniently democratized. Class relations, power structures and inequalities in societies that aggravate livelihood crises are never incorporated into the framework (see J. Andharia, 'Vulnerability in Disaster Discourse: A Conceptual Review', JTCDM Working Paper No. 8, Mumbai, February 2009.) Thus, while stating some instances of the manner in which engagement with markets is built in the design of capacity building, it in no way endorses the role of markets in the neo-liberal framework.

in contributing to the society without having to compromise their earnings. The cost-effectiveness of having individuals of different levels of competence in the organization, from the newly trained to the experienced senior professionals, is evident in the benefits it generates.

2.   Establishing a formal identity

Establishing the formal, professional identity of a people's organization helps to distinguish it from its role as a 'promoting' organization. This enables the organization to relate to the external environment on its own terms. It means that the leadership that had earlier been seen as representatives of a marginalized, stigmatized and vulnerable community has the credibility to negotiate with the larger society. It also presupposes that the leadership is able to draw upon democratic values and principles when they are confronted with a decision or action involving those in power. This would equip them, for example, to engage with government officials in an informed and competent manner, reflective of their training in capacity building. Thus, dealing with the external environment and changing the basis of power relationships between the dominant communities and the excluded communities is a long drawn-out process.

The *sadaphulis*' role gradually expanded from treating women's health issues to becoming community health workers.

The *sadaphulis*' role gradually expanded from treating women's health issues to becoming community health workers, that is, from providing treatment to the women of the community to ensuring that the public health system is more responsive to the needs of the women. MASUM's engagement with the *sadaphulis* was not about just training them, but increasingly about encouraging and preparing them to be partners and leaders of their communities; for this the

capacity-building process included building their knowledge, improving their skills as health workers, deepening their perspectives, honing their analytical skills and training them to be leaders.

The experiences of MASUM, KMVS and ANANDI show that when working specifically with women from marginalized sections, overcoming their internalized patriarchal notions was a difficult process. Simultaneously, they had to confront new forms and expressions of patriarchy in the external environment.

3.   Training in skills of marketable quality
It is important for the participants to be able to fabricate and create products of marketable worth; the DSK, for example, conducts separate courses in stitching trousers, shirt-making and blouse-making, but it does not have an integrated course in tailoring. Thus, the job of a shirt-maker has value because it is a specialized skill in the larger skill of tailoring, which does not require, in this context, formal training by specialists. The need to complete a product supersedes the need to pass or fail. Thus output and outcome are separate and feed into achieving the other.

4.   Realizing aspirations and dreams through planning
The ultimate capacity-building position is the ability of the participant to be able to dream of a desired future state and be able to see the smallest of the elements that will help him or her achieve it. In the DSK, women and boys make their own signboards, displaying the services they are offering, to take back with them. Restoring the power to dream is the culmination of potent capacity building.

5.   Designing spaces

This can be seen in the graded manner that the young lawyers training programme of the CSJ is designed. There are different levels or stages and people move from one level to the next. At any given point in time, there are several people at each of the levels and the interplay and co-dependency between the levels is designed.

The progression is from self-identity to professional competence. Clearly articulating the levels and engaging with the trainees with the understanding that they are being seen in that space helps in building realistic expectations from each other, tracking progress and ensuring right type of support. This interdependent structure also helps in building strong accountability systems.

Level one:	fresh lawyers	focus is on self
Level two:	beginner lawyers	focus on basic legal skills
Level three:	mid-level lawyers	expected to deliver
Level four:	senior lawyers	advisory capacity

6.   Creating role models

The leaders from the first batch of trainees become role models for the rest of the community and society. The struggles of the first set of *sadaphulis* in MASUM stand tall as examples for other women and especially the younger generation, who may be more educated and may aspire to become leaders. The role models become symbolic of not just the struggles that the community goes through, but also of examples of the ways in which they have altered the traditional relationships.

The learning and therefore the principles drawn from the first set of practices form the major formulations on what capacity building should consist of. The key competencies are:

1. Convert disadvantaged communities working at the minimum survival threshold to working at an optimum or highest common potential.

2. Introduce professional leadership (in areas of law or health) that will not immediately upset existing fragile or oppressive power structures, and that will animate communities by providing the potential to reorganize power structures.

3. Guard against the possibility that animators, who are largely into (non-party) political mobilization, may replicate existing power structures.

4. Offer TRUCO (trust and confidence) – all community-based capacity-building processes face a trust deficit and need activities to build trust and confidence, though the inherent danger is that these activities can become an end in themselves.

5. A continuous change in activities and the ability to face the unpredictable vis-à-vis communities is the hallmark of effectiveness.

6. Capacity Building in Relation to Community-Based Organizations

In the Indian context, being a member of a vulnerable community means being in the shackles of deficit. However, community-based organizations find themselves in a schizophrenic state when their aspirations are shaped by voluntary organizations or the capacity-building system, and they do not have the freedom to realize their own aspirations and potential, because the voluntary organizations do not accept them in any role other than being instrumental to the delivery of programmes and services. An assumption that social transformation in the external environment will affect power relations within has to be factored as a non-negotiable.

An examination of cases of individuals, who after training, are introduced back into the system yields many insights. The person contributes to empowering the community, because he or she gets credibility and legitimacy to represent the community in public domains hitherto unavailable to the community, that is, in the local judiciary, in

centres for primary and secondary health care, in educational institutions, etc.

Capacity building in relation to state programmes

Capacity building of a person or community goes beyond the ability to access state social services. It attempts to transform the relation between service delivery and utilization of services. It essentially empowers excluded community members to redesign delivery on the basis of specific socio-cultural needs and vulnerabilities affecting the community.

Such capacity building, from the case studies that the authors have dealt with, involves the ability to negotiate an effective needs-based delivery of social services for the beneficiaries. It requires a thorough understanding of the rationale of social service schemes, the flexibility built in them, and the state's planned delivery mechanism. Thus negotiation is a skill or competence that uses information on entitlements to alter established, rigid delivery mechanisms.

Therefore, programmes such as the NRHM and MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act) may not have desired outcomes unless capacity building is undertaken with the goal of achieving effective delivery to targeted populations.

7.   Scaling up and Models of Implementation

All designs can be improved or scaled up, but with potential loss of few attributes. Some strategies to ensure scaleability include:

1.   Careful design, execution and supervision. Training of trainers who practise under the master is essential, for example, the gurukul system.

2.   Sharing only the principles of capacity building, leaving the micro-plan of the sessions to the next set of trainers. For example, weavers are taught the basics of weaving, and then if the designing is also left to them, the final product would actually depend on the quality of design inputs received by their 'teachers'
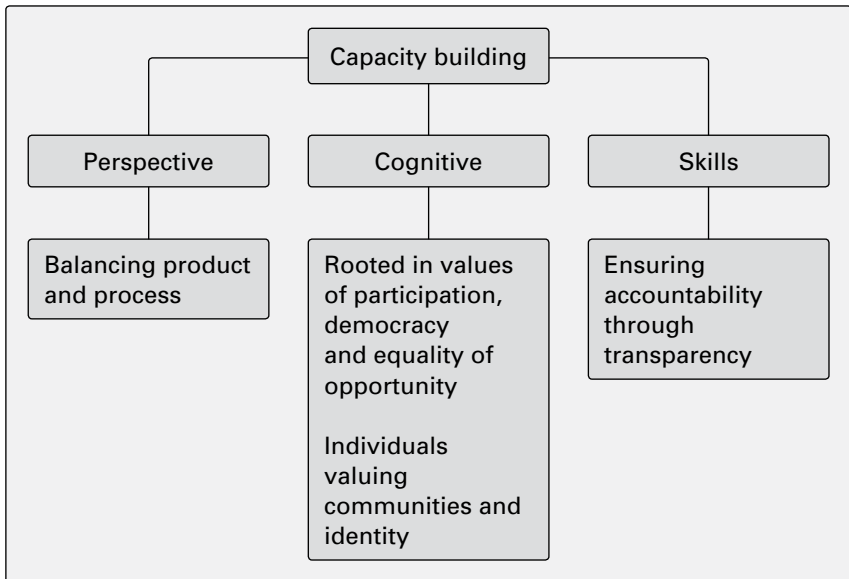
3.   While upscaling, paying attention only to the external structures of a good capacity-building programme, but leaving a loose and safe environment open for the internal processes to occur creates flexibility. This would require a well-organized system of tight monitoring to ensure that the outcomes are achieved. Such systems work well for food chain stores.

While upscaling, paying attention only to the external structures of a good capacity-building programme, but leaving a loose and safe environment open for the internal processes to occur creates flexibility.

Scaling up, raises the question of whether this means getting more people to do the same work or whether to increase the scope of work, because people's capabilities have increased.

While scaling up would be useful, we need to exercise caution against common methodological errors. Designing capacity-building efforts are different from designing training programmes. It is not an aggregation of several training designs either. While the larger architecture follows the principle of 'Discover-Dream-Design-Deliver', the logic of a group process must also fit within these four Ds.

Cognitive, emotive and skilling aspects and the four Ds are couched in the basic motto of 'I CAN' and

Figure 1

rooted in the values of participation, democracy and equality of opportunity.

Methodological errors are reduced when sequence is followed. Learning to be self-reliant can only happen when the participants are prepared and the environment becomes conducive to change. In simple terms, methodological errors need to include cognitive subjects before dealing with the shackle of deficit. In Freirian terms,[11] 'you cannot change without naming' and 'there is no transforming without framing'. This is compatible with the dreaming phase of capacity building, which is the hardest to establish.

11. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (London: Penguin Books, 1996)

8.   Architecture of Capacity Building

It is clear that capacity building is a very broad arena of human endeavour. Our attempts to inscribe it within the boundaries of disadvantaged communities and individuals can be seen in four quadrants.

Capacity building is the expansion of the capacity-building space of the individual and community. Secondly within this space is a balance of four broad objectives:
1. Optimum mastering of skills and technology to make a difference.
2. Optimum confidence and an internal reality, a state of being, motivation (having dealt with deficit).
3. The ability to master the pressures of external reality, respond to the changing state and to deal with the market relationship.
4. A fuzzy but vocalized road map ahead.

A balance in these objectives would form the benchmark of capacity building. Thus, meeting only the first objective produces skill without the ability to apply it in relevant contexts. A process skewed towards the second can produce a false sense of

confidence, and an objective assessment of the realities may be desirable. While meeting only the third objective helps in identifying various choices, options and opportunities, it may not create the ability to establish positive action in a practical, innovative and efficient way. And the last in excess produces dreams without their being practicable.
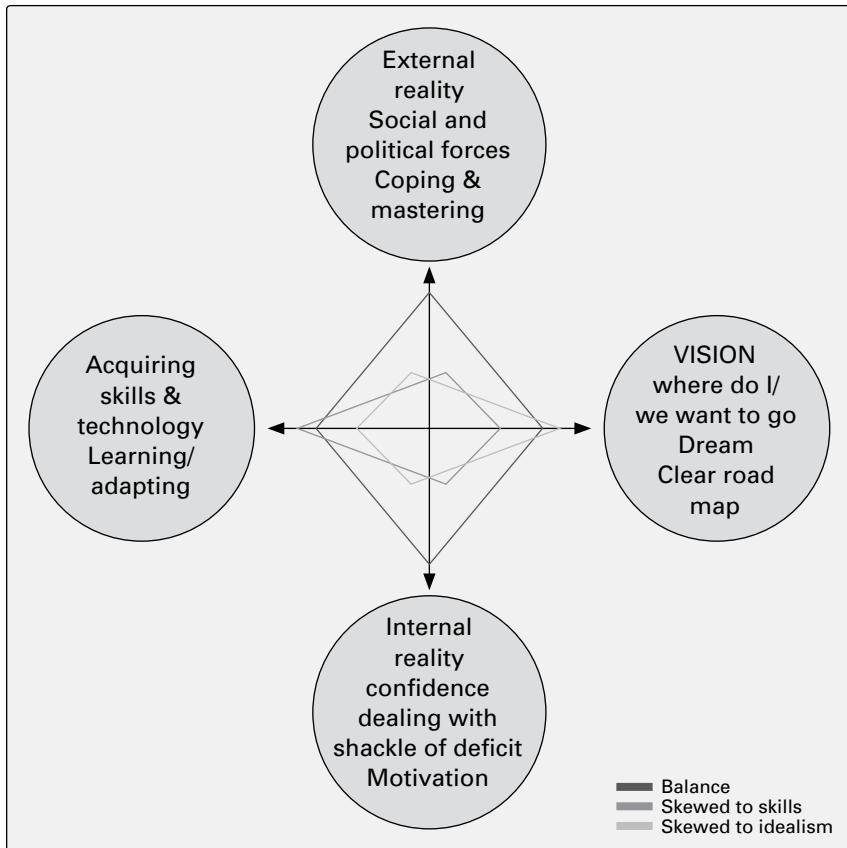
Just as a training session begins with 'opening up' and ends with 'consolidation', the entire capacity-building process will have a phase of 'opening up' and a 'consolidation' phase at the end.

Deficit below the minimum threshold in any quadrant can be benchmarked. Any capacity-building process can be mapped using these quadrants, while recognizing that each quadrant contributes to making the whole. Ideally, in carrying out the process, each quadrant should contain a microcosm of the other three quadrants when skills are being imparted. Similarly, just as a training session begins with 'opening up' and ends with 'consolidation', the entire capacity-building process will have a phase of 'opening up' and a 'consolidation' phase at the end.

This, in effect, means a holographic design where every part has the DNA of the whole. Hologram as a metaphor is a design where the sub-system being complete forms part of another complete larger system, both serving the same identity-making purpose. Each element has the qualities of the whole.
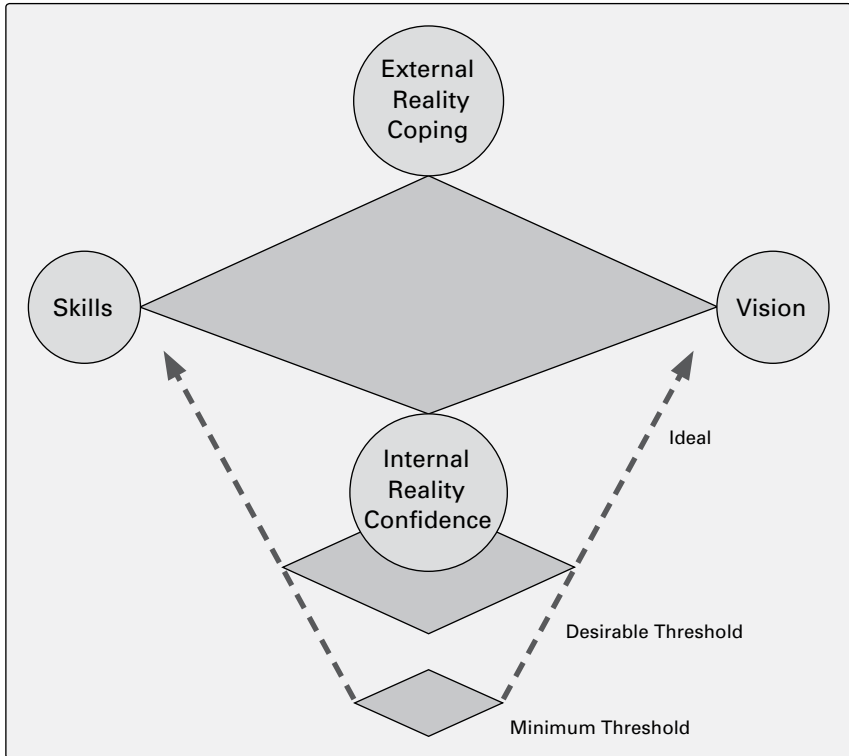
A schematic representation of this could help understand the delicate balance of capacity building.

Figure 2

The balance of capacity building lies between
the minimum and ideal levels. The first being the
minimum threshold, the second being the desirable
threshold, and finally the third being the ideal.

Figure 3 indicates the possible variation in how large
the quadrant is in its span or area.

Figure 3

This is the first step to map a capacity-building process. For instance, a paralegal must at the minimum level know how to read an FIR (First Information Report) lodged with the police; at the desirable level, be able to counsel victims of domestic violence, have the psychological readiness to absorb the stress, and to be able to engage with the police; at the ideal level, he or she should be able to call for external intervention or politicize the issue when needed by involving the media.

9.   Conclusion

Thus, in addressing specific needs of the individual
and community, capacity-building activities expand
to include other interrelated issues. Capacity
building becomes an incremental process, which
impacts all aspects of developmental activity.
It helps communities to draw on skills and resources
that empower members by giving them greater
control over their lives. It contributes to improving
stakeholders' participation, mobilizing resource
allocation and strengthening links to outside agents
such as those entrusted with delivery of government
programmes. Finally, it builds local leadership
and thus ensures that the increased capacities
are sustained.