



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Donor Driven Agendas or Complimentary Modes of Civil Society  
Activism? An Analysis of SMO's and NGO's Combating Violence  
Against Women in India**

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## **List of Acronyms**

DTC: Delhi Transport Corporation

DV Act 2005: Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005

DU: Delhi University

NGO: Non Government Organization

SH: Sexual Harassment

SMO: Social Movement Organization

VAW: Violence against Women

Words in the local language have been italicized.

## **Abstract**

The study is located in the global debate on the differences between non-funded, SMO's and funded NGO's. The study undertakes a comparative analysis of three organisations: *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO), *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) working on the issue of violence against women in India. The data generated at the organisational and programmatic level unearthed a gamut of issues that challenge the global level discourses. A comparative analysis of the conceptualisation of VAW revealed that both SMO and NGO have a similar broader level understanding which has evolved with work experience. The strategies to combat VAW reflected a trajectory of diversification and cyclic movement between direct, public outreach and community based interventions.

Analysis of the searing issue of funding showed that both SMO and NGO struggle with the ingrained structural injustices with or without 'funding'. However, there were significant differences in the conceptual basis of their understanding of VAW which was deeply linked to their embedded political ideologies which were more important than funding per se. Thus, the ground level analysis of conceptualisation and strategies of these organisations debunks the rhetoric on 'funding'. The study suggests that rather than being oppositional modes of civil society activism these organisations are complementary especially in relation to dealing with the difficult issue of VAW. The paper argues for the need to recast the debate on SMO and NGO to address deeper issues related to transformative strategies, accountability, sustainability etc.

## **Keywords**

Violence against women, civil society, social movement organizations, non-governmental organizations, funding

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

In India there are a range of civil society organisations (i.e. Social Movement Organisations (SMO's), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) and Networks of civil society actors etc.) proactively engaged in civil society activism. There is an ongoing debate that there are significant differences in issue based work of SMO which are voluntary civil society associations and NGO's essentially donor funded organisations. This study through a comparative analysis attempts to understand if there are differences between these organisations by focussing specifically on the issue of violence against women (VAW) and related combat strategies. This is investigated through case studies of three organisations- *Saheli*<sup>1</sup> (non-funded, SMO), *Jagori*<sup>2</sup> (donor funded NGO) located in New Delhi, North India and *Swayam*<sup>3</sup> (donor funded NGO) located in *Kolkata*<sup>4</sup>, East India.

### 1.2 Relevance and Justification

*Overview of the ongoing debate on SMO's and NGO's as two distinct forms of Civil Society Organisations:*

There has been an ongoing debate both at the global and regional levels regarding the differences between two distinct forms of civil society organisations (SMO and NGO). The controversial aspects revolve around conceptual, political and organizational issues. It is argued that NGO's are donor driven, which compromises their accountability and their agendas 'having emanated from the North practices a top down methodology to the South' (Bendana, 2006: 7). It is claimed that as a result there has been a 'de-radicalisation' of the social movements i.e. 'Ngoisation' of civil society activism. Allegations of NGO's having a western agenda, harnessing neoliberal policies and practises, and reaffirming patriarchal structures, has become a raging concern in the development arena (Joseph, 1997). These issues are also being debated in other countries. Islah Jad (2007) poses a profound argument on the process of 'Ngoisation' of the Arab Women's Movement in Palestine. She critically analyses the surge of NGO based development, manipulating and sidelining the process of issue based mobilisation and alliance building by social movements. Her research reflects that there is a trend of 'professionalization' and 'project oriented' social transformation. Arguing strongly that NGO's are instrumental in establishing a funding industry

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<sup>1</sup> *Saheli*- means 'a female friend' (Saheli, 2006: 5).

<sup>2</sup> *Jagori*- means 'awaken women' (Jagori Website).

<sup>3</sup> *Swayam*- means 'oneself' (Swayam Report, 2005-09).

<sup>4</sup> *Kolkata* is the capital city of West Bengal, India.



wherein their commitment lies in catering to the whims and fancies of International donors rather than towards the social, economic and political context in question, the authors states that this apparently has led to the inception of 'an upward, rather than downward accountability' bringing in the process of bureaucratisation (Jad, 2007: 625). Further, Vivian (1994) elaborates on the increasing 'magic bullet syndrome', where development professionals try hard to qualify the project as an unmatched success story primarily to retain funding. In this process they inevitably overlook the existing gaps in their work. Thus, on the one hand donors are concerned about optimum use of funds and on the other, the NGO's are reduced to being mere 'service delivery mechanisms'. This growing liability towards the donors is reflective of being more than just a question of accountability, rather, it relates to deeply embedded political choices (Bendana, 2006: 4).

James Petras argues that the growing phenomenon of 'Ngoism' in the context of Latin America, categorically holding it responsible for the steady decline of radical social movements in Chile and Peru. He further refers to NGO's as products of pragmatism whose agenda is well suited and complemented by the neoliberal project of International aid organisations. NGO's far from mustering mass resistance against social injustice, are prone to serve as 'mediators and brokers', engaged in accumulating international funding and match making of donors with local projects. He emphatically states that 'Marxism offers a real alternative to 'Ngoism'' and that, social movements have the power to be the binding force, transcending divisions of class, age, gender etc for collective action to 'change social realities' (Petras, 1997).

In the context of South Asia, Feldman (2003: 5), shares insights on the process of 'depoliticisation of Bangladeshi NGO's'. She reflects on the role of NGO's since 1980 in Bangladesh which has been 'assumed to be a progressive alliance between development aid agenda and the interests of civil society, women, and the poor' (ibid). However, she presents an emphatic critique based on the dual role that NGO's maintain by having alliances on the one hand with the State and on the other with the civil society. This duality eventually makes NGO's to be an adhoc representative of the civil society, having grave 'consequences for institutional accountability and political representation' (Feldman, 2003: 5). She concludes that though the NGO's to a certain extent have been able to garner funds from donors, negotiated with the State and have attempted to address developmental issues through projects but eventually have been unsuccessful in bringing any kind of 'fundamental changes in attitudes and ideology on which real progress ultimately depends' (Feldman, 2003: 22 ; Pearce, 2000: 53). On the contrary they have been more committed to ensuring a 'generic coverage' instead of focused sustainable development. Their inability to challenge deeply entrenched inequalities both structural and institutional has aggravated issues of 'poverty and gender inequality' (ibid). Thus, the practice of bureaucratic principles by NGO's, imbued with professionalization primarily caters to the demands of the donors rather than voicing the concerns of civil society or even attempting to mobilise and organize civil society in doing the same on their own. Development work is seen more as a profession for individuals and a means of earning livelihood than as a form of activism. Consequently, this has brought forth an emerging

pattern of 'new relations of individual responsibility and self reliance that support, rather than counter, the neo liberal view of economic development' (Feldman, 2003: 22). Petras (in Hearn, 2007: 1105) critically reiterates that 'The NGO leaders are a new class not based on property ownership or government resources but derived from imperial funding and their capacity to control significant popular groups. The NGO leaders can be conceived of as a kind of neo-compradore [sic] group'.

This view is also supported by development practitioners and scholars in India who have been seriously engaged in discussing and analysing the speedy spread of NGO's *vis-à-vis* social movements and related organisations. Sangari (2007) has raised some critical questions regarding the role and 'characterisation' of the NGO's in the context of India. She states that there are varied kinds of NGO's, off which some have been associated with the work of the women's movement, by being a part of issue based networks and alliances. Having worked in close quarters with feminist organisations some of these NGO's have been able to challenge the stereotypical, bureaucratised role, trying to be more than just an extension unit of the State. However, NGO's constantly are 'reconstituted by state and donors [...] in tandem with neoliberal policies [...] related to World Bank conditionalities which mandate state and civil society partnership' (Sangari, 2007: 52). This has apparently resulted in the phenomenon of the 'privatisation of service' of NGO's where they inevitably become subcontractors to the State and pretend to work on behalf of the people. She further illustrates the conspicuous change in the forms of civil society organising. The shift has been from the 'mass agitations and mass-based politics to professionalised activism with remunerative structures, from social protest movements to projects that fragment and divide beneficiaries along lines of caste, religion, locality, age and gender' (ibid).

Similar concerns have been voiced by women activists regarding the growing 'Ngoisation' of the autonomous women's groups in India. They strongly feel that this wave is having repercussions on their way of working, making them more susceptible to 'donor driven agendas, self censorship, professionalization, managerial rationalisations and tie them to specialised language of projects and policy recommendations' (Sangari, 2007: 53). The critical issue here is the explicit requirement of working within defined boundaries of donor guidelines and obligations. This would inevitably dampen the scope and potential of the women's movement to network with other political movements to challenge core issues of structural and institutional inequalities and related injustices (ibid).

The other viewpoint in this debate is critical of social movements and related organisations and questions, if they are indeed the only way of bringing about systematic social change. It is argued that social movements have a bottom up approach and are more democratic in principle committed to their cause *vis-à-vis* the NGO's. However, Bendana (2006: 15) paints a contradictory picture through the case study of the World Social Forum. She elaborates on the role of social movements and related organisations stating that they tend to take 'fixed positions' and are sometimes unable to resolve specific issues like reaching out to the 'most excluded' and planning the way forward 'to create another world'. This has a lurking danger that these spaces

remain a hub for brainstorming ideas without any kind defined action. Perhaps this could be considered as one of the reasons for the increased NGO interventions. In this regard it might be worth contemplating on a statement by a Cuban analyst, Marta Harnecker in (Bendana 2006: 18) who remarked 'given their sector and corporative character of their objectives, social movements face difficulties in thinking and proposing solutions for the entire country, let alone the transnational character of processes'. In the existing scenario even social movement organisation, no different from NGO's are also groping with issues of being hierarchical, male dominated and the likes (ibid).

This seething antagonism and polarisation evident in the debate between SMO and NGO is the premises from which the paper takes off. Against this background, the paper draws a comparative analysis of the work of a non-funded SMO (*Sabelli*) an autonomous women's organisation and two donor funded NGO's (*Jagori* and *Swayam*) which are feminist organisations in India. To limit the scope, the study examines in particular conceptualisation of VAW and strategies undertaken by these three organisations, to assess if funding makes a difference.

This study addresses the lacunae in the existing literature by undertaking a comparative analysis of these two organisations (SMO and NGO) engaged in civil society activism on the issue of VAW. To my knowledge, there is no contemporary study in India which has made a comparative analysis on points of similarities and differences between SMO and NGO in the light of the ongoing debate. The case studies explore if SMO's and NGO's are actually antagonistic in their ideology, forms of organising and interventions or in fact are complementary modes which in different ways realise the intended social transformation in gender inequalities.

The choice of topic also relates to a personal motivation. Drawing on my own experience of working with donor funded NGO's and having often been challenged on the commitment and understanding towards the issue of VAW, has made me reflect and question my own work and accountability. Their multipronged strategies, vision of transformative action, has time again convinced me of their prowess and activism towards gender equality and social justice, contrary to the popular impositions of NGO's being donor driven and mere service delivery mechanisms. Hence, the quest to demystify the contentions between these two civil society organisations has been a personal agenda. Thus, this study through a reality check of the ground level processes shall also enable me to find my own grounding.

The analytical framework applied to study *Sabelli* (non-funded, SMO), *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) draws on the conceptualisation of civil society to locate and understand these two forms of civil society organisations and explore its ground level manifestations. The second prism of analysis is Galtung's theory of violence to investigate the organisational and programmatic conceptualisation of violence and related strategies. An analytical review of literature of the key concepts has been undertaken in detail in chapter 2.

### 1.3 Objective of the Research

The research aims to make a contribution to the existing literature on the current debate, on the differences between non-funded SMO's and funded NGO's, focusing on the issue of VAW.

### 1.4 Main Research Question

Are funded NGO's donor driven with different conceptions and strategies for combating VAW as compared with non-funded SMO's?

#### 1.4.1 Sub Questions: specification of main question

- i. What is the conceptualisation of 'violence' by non-funded SMO's and donor funded NGO's?
- ii. What strategies are followed and are there differences in the nature of work between non-funded SMO's and donor funded NGO's?
- iii. Do donor organizations restrict the mandate of the funded NGOs?

### 1.5 Methodology

The study is a qualitative research based on primary and secondary data.

#### 1.5.1 Research Site and Rationale for Choice of Case Studies

The field work was conducted with *Saheli* (non-funded, SMO) and *Jagori* (donor funded NGO) at New Delhi and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) at *Kolkata*. The selection of the case studies was purposive and strategic due to easier access and availability of people and their willingness to participate and share views on the subject of study.

Below is brief description of the three selected organisations focusing on relevant aspects related to the topic of research.

*Case Study A- Saheli* (non-funded, SMO), New Delhi, India:

A non-funded autonomous women's organisation (SMO), formed by activists from the women's movement who willingly volunteer their time and resources. It is ideologically positioned in exercising freedom, 'autonomy from government, male structures, funding, political parties [...]' (Saheli, 2006: 8). The collective aims at raising and addressing issues of VAW. It was formed in 1981- till date, it has taken up issues of rape; domestic violence; dowry murders; sexual assault; discriminatory personal laws; coercive population control measures; commodification of women in advertisements etc (ibid: 9).

It has pioneered several interventions as part of the women's movement through campaigns, policy and law reforms etc. Autonomy from institutional funding stands to be an integral part of *Saheli's* work and entity. This has led to certain critical debates internally, where activists volunteering in individual capacity but receiving 'activist funding' from other sources of work were criticised for having a 'dual identity' (Saheli, 2006: 99). This led to a severe spilt

in 1986 within *Sabeli* following which many of the founder members and volunteers alleged of having 'dual identity' left *Sabeli* (ibid).

Case Study B- Jagori (donor funded NGO), New Delhi, India:

*Jagori* was started in 1984 by a group of activists from the larger women's movement in India. It identifies itself as 'women's training, documentation, communication and resource centre with the aim of carrying feminist consciousness to a larger audience using creative media' (Jagori Website). It aims to 'Create a space' where women could share their lived experiences of oppression and develop combat strategies to address the same (Jagori, 2004: 4). *Jagori* has been working on the issue of VAW since 1984-till date. It has raised issues of violence, education, health and development aimed at women's collective and individual empowerment through campaigns, trainings, documentation and communication, helpline etc (Jagori Website). *Jagori* is a donor funded organisation and its founders include some activists who left *Sabeli* due to the contention on the issue of funding mentioned above.

Case Study C- Swayam (donor funded NGO), Kolkata, West Bengal, India:

*Swayam* started in the 1995-till date with the objective of addressing the issue of VAW and the inequality experienced by women across class, caste, religion, education etc. Over a decade it has raised issues of female foeticide & infanticide; sexual abuse; rape; domestic violence; dowry deaths etc (Swayam Report, 2005-09). It envisions establishing the right of women and children to have violence free lives through initiating process of self confidence facilitating empowerment; challenging the societal acceptance of VAW; demanding accountability from the State to address issue of women's rights and working in a collaborative manner with other groups/organisations for a violence free society (ibid).

I believe that the above three organisations allow the scope to investigate and make a comparative analysis on points of similarities and differences between SMO's and NGO's combating VAW, in India. Firstly, because of their commitment towards the cause of conscious raising and addressing the issue of VAW over a period of 10yrs in their respective contexts. Secondly, the pivotal difference of *Sabeli* being a non-funded SMO, staunchly refraining from institutional funding, adhering by principles of collective functioning and opposing the State. This lays a basis for critical comparison with *Jagori* and *Swayam* which are donor funded NGO's working on the same issue. Thirdly, the choice of *Sabeli* and *Jagori* has been strategic since there has been a debate amongst members of these organisations on the issue of funding.

### ***1.5.2 Primary Data***

The primary data was essentially generated at two levels: organisational and programmatic

A series of in-depth interviews were conducted at the organisational level with 3-4 senior level activists/founder members in all three organisations. This was to understand their organisational work trajectory, conceptualisation and strategizing on the issue of VAW.

A series of in-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted in all three organisations with 3-4 programme staff/members involved in conceptualisation and implementation of interventions. The programmatic level interventions helped in understanding the linkage between the conceptual frame of VAW and strategies, laying a basis for comparative analysis between non-funded SMO and donor funded NGO. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with 3-4 programme staff/coordinator in *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) to investigate the issue of funding, accountability, donor mandates etc. This enabled me to trace the relevance of 'funding' and its linkage with the overall conceptualisation, strategizing and related conflict and negotiations in donor funded NGO's.

### ***1.5.3 Secondary Data***

Secondary data used to triangulate the information generated include-

- Annual Reports for organisational history and work for *Sabelli* (non-funded, SMO); *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO)
- Specific newsletters, annual publications, issue based reports etc. on the issue of VAW for all three organisations.
- Website material and documents for updated information and ongoing work of *Jagori* and *Swayam*

For details on the data gathering methods in consonance to the research questions refer appendix 1.

## **1.6 Ethical Dilemmas and Limitations of the Research**

The scope of my research has been limited in several ways.

This study from the very onset has been dependant on the willingness of the contacted organisations to participate and accommodate my field work schedule with their ongoing work commitments. The study was conducted in New Delhi and *Kolkata*. This was primarily to optimize limited time, to enable participation of senior members/ programme staff of the respective organisations in accordance to their availability and time schedules. Thus, I am aware that differences of geographic context may play a role in the strategies adopted.

Another issue is that the study essentially draws from the information provided by interviewees and the documents available in the public realm. Although I did seek permission for accessing programmatic documents, logical frameworks, etc. however, access was eventually denied on reasons of

confidentiality of donor proposals and reports. Thus, the analysis relies on my interpretation and understanding of primary data. I have been ethically conscious of the degree of subjectivity in interpretation which is inevitable, given my standpoint of having worked with NGO's and related dilemmas. Although, now as an outsider, I have tried to be guided in approach by my academic interest but I feel that this has been an area of challenge.

The study is limited to only one non-funded SMO and two donor funded NGO's. Though I am aware that all three organisations have done stupendous work on the issue, I have focused only on some of its interventions combating VAW due to constraints of time and word count for the paper. Thus, the research findings need to be taken as indicative and cannot make blanket generalisations for all SMO's and NGO's working in the context of India. Rather, the effort has been to take the contentious debate as the background to study and understand the critical issues through the prism of work done by these three organisations.

Finally, the paper does not evaluate or assess the impact of the strategies undertaken. It would have been interesting to look at the transformative potential of the strategies for social change. However, such a focus would have required observing and analysing some ongoing interventions as well as interviewing women survivors having accessed services/or participated in activities of both SMO and NGO. This has been outside the scope of the research. The study instead poses some critical questions in relation to the debate and generates rethinking on the divisive boundaries constructed around non- funded and funded civil society organisations.

## Chapter 2

### Analytical framework

This chapter presents the broader conceptual framework for this study. Drawing from the literature review, the key concepts provide lens to understand field level realities for analysing the conceptualisation of the issue of VAW and related strategies by SMO and NGO.

#### 2.1 The Concept of Civil Society

The concept of civil society is essential to be able to contextualise the two distinct forms of civil society organisation (SMO and NGO).

The term civil society remains a contested one within development discourse and praxis. The debates around the meaning have been both political and ideological, deliberated by political theorists like Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, Gramsci and De Tocquille, among others (McIlwaine, 1998: 652; Scholte, 2007: 16).

The notion of civil society has broadly been conceptualised into four thematic areas. The first interpretation characterises civil society as a human collectivity which, based on its very nature allows people to relate to one another on the basis of humanistic virtues like ‘tolerance, trust and non violence’ (Scholte, 2007: 16). The second relevance is its identification with having a creative political space which gives people the opportunity to come together, for deliberation and discussion on pertinent issues connected to ‘actual and prospective circumstances of their collective life’. This meaning of civil society is closely linked to the arena of ‘public sphere’. The third approach illustrates it ‘as a sum total of associational life within a given human collectivity’. This entails all kinds of organisations both non-official and non-profit beyond the realm of family consequently not giving it an inherent political streak. However, the fourth interpretation conceptualises civil society as the ‘third sector’, parallel to that of market and the State and NGO’s and SMO’s are both actors within the civil society (ibid).

Given the existing continuum of the definitional vagaries of the term civil society, at the very onset, it becomes important to explicitly state the intellectual and political stand pertaining to the usage of the term in this study. This study draws on a combination of the second and fourth category of conceptualisation, whereby, civil society is defined as a ‘political space where associations of citizens seek, from outside political parties, to shape the rules that govern one or another area of social life’ (Scholte, 2007: 17). This creates it as a space of political activities and expression, to exercise citizenship, for people to claim and practise their rights and duties. In which SMO and NGO as major agents of civil society play a critical role to support people to mobilise, raise awareness and organise themselves around social, economic and political issues largely ‘to affect the ways that power in society is acquired, distributed and exercised’ (ibid). Hence, it is a space to assert rights, to express and act on



the basis of belonging to a cohort, challenging, opposing or supporting issues having direct or indirect affect on a community or group.

However, within the fluid boundaries of the term and linking it to the above definition various social actors constitute the civil society. This encompasses both formal and informal organisations, exercising collective action, beyond the influence of the State, household and the individual (McIlwaine, 1998: 652; Scholte, 2007: 17). It is also important to recognise that civil society is not a homogeneous body and is differentiated and diversified ‘in size, form, duration, geographical scope, cultural context, resource levels, constituencies, ideologies, strategies and tactics (Scholte, 2007: 17). The wide range of civil society associations include community organisations, voluntary organisations, action groups, trade unions, anti-poverty movements, faith based organisations, philanthropic organisations, relief organisations, youth groups, ethnic groups, sexual minorities associations, non- governmental organisations, social movements, social movement organisations etc (McIlwaine, 1998: 653; Scholte, 2007: 17).

However, at this juncture it is important to establish that NGO’s are conceptualised as ‘formally organised, legally registered and professionally staffed non-profit bodies that undertake advocacy and/or service delivery activities in respect of some public policy’ (Scholte, 2007). Whereas organisations that participate and are involved with a larger movement are termed as ‘social movement organisations’ different to social movements per se. Social movements may include diverse kinds of organisations, groups, even political parties etc. which does not suggest that they are constituted by varied subsidiary groups; rather, it denotes that certain organisations could choose to ally with particular movements, identifying with their ideology and broader objectives (Porta et al., 2006: 26). SMO’s within their capacity perform a proactive role in movements by ‘inducing participants to offer their services; defining organisational aims, managing and coordinating contributions; collecting contributions from their environment; selecting, training and replacing members’ Scott ( in Porta et al., 2006: 137). SMO’s essentially mobilise resources from adjoining sources, which vary from being direct contributions in cash to voluntary work by their supporters, adding to broaden their public outreach and support (Porta et al., 2006: 137).

This dynamic conceptualisation of civil society helps me to understand the role of related civil society organisations. In this study, I use SMO for *Sabeli*, a non-funded autonomous women’s organisation and NGO for *Jagori* and *Swayam* which are donor funded feminist organisations.

## 2.2 The Concept of Violence

The issue of VAW is also one of the core components of study and analysis of this research. VAW surfaced to be a grave social problem sometime in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s and made it a critical agenda on the canvass of development work for proactive measures at the local, national and global levels (Jasinski, 2001).

The overwhelming literature on the conception and theoretical understanding raises critical questions around the inclusive and exclusionary

conceptualisation of violence. The concept/word violence when defined, attempts to be all encompassing, having a broad approach, entailing ‘verbal abuse, intimidation, physical harassment, homicide, sexual assault and rape; a long list of orientations, acts and behaviours has been referred to as ‘violence against women’ (Dobash et al., 1998). Furthermore, VAW is used to describe various forms of behaviour ranging from emotional, sexual and physical assault, including murder, genital mutilations, stalking, sexual harassment (SH) and prostitution etc Crowell et al. (in Jasinski, 2001). However, the concept continues to be contested time and again. One of the primary concerns being, that in the attempt of having a broad perspective, it could become generic, lacking contextual particularity and specificity. On the other hand, spelling out particular forms, kind/types of violence might limit its scope making it too ‘narrow’, circumscribing its applicability (ibid). Hence, the existing theoretical frames are constantly being challenged and reviewed to have an intersectional approach which encapsulates the dynamism of the concept, as well as the nuanced connotations and interpretations of the acts omitted and committed in real life.

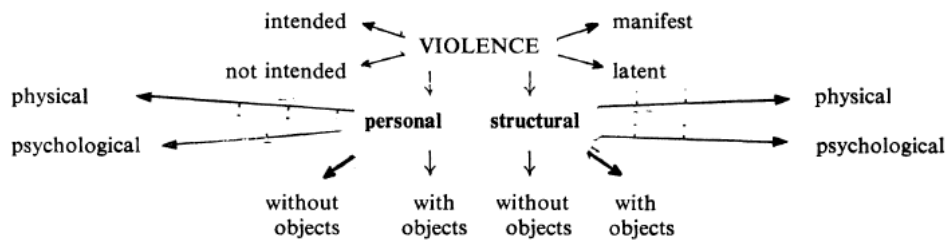
A cursory overview of theoretical frames on VAW is provided in appendix 2. In the following section I focus on the Galtung’s violence triangle.

### ***2.2.1 Galtung’s Theory of Violence***

Johan Galtung’s ‘violence triangle’ identifies direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence as the three main pillars that perpetuate, reproduce and sustain the occurrence of violence. All the three factors manifest their influence individually as well as have a conflated impact, sometimes directly resulting in the act of violence or else legitimizing the same by approving its commission or omission (Galtung, 1990: 294).

For this study I have drawn from Galtung’s conceptualization of violence which essentially was developed for the discipline of peace studies, where the term ‘peace’ was also understood as connoting ‘the absence of violence’ (Galtung, 1969: 168). I feel his understanding of violence encapsulates the inherent complexity that composes the phenomenon of ‘violence’. While defining the term he elaborates on six aspects of violence starting from the concepts of ‘potential’ and ‘actual’ and its linkages with each other. Meaning, that violence is ‘the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is’ (ibid). Hence, violence could be understood as that which aggravates the difference between the two, in other words, also something that obstructs the process that bridges the gap between the actual and the potential. Thus, higher the potential than the actual, which can otherwise be avoided is where ‘violence is present’ (Galtung, 1969: 169). Figure 1 illustrates the inter-linkages of the varied components of violence espoused by Galtung.

Figure 1: A Typology of Violence<sup>5</sup>



This illustration explains the difference between personal and structural violence. It is personal violence which is generally recognised as the prevalent form of violence, since it is manifested directly through physical and psychological harm. This kind of violence could further be unpacked to differentiate between intended and not intended violence which is connected to locate the perpetrator (object) of the act per se. However, this is only possible in the case of direct or personal violence. It becomes imperative to distinguish personal violence from structural violence. In the latter, the object of violence is invisible, more embedded and pervasive in social fabric, hence overlooked as compared to personal violence which is more evident and can be observed and recorded in everyday life (Galtung, 1969: 173).

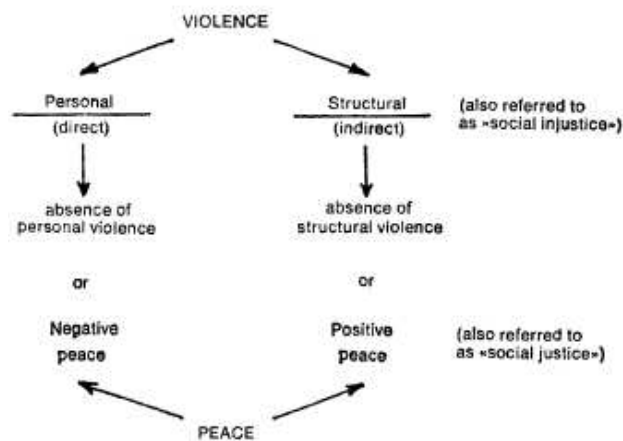
Galtung further explains the composition of violence and its nuanced interpretations with the third angle of cultural violence. Doing so, he elucidates that direct and structural violence stand as the overarching ‘super structures’ in the ‘violence triangle’ and cultural violence legitimizes the other two (Galtung, 1990: 294). Creating the image of a triangle, he emphasised that all three aspects play a crucial role, where they are interlinked in a causal relationship, irrespective of their positioning in the vicious triangle. However, despite being connected each can be distinguished on the basis of ‘time relation of the three concepts of violence’ (ibid). Accordingly, direct violence is perceived as an ‘event’, whereas structural violence is more of a ‘process with ups and downs’, while cultural violence ‘is an *invariant*, a ‘permanence’’, particularly because culture changes slowly over a long period of time (Galtung, 1990: 294). He further devised the ‘violence strata image’ to complement the above triangle. Whereby, he argues that though cultural violence forms the base, it is direct and to some extent structural violence that can actually be indentified and registered. However, in reality, culture camouflages the manifestations of violence, portraying it to be acceptable and natural to the extent, of sometimes making it completely invisible. Some of the main bearers of cultural violence are religion, language, ideology, art, cosmology, empirical and formal sciences etc. by which gender violence in particular is naturalised and normalised to be part of life (ibid).

<sup>5</sup> Source: (Galtung, 1969: 173).

Thus, in theorisation Galtung's model urges to move beyond what is obviously evident in overt forms of direct or personal violence, to underpin the enmeshed and intricate linkages with other deep rooted causes like structural and cultural which has an intersectional relationship.

In the pursuit of achieving social justice, he equates the 'absence of personal violence' to that of the prevalence of 'negative peace' and similarly the 'absence of structural violence' to that of 'positive peace'. Illustrating that efforts directed towards mitigating only personal or direct violence would experience the existence of social injustice while those aimed at the larger configuration of personal, structural and cultural violence would in essence be transformative, combating entrenched inequalities in power and resource distribution, eventually leading to attainment of social justice as reflected in figure 2 (Galtung, 1969: 183).

**Figure 2: The Extended Concepts of Violence and Peace<sup>6</sup>**



Thus, I have applied Galtung's 'violence triangle' of direct, structural and cultural violence to the conceptualisation of VAW and strategies by all three organisations. The three dimensional lens of this model facilitates the analysis of their approach, including interlinkages, assessing the latent notions and embedded political ideologies.

Hence, the above two concepts are my analytical tools to reflect, examine, engage and deliberate on the social reality of SMO's and NGO's, drawing out their points of intersection and divergence. I have used the contested notions of 'upward *vs.* downward accountability; donor driven agendas; professionalism *vs.* commitment; etc.' from the debate as my analytical categories for critically examining the relevance of funding in conceptualisation and strategising to combat VAW by SMO's and NGO's.

<sup>6</sup> Source: (Galtung, 1969: 183).

## Chapter 3

# SMO and NGO Conceptualisations on the issue of VAW

This chapter embarks on a case based analysis of the conceptualisation on the issue of VAW. It shall bring out the embedded notions and understanding on VAW and make reflections on the broader frame and ideological positioning of their conceptualisation. This creates the basis of making a comparison, between the SMO's and NGO's in their principle and practise.

### 3.1 Conceptualisation of VAW by non-funded SMO (*Saheli*) and donor funded NGO (*Jagori* and *Swayam*)

The overall conceptualisation on the issue of VAW by *Saheli*, *Jagori* and *Swayam* has been a process of evolution. This process has essentially been grounded in their work, emitted through strategies and led to changes in the way VAW has been conceived, perceived and addressed. The following thematic heads form my analytical categories for investigating in detail the understanding on the issue of VAW.

#### 3.1.1 Conceptualisation of the Scope of Violence

##### Shift from a narrow to a broader understanding of VAW

*Saheli* (non-funded, SMO) initially started work on the issue of dowry violence<sup>7</sup>, focusing on VAW within the domestic realm and dealt with individual cases of violence. In individual casework, it provided crisis support i.e. legal, medical, emotional, mental support and sometimes even offered shelter. It essentially addressed direct forms of violence i.e. physical, mental and psychological etc. The increasing incidence of cases of VAW steadily made them realise the societal sanction to the phenomenon of wife beating which transcended dowry demand (interviews: *Saheli*). *Saheli* took up cases and filed legal pursuits for women survivors, recognising the rampant discrimination and biases prevalent within the judicial system. Aptly, coinciding with the phenomenon of structural violence 'without objects', manifested in latent ways (Galtung, 1969: 73). Given which it lobbies for reforming existing laws and equal access of a fair judicial system for women. The more entrenched nature of violence got uncovered as *Saheli* was drawn into working on issues of communal violence, cases of *Sati*<sup>8</sup>,

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<sup>7</sup> Dowry- 'is the wealth a bride is supposed to bring with her for her husband and his family starting at the time of the wedding and continuing during marriage. It takes the form of cash, jewellery, household goods and so on'. Thus, violence perpetuated on women who fail to bring dowry to the marital family is called dowry violence (Rastogi and Therly, 2006: 67).

<sup>8</sup> *Sati* – Practice of forced wife immolation on the funeral pyre of the husband essentially in western India (Rajalakshmi, 2004).

discrimination and violations experienced in religious personal laws (Saheli, 2006: 11-15).

This led them towards questioning religion and its latent biases which was not necessarily direct but suppressed and excluded women. The communal context as a contributory factor to the existing system of inequality against women registered the pivotal role played by community in exercising control on women's bodies which was subjected to all kinds of torture Saheli Newsletter (in Saheli, 2006). This led them into working on issues of violence in public realm confronting communal carnages and visibilising sexual violence. They simultaneously took up the issue of SH, understanding violence beyond the private sphere and that subjugation of women within homes was intimately linked and reproduced in the public spaces, State, social structures, community and polity. This brought out the more ingrained nature of violence which was inherent in social institutions, subtly manifested through 'intended or/and unintended' ways, having a multifaceted character (Galtung, 1969: 173).

The organisations entry into parallel struggles on issues of communalism, labour rights, displacement in urban slums, sexuality and sexual rights, contextualised the issue of VAW as a violation to life with integrity and dignity (interviews: *Saheli*). This further broadened their parameters of conceptualisation and work, making women's issue inclusive and central to other areas of inequality and injustice. This shift reflects the recognition of the systematic nature of patriarchy which though nebulous is pervasive and conspires with discriminatory categories like class and caste, having a conflated impact against women.

*Jagori's* (donor funded NGO) understanding has been embedded in taking feminism<sup>9</sup> to the rural women, where women not only participated in interventions but also were able to conceptualise gender<sup>10</sup> as an analytical category for historical analysis and understanding (Scott, 1988: 42 ; Jagori, 2004 :11). Their initiation of using a feminist methodology in trainings/sessions was not aimed at just ensuring women's participation in the process of learning but to enable them to 'locate and name the material and ideological factors responsible for women's subjugation and to initiate transformative changes in their lives' (Jagori, 2004: 11). Thus, localising feminism both in the urban and rural setting, became a seat for practising feminist theories. Central to this was the 'understanding of personal is political [...] feminism as a political ideology and patriarchy as a conceptual tool' (ibid). This reveals that *Jagori's* understanding of VAW is grounded in the political ideology of feminism which conceives VAW as a systematic structural oppression, to subjugate women, through controlling their life, body, minds and spirit. This is played out by restricting women's mobility, lack of choices and options, denial of their rights, discrimination, and dehumanisation formed the tapestry of VAW (interviews with *Jagori*). This view concurs with Galtung (1969: 183) who argued that direct violence is just the tip of the iceberg, having

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<sup>9</sup> 'Feminism is the recognition of the structural nature of women's subordination and a proactive attempt to change this' (Jagori, 2004: 10).

<sup>10</sup> The usage of 'gender' here refers to a social category.

deeper roots both fuelled and sanctioned by socio-cultural beliefs and practices, cementing prevalent injustices.

Whilst responding to a national level communal massacre in the 1980's *Jagori* got drawn to working with survivors in refugee camps. Its politics was honed and directed into organising demonstrations, hunger strikes, petitioned and mobilised against the government. It demanded redressal of rights, for the religious minority assaulted (Sikhs), particularly women, the wives of the deceased during the riots, as being most vulnerable and lobbied to make them the prime recipient of State compensations (interviews: *Jagori*). This demand of compensating women within the family, resisting coercion on the widowed to marry the younger brother of their deceased husband (a social practise within the religious group), reflects *Jagori's* direct conflict with the patriarchal family. Thereby, extending its politics to engage in communal violence and fundamentalism and opposing family as a patriarchal institution. The organisational perspective of 'every issue is a women's issue' get's reflected in dealing with issues of contraception, migration, peace, militarisation and conflict, portraying their conception to address the interlocking impact of capitalism and globalisation with patriarchy (Jagori, 2004 :14).

As Kalpana Viswanath (Coordinator, Safe Delhi Campaign, *Jagori*) stated-

'I see patriarchy as a fantastic institution because it adapts to every change having not changed itself. It has adapted to changes in fundamentalism, economy, and religion, not to say that the women's movement hasn't made a difference but there are forces that pull back whatever little rights women have managed to access'.

This brings out their conceptual frame which strives to unpack and link issues. *Jagori's* strategy to campaign (Safe Delhi Campaign) on the issue of making public spaces safe, divulges the public realm being vested with violence, challenging the public private divide. Its demand of accountability from the State and people shifts the onus of women's safety from being solely her concern, to mobilising the State and men to take responsibility in ensuring women's safety. This move identifies young men as a constituency of work which shows the use of the conceptual tool of gender -in the inclusion of deconstructing notions of 'masculinity' or 'masculinities'. This conception moves beyond looking only at women and brings in the importance of building a gender -equal society and the need for multipronged approach for bringing both institutional changes as well as changes in everyday life situations and personal conduct (Connell, 2005: 1802).

For *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) the conceptualisation also developed over time. In the course of handling individual cases it embarked on understanding violence beyond physical violence and perpetration to include emotional, sexual, psychological, economic forms of violence (Swayam Website). The organization conceives violence as different to discrimination, but being interlinked (Swayam Report, 2005-09). However, for *Swayam* 'any form of violation is violence', connecting their conception with other issues i.e. disability, communal and identity based violence etc (interviews: *Swayam*). This approach shows a broadening in their interpretation of VAW making it inclusive of

addressing diverse issues of women across class, caste, religion, location etc., laying an intersectional approach for work.

Thus, *Swayam's* understanding also reflects a pattern of evolution whilst working on the issue of VAW. Its engagement with individual cases on issues of extramarital liaison and increasing demand for 'educated working women' for matrimony starkly exhibited the intensifying forms of VAW showing a discrete equation between patriarchy, consumerism and market economy (interviews: *Swayam*). This interpretation of VAW reflects their conceptualisation being located within issues of familial and marital violence, espousing their grip on the core concept of patriarchy which is sustained and reproduced in social institutions i.e. family, marriage, religion, State and its agencies-police, judiciary; education etc. In turn, culls out the cultural fabric of the society forming the foundation, reiterating that public sphere mirrors the private sphere and reifies the practice of power politics in its entirety. Their understanding of the context brings out the play of capitalist forces with a portent patriarchal logic of classification based on gender, class, identity etc, perpetuating inequalities.

However, *Swayam's* conceptualisation of VAW is not limited to the gendered construction and socialization of women but also includes its influence on men. *Swayam* recognises the role of men and their responsibility to stop VAW. It works with young men and boys in schools and colleges on constructions of masculinity and femininity. This reflects their conception of de-constructing normative binaries by exploring alternative role models. Thus, stretches its understanding of patriarchy to unfold the opposition by men to a gender equal society which is perceived as a direct threat to their 'patriarchal dividend', 'identity' and 'supremacy', borne and perpetuated by social structures (Connell, 2005: 1809). Discussing alternatives to the normative reflects their understanding that 'hegemonic model of masculinity' gets diffused over social strata as men could choose to diverge from the traditional roles (ibid).

From the above analysis it can be concluded that there has been a conspicuous shift from a narrow definition of VAW to a broader conceptualisation which is more inclusive. All three organisations attempt to bridge the public private divide, recognise violence beyond the direct forms to locate patriarchy as an organic system.

However, reflecting deeper I would argue that there are significant differences between these organisations based on the conceptual spaces occupied by each within the broader understanding of VAW. *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) places 'the women' at the centre of addressing violation of rights, not adhering to the concept of 'gender based violence'. For them the concept of gender dilutes the systematic grave violence perpetuated on women. Hence, it retains a woman centric approach. While both *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) use the concept of 'gender' more as a relational concept which is no longer limited to considering male female in oppositional categories (Scott 1988: 31). This further, gets reflected in both *Jagori* and *Swayam's* efforts to work with men and unpack the notion of 'masculinities' to challenge the normative representations in the public/private realm. It emerges as an area of key intervention, for mustering significant support from men and



boys, as ‘gatekeepers to gender equality’ and repositories of power and resources to women’s claims to equal rights and justice. They strategize to mobilise both men and boys to open these gates for reforms, greater introspection and deconstruct the notion of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ (Connell, 2005: 1802).

Thus, *Jagori* and *Swayam*’s approach towards the conception of ‘gender’ is not limited to its normative definition focusing on discrimination against women. Rather they make linkages to gender relation as power relations and its association with patriarchy manifested through, structural, cultural and interpersonal forms of violence which essentially thrives on the gendered logic of domination and subordination (Galtung, 1969; Greig, 2001).

### ***3.1.2 Conceptualisation of the Roots of VAW***

The key to an overall ideology and developing strategies against VAW is an understanding of the roots of VAW. Both the SMO (*Sabeli*) and NGO (*Jagori* and *Swayam*) working on the issue have gradually anchored their understanding around the concept of patriarchy. They unveil patriarchy as a system, which does not get contained within the domestic sphere and limited to family alone but is invisibilised in social structures and accepted by customs and traditions. This becomes evident in their movement from recognising direct forms of violence usually within the domestic sphere to identifying the more arcane manifestations in form of communal riots and biased personal laws.

However, I would argue that even within the broader identification of patriarchy as root cause of VAW, each of the three organisations have their own grounding that explores patriarchal linkages with other structures and ism’s i.e. capitalism, casteism, fundamentalism. *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) in its attempt to take up issues of communalism and class struggles i.e. labour rights, urban eviction and displacement, cuts through the circumference of patriarchy to situate its politics in a larger frame, where patriarchy is not seen in isolation but contextualised within the given political, economic and social scenario. This reflects the State as ‘the condensation of a balance of forces’ among which male dominance reigns denying women’s rights (Jaggar, 1983: 200-201). This positioned *Sabeli* against the State. Its understanding of societal stratification also exposed the complex moving relation between different patriarchal forms and class categories (Connell, 1982: 310). I would then argue that this assessment of the State and societal stratum gives *Sabeli*’s conception more a socialist feminist flavour where it conceives capitalism and patriarchy as fundamental causes of VAW. Tracing linkage between relations of production and relations of reproduction where one structure forms, reforms eventually conforms with the other (ibid).

While *Jagori* (donor funded NGO) seats its politics in core concepts of feminism, patriarchy and gender, practising personal is political and ventures into explicitly challenging the public private divide. It has moved from arena of violence within intimate relationships to violence in public spaces, e.g. Safe Delhi Campaign in Delhi city. This brings out the issue of ‘unsafe public spaces’ which is not limited to SH at work place but the deeper reasoning lies in the inequality between the sexes and the systemic discrimination faced

within the patriarchal arrangement which controls women/girls mobility, impedes access and the scope to negotiate public spaces (Viswanath and Mehrotra, 2007: 1542). *Jagori* voices the inherent inequality in the structural set up of public spaces i.e. cities, where the day-to-day forms of violence are normalised by the cultural practices in the urban settings (ibid). Where majority of the public spaces are legitimately occupied by men and women access the same spaces either with a specific purpose, during a certain time or only particular areas as 'legitimate' activity (ibid: 1546). Thus, this pattern of usage of public spaces by women is 'symbolic representation' of the ownership of men in the public sphere at large (Andrew, 2000: 159).

*Jagori's* explication of the ingrained violence prevalent in the infrastructural and cultural practices of accessing public spaces in urban setting throws up the larger question of State accountability. Emphatically linking it to the neoliberal development paradigm that nation State circumscribe to, in making cities e.g. New Delhi a world class city, reflecting absolute gender bias in planning and blatantly compromising the safety of women. This highlights their cognisance of the co-option of patriarchal system within the development agenda which gets mainstreamed through the State and its gender unequal development policies. Thus, I would argue that *Jagori* in its principle of personal is political; identifying the nexus of neoliberalism and patriarchy as root cause of VAW also expounds a socialist feminist vision.

*Swayam* (donor funded NGO) also understands the gendered construction of violence and the play of patriarchy both in the public and private sphere. However, its approach essentially remains rooted in forms of violence within intimate relationships and domestic violence. This gets reflected in its approach to facilitate processes of self confidence within women survivors, i.e. counselling in case work, to enhance decision making; to choose life options; building their confidence to step out of the domestic sphere and take control of their lives through economic independence (interviews: *Swayam*). This connotes *Swayam's* bent towards accessing equal rights of women, vis-à-vis men, holding the State accountable to ensure women's right to life without violence and equal opportunities. I would then argue that this interpretation of women's lack of equality in the public realm and accounting the 'state to enforce liberty, equality and justice for all so that women may have the opportunity for autonomy and self-fulfilment' seats their politics in the liberal feminist framework (Jaggar, 1983: 200). Thus, reaffirms my argument, that within the broader understanding of VAW, both SMO and NGO are located in distinct conceptual spaces, reflecting and drawing from its ideological positioning. The ideological differences emerge further with the way the organisations see their relationship with the State.

### ***3.1.3 Relation with the State***

Taking lead from the preceding analysis, both SMO and NGO are critical of the State having an inherently biased patriarchal attitude and functioning. This apparently is not just contained in the State but gets institutionalised through its ancillary organs and allied functionaries (interviews: *Sabeli, Jagori* and *Swayam*).

*Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) eloquently posits its politics critiquing and opposing the State. It considers the State as an agent of systemic violation of women's rights, through discriminatory laws and/or in its laxity of implementing laws and ensuring fair access to social justice. Here it not only raises specific cases for redressal but also attempts to lobby for reforming policies and laws (interviews: *Sabeli*).

‘The entire issue of working with the State or against the State has been an area of dilemma even for the larger women's movement. There can never be one position only; consequently one has tried to work with the State but those experiences lead us to work against the State. I feel that the work with the State has been a two way process. At rare instances *Sabeli* had been part of gender sensitization programmes for State agents, essentially critiquing the State and its functioning, to bring in the feminist perspective and agenda’ (Sadhna, Senior Member, *Sabeli*).

During *Sabeli's* tenure it once worked with the Government on a short stay home project which was plagued with problems i.e. timely release of funds, smooth functioning, and/or sustained drive, and/or woman power (Saheli, 2006: 97). The Ministry of Human Resources Development (HRD) wanted *Sabeli* to disclose the location and name of the short stay home for the purpose of record and reference. However, *Sabeli* contrary to the demands of the State took a stand against sharing such information that could threaten the privacy of survivors who could be harassed by family members and the community. Thus, experiences of this sort reaffirmed *Sabeli's* core ideology of refraining from working directly with the State and rather to lobby, with State institutions- demanding drafting of bills, response to cases of mass violation etc.

Rukmini Rao (Former Member, *Sabeli*) stated-

‘That the concept of change from within is a dubious one, as individual action can be overruled by institutional, structural power anytime’.

However, *Jagori* (donor funded NGO) shared how it made a shift in its approach towards the State from being oppositional to working for the *Mahila Samakhyas* programme (a national programme of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Education Department). *Jagori* was involved in conceptualising and organising trainings for the programme and later became part of the advisory board for planning. Though *Jagori* incurred scathing criticism from the larger women's movement of being a ‘sell out’, having ‘joined hands with the State’ (interviews: *Jagori*). This shift in approach was strategic, as an NGO, *Jagori* had a limited outreach. Thus, moving in to a national level programme extended its reach to a larger population and also established a feminist agenda in State initiated programmes (ibid).

However, ‘core to this decision of working with the State remained the non-negotiable of retaining autonomy and being a resource organisation, they will not dictate the agenda for trainings [...] *Jagori* clearly wanted to keep the qualitative aspect of work intact but also wanted to increase quantity. There were negotiations that one needed to make but that was something little when compared to the outreach’ (Abha Bhaiya, Founder Member, *Jagori*).

Thus, the issue of working with or against the State i.e. creating change from within and/or outside remains a dilemma for NGO's. This is conspicuous in the case of *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) who shared an overall position of critiquing the State as a hegemonic institution, but strategized a double edged agenda to deal with the State. This was aimed at holding the State accountable as well as work with the State to identify loopholes in functioning and ensure its responsibility to stop VAW (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*).

Kalpana Viswanath (Coordinator, Safe Delhi Campaign, *Jagori*) stated-

'One needs to be vigilant when one partners with the State so that one is not co-opted in discourses that one does not want to be part of.'

*Jagori* and *Swayam*, through diverse strategies have been able to make inroads within the structure for e.g. *Jagori's* ongoing Safe Delhi Campaign on the issue of safety in public spaces, in demanding accountability works in partnership with the State reifying their shift. As for *Swayam*, it has conducted gender trainings with district judges/sub-divisional courts for a few years engaging with them not only as judiciary but also challenging their own process of socialisation which generates stereotypical biases in mindset and attitudes against women which has a bearing on the way justice is dispensed (interviews: *Swayam*). However, these processes are not simplistic and are experienced as a constant process of negotiation and bargain, fraught with challenges and backlashes.

Thus, though SMO and NGO are broadly grounded in a clear understanding of addressing the ingrained biases and discriminatory practises of the State but have different conceptions in carrying out the same. *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) clearly seats its politics against the State and would only lobby with State instruments and agents. However, *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) in their approach oscillate between working with and/or against the State. This issue of stimulating change from within plus co-option vis-à-vis change from outside with autonomy is a disputed zone, an ongoing debate within and between SMO's and NGO's.

### 3.2 Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the conceptualisation of the issue of VAW by *Sabeli* (non-funded SMO), *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) reflects a shift from a narrow to a broader understanding of VAW having a more inclusive approach by interpreting different forms and manifestation of violence. This is revealed in their conceptual movement from dealing with issues of direct violence to more entrenched forms perpetuated by the State and community in nexus with religious and cultural sanction. Thereby reproducing Galtung's theorisation that the 'super structures' of direct and structural violence have culture as its foundation legitimising their prevalence and completing the 'violence triangle' (Galtung, 1990: 294).

Though both the SMO and NGO share a broader understanding of VAW and have traversed a shift, I have argued that each organisation situates its understanding within different conceptual spaces. *Sabeli* centralises 'the woman

question' to its approach toward issues while *Jagori* and *Swayam* engage in unpacking the social constructions of femininity and masculinity and circumscribe to the concept of 'gender'. The latter two extend their conceptualisation to deconstructing masculinity and engaging with men to explore the gendered process of socialisation, recognising 'that the differences between women and men are not pre-social givens, but rather are socially constructed and therefore socially alterable' (Jaggar, 1983: 304). This comes out as a stark distinction from *Sabelli's* (non-funded, SMO) understanding of VAW.

Delving deeper into tracing their understanding of the roots of VAW revealed that both the SMO and NGO identify patriarchy as one of the root causes of VAW but not in a linear frame. Each organisation traces patriarchal linkages with social structures where they identify family, community, religion and State as prime institutions that perpetuate and reinforce gender based inequalities. The relation with the State per se, is complex and challenged with the dilemma of working with and/or against the State. However, *Sabelli* being critical chooses to only lobby with the State contrary to that of *Jagori* and *Swayam*. This debate on stimulating change from within and/or from outside remains an area of contention for further deliberation and analysis.

Further, both SMO and NGO recognise the interplay of patriarchy with class, capitalism, neoliberal development paradigm, communal forces and other such discriminatory categories. *Sabelli's* (non-funded, SMO) clear stand against the State and focus on the complex relation of patriarchy and class where one shapes and reforms the other, draws its reasoning from the socialist feminism. Similar trends are reflected in *Jagori's* (donor funded NGO) approach as well, though it uses feminism, patriarchy and gender as its core tools for analysis which lay's the conceptual basis for its strategies. While *Swayam's* (donor funded NGO) vision on the access of equal rights and violence free life for women and holding the State accountable for ensuring the same gives it a streak of liberal feminist thought.

Thus, based on the above analysis it is asserted in affirmative that *Sabelli*, *Jagori* and *Swayam* share a trajectory of broadening its understanding of VAW. However, within it they occupy different conceptual spaces which are underpinned by their political ideologies.

## Chapter 4

# SMO and NGO Strategies on the issue of VAW

This chapter shall investigate some of the strategies undertaken by *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO), *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) within the analytical framework of direct, structural and cultural violence propounded by Galtung. This would assess a) if the conceptualisation of VAW gets translated in strategies; b) the points of convergence and divergence in the approach of strategies between SMO and NGO. Here, I choose to focus on two specific forms of violence i.e. domestic violence and sexual violence as a common thread, for investigating strategies undertaken by all three organisations.

### 4.1 Direct Violence

Direct violence is conceptualised in terms of personal violence. This is manifested directly through visible forms i.e. physical, emotional, psychological, sexual, economic violence etc. Hence, forms of personal violence are recognisable as the 'object and subject' of violence can be identified (Galtung, 1969: 173).

#### *Individual Case Work*

Individual case work surfaced to be one of the key strategies to address cases of direct violence in the private and the public sphere. This is often termed as 'crisis support' and forms a direct response to emergency situations of women survivors of violence. For instance, *Swayam's* (donor funded NGO) strategy of 'direct support services' is to provide immediate support to survivors coping with violent situations. The forms of violence within the domestic realm range from wife beating to cases of extramarital liaisons, mental and psychological harassment, dowry violence, restricting mobility, depriving education opportunity to young girls etc (Swayam Report, 2005-09). To deal with this multifaceted character of domestic violence *Swayam's* strategy of 'direct support services' entailed both immediate and long term measures. The immediate support to women survivors ranges from health care, counselling, psychotherapy; legal aid; police and court follow up, referral for shelter and child support. While long term support entailed career counselling and vocational training support groups, theatre and music group and working with children/ family etc (ibid).

The *Swayam* team mentioned that immediate support services were to enhance the coping mechanism of survivors by providing them alternatives to recoup, away from the threatening environment of the domestic sphere. The option of legal recourse is dependent on individual survivor's choice and decision. The *Swayam* team assists in such decision making and supports the survivor in legal pursuit by helping in filing the first information report (FIR) with the police which is an ordeal. However, despite these services sometimes women even after pursuing legal course decide to withdraw and/or reconcile

with violent partners/situations, which remains a challenge with the organisation (interviews: *Swayam*).

‘It’s after years of doing case work we now understand the cyclic nature of domestic violence which women battle. Also, the decision of leaving family is a tormenting one. I think it is the adage of being called a ‘single woman’, a ‘home breaker’ which further intensifies this vitiating cycle of violence’ (Anindita Mujumdar, Assistant Director, *Swayam*).

Therefore, *Swayam* understands VAW as cyclic and not ‘an event’ limited to personal violence but sustained by family regarded as an ‘invariant’ has permanence as a sacrosanct unit (Galtung, 1990: 293-294). It challenges the limited notion of single women reflecting the exploration of alternatives to the normative heterosexual relationships and recognises marriage as an institution of power inequalities. The above processes show *Swayam* in a facilitative role where it offers holistic support towards the survivor seating the conceptualisation of the strategy in a more intersectional approach which responds to situations of individual women based on their unique identity. Assisting women in dealing with State agencies i.e. police, lawyers and the judicial mechanism translates *Swayam’s* conception of State as a custodian of male hegemonic power.

Gargee Guha (Coordinator, Direct Support Services, *Swayam*) stated -

‘Case work is more a band aid approach, a curative measure and not sufficient, what is also needed is preventive action and even beyond that to trace the root causes of violence’.

Thus, within direct interventions there were also some long term support services for women survivors not only to cope with violence but also to understand the web of male dominance which systematically subjugates women. Support groups formed by women survivors created spaces for informal sharing, forging friendships and interaction encouraging them to participate in gender training, discussing patriarchy, femininity and masculinity, to recognise VAW beyond individual experience as a social phenomenon.

This brings out the diversity of approach even within direct intervention. The long term approach is channelled towards addressing the entrenched gender inequality perpetuated by social institutions i.e. natal/marital family, community which in coded ways condone women’s independence and self reliant initiatives, recasting stereo typical division of gender roles. The scope of the strategy is to address the roots causes beyond personal violence which is fuelled and accepted by prevalent customs and traditional practices, camouflaged within the process of socialisation. Thus, it reveals the nuanced movement in strategies from individual to family and to community linking with other institutions. However, *Swayam’s* conception of strategies is anchored in domestic violence which defines its radar of violence in the public sphere though not treated exclusive to the former.

*Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) also, had a stint of ‘crisis support work’ in the initial years on the issue of dowry violence where it worked with the working class women (interviews: *Sabeli*).

‘The strategy of addressing individual cases of violence perhaps was not sufficient to address an issue which was more than what met the eye, one needed to shift from treating the symptoms to addressing the roots causes and factors perpetuating the violence’ (Sadhna, Senior Member, *Sabehi*).

This has led *Sabehi* to strategically shift its level of intervention into lobbying and advocacy initiatives at the state and national level for legislative reforms and policy level interventions. Given which, it stopped case work, to move beyond treating symptoms to address the root causes of VAW. However, the issue of stopping case work became a matter of contention and contradiction among *Sabehi* members then. Wherein some felt that ‘helping individual women should continue to be a priority since such work continues to be relevant as long as SH, subjugation and the threat of family violence persist in the society’ (Saheli, 2006: 16). While others strongly felt that issues raised from cases could not generate any kind of visibility and that, there was a need to intervene at multiple levels. Consistent, organizational churning, heated debates eventually resulted in the discontinuation of the case work (interviews: *Sabehi*). However, I would argue that this change in the mode of work was not just a strategic decision but was also linked to constraints in human and financial resources

*Jagori*’s work has also hinged on addressing the issue of domestic violence and SH where it dealt with women experiencing violence within their personal and/or professional lives. *Jagori* has a helpline where it provides crisis support to women. Taking a step further at times it has also organised ‘courts of women’ in communities on issues of VAW i.e. dowry violence. The ‘courts of women’ organised are more as a fair, attracts people to participate, where women survivors share their cases and the people participating lend their opinions over hearings. The objective is to make visible the prevalence of normalised dowry violence and to recognise the changing facets of violence. This mirrors a shift towards treating the root causes, questioning societal mindsets and biases to establish the issue as a social phenomenon.

From the above analysis it is clear that though NGO’s strategise to combat direct violence through direct support services it also attempts to diversify their approach. This is primarily to nab the institutionalised violence discretely manifested through social structures and cultural norms as opined by Galtung. However, *Sabehi* (non-funded, SMO) stopped case work since 1991 focusing more on visibilising the issue in the public realm through advocacy and lobbying with the State, engaging more with structural violence. Though, *Sabehi* diversified its strategy but disengaged from addressing direct forms of violence.

### ***Campaign***

In my investigation on strategies, campaigns surfaced to be the most common strategy that all three organisations have used as an intervention. The unique characteristic of campaigns has been its nebulous nature which amalgamates with other strategies directed to engulf the multidimensional aspect of VAW.

Interviews with *Sabehi*, *Jagori* and *Swayam* brought forth that each of the organisations strategize ‘issue based campaigns’ to raise the issue of VAW



which is often normalised by various social actors and institutions. For instance, *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) since 1996-97 realised the need to work on the issue of SH which was trivialised as only ‘eve teasing’. The silence on the issue impeded women’s right to work, severely impinging access and opportunities, seldom discussed and analyzed. The foundation of the campaign was based on a survey conducted within women and/or young girls across different sections of the society. The findings of the survey reflected the prevalence of silence and social acceptance on the issue and that women lacked information on the existing institutional mechanisms against SH (interviews: *Sabeli*).

This coincided with *Jagori’s* (donor funded NGO) Safe Delhi Campaign, on the issue of ‘safety in public spaces’ which was based on experience of violence by women and/or young girls in accessing public spaces which differed across age, class, location, occupations etc. The campaign approached institutions – government, corporate bodies, resident association, educational institutions, and municipal corporations and other actors, raising it as an issue of the city. Drawing from other international researches, the methodology of safety audits was used to study the Delhi city, the context of an urban setting, analysing the constitution, designing, planning, and governing mechanism of the city (Safe Delhi, 2008b).

*Swayam* (donor funded NGO) also uses ‘issue based campaigns’ as a key strategy specifically because it regards ‘direct support services’ as a ‘band aid approach’, thus ventures into public awareness and outreach through campaigns to build a more ‘preventive’ environment (interviews: *Swayam*). Annually, *Swayam* partakes in the International campaign to stop violence against women and girls<sup>11</sup>, believing that collaborative efforts make a larger impact on the canvas of work on VAW vis-à-vis individual action. Internationally each year the campaign is thematic but *Swayam* raises issues relevant to their particular context e.g. for the year 2009 under the global theme ‘act and demand’ it initiated a campaign around the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005<sup>12</sup> (DV Act 2005), demanding its implementation from the State (Swayam Website).

Thus, from the above analysis both *Sabeli* and *Jagori* reflect a similar trend in strategising, raising an issue from among the women and/or young girls and establishing the same by conducting research or audits shows a bottom up approach. The approach of surveys reflect the quotient of intersectionality where women and young girls across age, class, occupation, location, status are approached making the campaign more inclusive. The use of campaigns by *Swayam* also reveals the objective of visibilising the issue not only locally but also linking it with global level initiatives. Wherein, the conception of contextualising the international campaign to local level issues of VAW shows, exercise of autonomy within global agendas and the intent of downward

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<sup>11</sup> The International Campaign to Stop Violence Against Women and Girls from 25<sup>th</sup> November-10<sup>th</sup> December is under the aegis of the ‘16 days of activism against gender violence’ - initiated by CWGL (Centre for Women’s Global Leadership), Rutgers University, in 1990 (Source: Swayam Report, 2005-09 and Swayam Website).

<sup>12</sup> Refer: <http://www.unifem.org.in/PDF/DV-Presentation-booklet.pdf> [3rd November 2009].

accountability. This contradicts the theoretical debate of NGO's compromising their stated objectives by undergoing 'self censorship' (Sangari, 2007).

The constituencies of work and methods of campaigning, of both the SMO (*Sabeli*) and NGO's (*Jagori* and *Swayam*) exhibit the trajectory of work with similar constituencies using common methods of engaging with people. Women and youth emerge to be key constituencies of work. However, I would assert that each organisation even within a common strategy like campaign works with different social institutions at different levels. For instance, *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) took up the issue of SH in communities, schools, colleges and universities using various methods i.e. role plays, debates, street plays, songs, film screening, talks, sessions on VAW, human rights etc. This emerges to be common ways of working even with *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) where all three identify youth as a potential agent of change (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*). However, the issue of SH raised among students during the 'Campaign for Safe University' at Delhi University (DU) initiated by *Sabeli* conjured national level debates on the need to have a separate policy against SH in educational institutions. *Sabeli* as a part of the campaign took the intervention to a different level and became a part of the advisory group to develop SH policy at DU. They reviewed the existing policy and amended it in consonance to the context of educational institutions (interviews: *Sabeli*).

However, *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) working with women and youth also strategizes to reach out to young men (review of campaign material). This stands out in contradiction to *Sabeli's* approach. *Jagori's* gender workshops with young women and men on the issue of 'safety in public spaces' include men's viewpoint, to challenge their stereotypical outlook towards causes of SH (interviews: *Jagori*). Hence, both *Jagori* and *Swayam* deal with the layered dimensions, to trace the hidden patterns of disadvantages within the apparently advantageous position men (Connell, 2003c). Whereas, *Sabeli* though categorically reaches out to youth as a cohort but has no specific interventions with boys and/or young men reflecting its focus on 'the woman question'.

The interviews with all three organisations with relation to the State revealed the absence of any State led campaign on the issue of VAW in their respective geographic regions. However, *Jagori* through the Safe Delhi Campaign strategically allies with the Delhi Transport Corporation (a State institution), responsible for the public transport system in Delhi city (*Jagori* Website). *Jagori's* gender training with bus drivers and conductors (usually men), on the issue of SH and VAW engages with their perception around women's safety, acceptable, unacceptable behaviour of passengers and reasons for the prevalence of violence. This reifies its attempt to challenge the deep seated beliefs of the participants (male) as part of the process of socialization which immunizes their outlook towards VAW (Safe Delhi, 2008a).

*Jagori's* partnership has led it to become a part of the State working committee on the issue of 'Safe Delhi' (interviews: *Jagori*). This shows its intent of institutionalising the feminist agenda within State agenda, ensuring State accountability and responsibility by exploring alternatives ways of functioning for State bodies by working with them.

Based on the above analysis it is clear that campaign as a strategy forms a fulcrum to direct and public outreach interventions for both SMO and NGO. However, I have argued that the level of interventions and approach within campaigns differ between SMO and NGO. This gets reflected as both *Jagori* and *Swayam* work with young men as a constituency while *Saheli* does not. Also, *Jagori's* alliance with State bodies crystallises in praxis the initiation of change from within social structures which breed gender inequality vis-à-vis *Saheli* which seats its approach in opposing the State, lobbying for policy reforms.

## 4.2 Structural Violence

In this section the ways in which these organisations deal with structural violence is examined. Structural violence is the nuanced violence perpetuated and sustained by social order and institutions i.e. State, family, community, judiciary etc (Galtung, 1969).

### *Lobbying and Advocacy*

Lobbying and advocacy forms another pertinent strategy aimed at raising issues and/or responding to incidences of VAW, demanding accountability from the State, done both in individual capacity and as a joint initiative. This focuses at engaging with more ingrained gender biases produced and reproduced by the social institutions.

*Saheli* (non-funded, SMO), shifted from addressing individual level case work to intervening at different levels where it is instrumental in organizing sit in, demonstrations (*dharna's*), rallies, protest marches visibilising issues to engage with the people, evoke reactions and action. However, it is interesting to note that lobbying as a strategy emerged from the need to raise issues surfacing from cases. For e.g. the demand of widening of the definition of rape by using the term 'sexual assault' was an attempt to nab the politics of legal language which camouflages the gruesome act of sexual violence in a moralistic language (Saheli, 2006: 20).

However, lobbying and advocacy as an intervention is not seen as an end in itself. Consequently, for mobilising public opinion and questioning the cultural acceptance to rape as 'normal' needed to triangulate its strategy through the campaign called 'Speak Up Delhi', '*Dilli Chuppi Todo Hinsa Roko*' (*Delhi break the silence, stop the violence*). Rallies and 'Take Back the Night' initiatives were carried out to reclaim one's own space, the right to access public spaces at any time of the day or night (Saheli, 2006: 21). This clearly shows the trend of using multiple strategies, which are aimed at addressing the trident of violence explained by Galtung.

While, *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) also lobby but more as a collaborative venture. For instance, they collaborated nationally for the passing of the DV Act 2005 and continue to do advocacy work with State institutions for fulfilling the provisions of the Act. Consequently, *Jagori* in rural Himachal Pradesh and *Swayam* in *Kolkata* have strategized to become a service provider under the (DV Act 2005). Doing which their case work unit would be a recognised by the State to address cases of VAW. Whereby, they would

implement the DV Act 2005 in its entirety, modelling the role of service provider for other State recruited officials (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*). This is in concurrence with *Jagori* and *Swayam*'s purpose of exploring gender equal ways of functioning, ensuring that State fulfils its responsibility and is accountable towards violation of human rights specifically women's rights.

The above analysis makes it evident that lobbying and advocacy is used as a separate strategy to combat structural violence but it needs to be linked with other strategies addressing direct violence. For instance *Sabeli* just lobbying with the State addresses structural violence but fails to combat direct violence in the absence of defined mass base. Whereas, *Jagori* and *Swayam* in their dual strategy with the State are able ensure the translation of structural reforms having individual repercussions and vice versa.

### 4.3 Cultural Violence

This section investigates the strategy used to address cultural violence by these organisations. Cultural violence is enmeshed in the social fabric of the societal set up. It plays out in discrete ways through customs, traditional and religious beliefs which exhumes patriarchal norms and value systems oppressing women (Galtung, 1990).

#### ***Community Based Interventions***

Drawing a full circle to my investigation on strategies, discussions with *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) emphasised the need to eventually ground their work at the community level. Community based interventions are conceptualised to address the cultural sanction to the practice of VAW which through the process of socialisation is ingrained in social attitude and mindsets of the people.

*Jagori* and *Swayam* work at the community level with the family, local authorities, leaders, religious institutions etc. These are essentially regarded as repositories of patriarchal system imposing the 'do's and don'ts' of social life. Hence, *Jagori* through Safe Delhi Campaign works at various levels of the community (*basti*). Safety audits carried out in a range of areas i.e. the middle class colonies where women, both young women/girls were approached to incorporate their issues regarding the usage of public spaces (Safe Delhi, 2008b). Taking lead from those audits *Jagori* strategized to work with women and youth (young women and men) in the communities drawing on their understanding of the gendered construction of social beings and recognising youth as a potential agent to challenge existing gender relations. The work with youth groups has been to mobilize and organize the community around the issue of VAW, to recognise the nature of violence and take a collective stand and resist the occurrence of VAW locally. This is with the long term objective of building the capacities of these groups to voice concerns and dialogue with local authorities/police to determine ways of making public spaces safer (Safe Delhi, 2008c; interviews: *Jagori*). This blatantly contradicts the viewpoint from debate, that NGO's fail to organise and mobilise 'civil society', are donor driven and agents of the State (Feldman, 2003). This also reflects the cyclic nature of strategizing which ranges from working at the community level with

women and men, engaging them in processes of alternative thinking, questioning customs and traditions emanating unequal power relations. This in turn would influence family level practices, undoing the public private divide applying the conceptual frame of VAW. Given which, the campaign lobbies at the policy level with State, creating a more favourable hearing of voices of the people raising issues for making public spaces safer for women.

*Swayam* though infused with similar objective has a different entry point towards dealing with violence at the community level. It shows that the work at the community level is also context specific and hence the approach changes accordingly. For e.g. *Swayam's* work in *Metiabruz*, a Muslim dominated area on the outskirts of *Kolkata* imposes severe control mechanisms on women and young girls within the community (Swayam Report, 2005-09). In which case though *Swayam* aims at raising awareness on the issue of VAW among women and men but strategizes to bring young girls together on issues of 'vocational opportunities' as an entry point to organise youth groups for future work on domestic violence (interviews: *Swayam*).

This shows that community based interventions are strategized to concretely deal with the very fundamental societal beliefs which need a sustained engagement with social actors and institutions. Community level work closely engages with women and men, challenging their customised thinking and stereotypical gender ideologies. In a way it roots the interventions forged at different levels, linking policy level interventions to ground level realities and tracking repercussions at either ends. Thus, I would claim that work at the community level is more directed towards addressing the latent yet pertinent issue of sustainability of issue based work.

Therefore, I would argue that *Sabeli's* (non-funded, SMO) inability to engage at community level leaves a critical gap in locating its work in ground level reality. It's lobbying with the State and spreading generic awareness through campaigns culminates in being temporary highs without any downward accountability. Whereas, *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) through community based interventions coherently address direct, structural and cultural violence reflecting a transformative process.

#### **4.4 Concluding Remarks**

The above analysis of strategies undertaken by *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO), *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) reflect a landscape of strategies to combat VAW in their respective contexts. The analysis clearly shows a trajectory of diversification in strategies whereby none of the strategies are an end in itself. This reveals a very unique cyclic movement between direct and public outreach strategies. All are coherently interlinked and flow into each other yet contribute in a specific way to address VAW. For e.g. Policy level advocacy is critical for structural changes but cannot swap the need of 'crisis support', an immediate requirement for combating cases of direct violence, implementing policy into practice.

This diversification of strategies seats within different conceptual base within the broader understanding of VAW. This is starkly reflected in the initiatives channelled towards men's responsibility to stop VAW by *Jagori* and

*Swayam*, contradictory to *Saheli's* stand and stated focus on 'the woman question'. I would argue to claim, that the difference in the conceptual basis is fuelled by the embedded political ideologies that also determines the different level of work undertaken by the SMO and NGO. For instance, *Saheli* enthused by its socialist framework directs its efforts to combat State led structural violence, intervening in legislative reforms through agitation, lobbying and advocacy. While *Swayam* seated within its liberalist frame has a bent towards addressing issues of violence within the private sphere, both, on an individual basis and at the community level. However, I would assert that this derivation is rather complex and has deeper linkages to the issue of funding as well. *Saheli* with limited human and financial resources, having no defined community base, strategizes at policy level reforms but remains severely threatened, by the question of downward accountability and sustainability of their work on the issue of VAW.

'But in the process of rationally taking stock and re-prioritising, we did, as we'd feared we would, lose a vital connection with women; women of all classes and castes, whose individual problems no doubt continually stretched out limited resources but who somehow held a critical mirror where we saw ourselves reflected- Nilanjana, Bangalore' (Saheli, 2006: 115)

While *Jagori* and *Swayam* having funding are able to intervene in a more focused way at the community level, tackling the issue on an individual basis, influencing conditioned practices and mindsets and also providing crisis support to survivors of violence. However, they too are not spared of the issue of sustainability given that funding is project based and for a limited period of time (Feldman, 2003; Pearce, 2000).

Thus, taking an aerial view of the strategies I have argued that though SMO and NGO strategize and intervene at different levels, they contribute to the larger grid of work on combating VAW at the regional and national level.

After this review of practice I come to the question, if funding makes a difference to the work undertaken by SMO and NGO at the field level.

## Chapter 5

# The Dynamics of Funding and Internal Functioning

This chapter relates the findings from the case study analysis to the contentious debate between SMO and NGO.

The issue of donor funding remains to be a contentious and a guarded area with both the SMO and NGO. My enquiry on the role of funding and its linkages to organisational work stirred discomfort among interviewees and evoked mixed reactions, ranging from ‘no comments’- (Anupriya, Programme Staff -Safe Delhi Campaign, *Jagori*), to coded responses. In the following section, I have chosen some of the issues raised in the debate as my analytical categories to unpack the very loaded and contested issue of funding between SMO and NGO.

### 5.1 Paradox of Accountability

The issue of ‘*Accountability*’, with regard to funding, surfaced to be an area of diverse view points and embedded ideologies for both SMO and NGO. *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO) eloquently expressed their stand of being autonomous from institutional funding for reasons of not being bound by accountability towards donor funding.

‘We felt that we did not want to be accountable to one individual or institution giving funds for all our work. Also, when money is given through institutions there is certain kind of expectation, so *Sabeli* did not want to be accountable in this way. We needed to be accountable towards the people and those who were donating. Thus, collective functioning and not taking institutional funding have been our pillars for work’ (Sadhna, Senior Member, *Sabeli*).

This brought out the issue of ‘upward accountability’ commanded by institutional funding vis-à-vis ‘downward accountability’ towards the people at large (i.e. individual donors, survivors etc) where the latter is more possible through generating one’s own funds. It also unravels that donor accountability as conceptualised by *Sabeli* does not get contained with the issue of accounting for funds alone. It reflects the complexity that ‘funding’ inherently carries; the power to direct organisations towards issues to be taken up, ways of addressing them, overtly and covertly impinging on their independence to work. Even, in the context of raising funds there has been a conspicuous thought for not taking huge donations from individuals which also imposed a sense of accountability towards a particular donor, curtailing autonomous functioning (Saheli, 2006: 96). Thus, accountability towards women and the larger population and not complying with any donor funding was perceived by *Sabeli* as ‘autonomy’ shaping and sharpening its politics and work.

On the flip side, interviews with *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) brought out a more nuanced understanding of ‘funding’, connoting a

phenomenon of dual accountability. Both the NGO's conceptualised a two pronged process of accountability. One towards the donors, in respect to the funds received and second, towards the women, community and general people for and with whom they work.

Accountability was understood as a process, linking work done at the ground level to the broader conceptualisation within the programmatic framework proposed to the donors. The concept of making organic linkages between downward and upward accountability contradicts in practise the theory of NGO's being donor driven (Jad, 2007; Bendana, 2006; Feldman, 2003). Both *Jagori* and *Swayam* interpret autonomy in a different way, exercised in '*working with donors on their own terms*' (interviews).

'Donor funding that *Swayam* gets is on its own terms and is for issue based work. For e.g. the donors allocate funds broadly for campaign work, but the issue to be raised, nature of the campaign, and the rest of it is decided by the organization, so here the autonomy of using the funds depends on *Swayam*. We do not believe to work in favour of the month kind of funding. So it's really up to each organization to work on one's own terms' (Anuradha Kapoor, Founder Member/Director, *Swayam*).

Hence, I would argue that the issue of accountability instead of bifocal has diversified meaning and interpretations rooted in differing ideological stands. In the context of SMO, it is evidently embedded in their political ideology of 'autonomy from institutional funding'. It gives them freedom of politics from complying with donor mandates, essentially to be rooted in the real life experiences. However, in case of downward accountability towards people at large, despite the intent of SMO, the coverage is apparently generic, lacking tangible ways of being associated with women survivors and/or community. Specifically for SMO's like *Sabeli* which shifted from direct intervention to policy level work, not being grounded in a community base, clearly compromises on its ideological stand of autonomy and accountability towards people. This provides vital food for thought to the critics who consider the work of donor funded NGO's as having a 'generic coverage', being 'project oriented' and unable to realise any fundamental social change (Feldman, 2003: 22; Pearce, 2000: 53). Thus, it can be argued that the above shift dilutes downward accountability of *Sabeli* in practice, contradicting the debate which contends that SMO's are more mass based and grounded (Sangari, 2007). Hence, I would profoundly posit that there lies a critical difference between being mass based and being grounded in community based work. Where, just reaching out to masses with accountability towards all in principle and towards none in practice grossly nullifies downward accountability as professed.

This poses a critical question, as to who are eventually SMO's accountable to? Perhaps this is the reason for characterising SMO's as being mere 'mass agitation' and reactionary groups to one off cases and 'think tanks' for policy level debates (Bendana, 2006: 15). The shift in constituencies of work from direct intervention to mass based interventions and still grappling to be rooted is conspicuous in *Sabeli's* work on SH with youth in schools and colleges.

However, reflections by *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) working within a programmatic framework though at one hand adhere to donor requirements but on the other, try to locate their work in community based



interventions, ensuring accountability in field level processes. The analysis of the cyclic movement within strategies of NGO's shows their long term visioning of community ownership for sustenance. Thus, it can be argued that the apparently divergent notions of accountability juxtaposed with SMO and NGO, on a case based analysis divulges that both organisations irrespective of being funded or non-funded have a sense of accountability in consonance to the level at which they work.

## 5.2 Donor Driven Agendas

The issue of funding is often perceived as a package deal with which comes donor mandates and agendas realised through rigid mechanisms of reporting and management implying a hierarchical structure (interviews: *Saheli*). However, the interviews with *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) interestingly revealed myriad processes and discussions on alternative and varied internal structures and ways of functioning.

The conceptualisation of programmes for donor funding which is evidently perceived to be a top down process, in practice is conceptualised, written and proposed by programme staff (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*). This is done through base line surveys, community meetings, stake holder analysis which then feeds into developing a programme proposal, establishing a two way process (Swayam Report, 2005-09). Thus, programmatic proposals are developed with a broader vision and understanding of VAW, making initiatives inclusive. Similarly, *Swayam* during the tenure of International campaign to stop violence against women and girls contextualises the issue. Thus, does not blindly implement international agendas and mandates but are guided by them, to 'glocalise' the issue of VAW and related interventions (interviews: *Swayam*).

However, the issue of working in a programmatic mode showed a mixed bag of experiences (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*). Unpacking the phrase 'donor mandates' brought forth a more operational meaning in terms of programmatic and financial reporting to donors and following systems & procedures in carrying out the same. Systems like quarterly reports, activity, event and progress reports were initially started as a part of donor requirements but in the present context, forms an integral part of the organisational functioning. These assist in systematic and transparent organisational functioning with clear division of work and responsibilities. It ensures constant review of ongoing work, ascertaining accountability within the program team, towards women, communities, as well as donors. However, this functional hierarchy has also institutionalised structural rigidities bringing in power dynamics that persists to threaten the principles of equality among staff members (interviews: *Swayam*).

The logical framework format as a methodology for reporting, a product of structural mechanism is another critical area of contestation between *Swayam* and donors. The inability of the reporting tool to capture and reflect the qualitative aspect of work and stressing on quantification has been an arena of ongoing challenge and struggle for the program staff. Thus, creating spaces for dialogue, discussions with donors has been an area of negotiation which has resulted in adapting the logical framework in accordance to the qualitative

aspect of issue based work. However, the efforts do not cease at this and strategic engagement is envisioned by the program staff on long term basis (interviews: *Swayam*).

‘The process of reporting is a little problematic, earlier it was much easier to report and now the reporting is very management and number oriented in terms of output and input measurement. This kind of reporting format is not suited for our kind of work and then funding agencies are accountable to others who demand such deliverables, so everybody is a part of this cycle of accountability. So, whilst it’s become more difficult to report back now days, it has also made us think more about our work and its impact. This has its advantage and disadvantages, where in one hand we think a lot but on the other hand end up wasting a lot of time collecting data and information for reporting’ (Anuradha Kapoor, Founder Member/Director, *Swayam*).

Even in *Saheli* (non-funded, SMO) the churning on funding did not really end at retaining autonomy from institutional funding but issues related to human and financial resources surfaced in varied ways. The growing facets of case work at *Saheli* during the 1980’s had led to the induction of full timers along with volunteers. The dynamics of division of work and responsibility surfaced within the interaction of full timers and volunteers. This brought in differing notions of accountability, in a way threatening the organisational practise of collective functioning (Saheli, 2006: 98). Interviews with *Saheli* reflect the organisational frustration and struggle between these two divergent yet pertinent needs of functioning for effective working. Where ‘each tends to view the other’s work inputs and outputs differently, with expectations of accountability weighed more heavily on those who do take money. In contrast, volunteers can take on a ‘holier than thou’ attitude when they fulfil their own commitment to the organisation!’ (ibid). Thus, the growing tension became one of the reasons to stop case work but the question of differing accountability and responsibility vis-à-vis sustainability of work continues to be an issue of contention.

‘Ensuring mechanism of accountability in collective functioning has been a big issue with us despite of experimenting different kind of structures with the challenge of not falling into a hierarchical structure. There have been very many debates and related principles and sometimes one invests more energy in such debates vis-à-vis the work itself. This has remained as an intensive debate, has also led to inter personal misunderstandings, like people who tend to take initiative also become leaders of the group and become more visible bringing in a different power dynamics and related hierarchy. [...] The major disadvantage of collective democratic functioning is that the work suffers and/or is not done at all vis-à-vis hierarchical functioning. However, it is a worthwhile struggle, as ultimately we are trying to challenge such a society which is hierarchical to make it more participatory’ (Sadhna, Senior Member, *Saheli*).

So, while collective functioning is an integral component of *Saheli*’s work it simultaneously poses challenges i.e. lack of accountability, prolonged delay in completion of tasks, shifting responsibility and lack of clarity on division of work etc. Thus, members are constantly pulled between the principle and practical aspects of collective functioning. However, interviews with *Swayam*

challenged the notion of collective functioning adhered by autonomous women's organisations like *Sabeli*.

‘The feminist understanding of a truly flat organization does not exist as there is no such thing as a non-hierarchical space. Hierarchy comes with responsibility despite of believing in equality. Even in a collective there are hierarchies, depending on who you are, where you come from, what language you speak, the resources you can access the people you know etc. Everything contributes towards how you can influence that collective. So how can one say that there is no hierarchy? All collectives that exist will have few people as voices and as representatives’ (Anuradha Kapoor, Founder Member/Director, *Swayam*).

Considering which I would then argue that with or without funding, both functional hierarchy vis-à-vis collective functioning are faced with issues of accountability and responsibility central to which are power inequalities. This is manifested in the friction between emerging leadership and group representation in a so called ‘flat organisation’ bringing in a quotient of power politics i.e. *Sabeli* (non-funded, SMO). While, *Jagori* and *Swayam* (donor funded NGO) also reflect a consistent battle with structural stringency and hierarchical impersonation through systems and procedures. However, it is important to note that both SMO and NGO challenge the inherent inequalities vested in these structural mechanisms.

### 5.3 Professionalism vs. Commitment

Closely linked to the debate on funding and hierarchical play of organisational structures is the critique of growing professionalization vis-à-vis commitment towards issue based work. Given which, being funded or non-funded did not get limited to the institutional paraphernalia alone but also influenced the role and work of individuals working in SMO and NGO.

‘Professionalism and professionalization’ surfaced as convoluted jargons within the development work which demanded further probing. Both these terms showed a common thread of thinking, essentially connoting work that was paid and/or done for remuneration, as a source of livelihood. It also had an underlying intonation that individuals taking up issue based work, as a job, are not motivated through commitment and lacked political orientation towards the issue of VAW. Whereas, commitment was perceived as a virtue that posits in the act of ‘volunteering for a cause’ (interviews: *Swayam*). This evoked impromptu responses, compelling to demystify the value based assumptions of ‘professionalization’.

‘I am a professional, I am doing my work with professionalism, and I am doing my activism professionally’ (Anuradha Kapoor, Founder Member/Director, *Swayam*).

‘To me professionalization means commitment towards the issue of VAW. Addressing which, I am doing my bit to the best of my ability, staunchly believing and practising that personal is political. Why then should I be averted to being called a development professional’ (Sukanya Gupta, Coordinator, ISAC<sup>13</sup>, *Swayam*)

Thus, being professional and doing issue based work professionally evolved more than a way of working which had a subjective interpretation. The commitment towards the issue based work was expressed in instances of providing immediate support to survivors in crisis through professional services. It was shared that the genesis of *Swayam* had been to provide holistic support system for women survivors of violence, in the context of *Kolkata*. Though other collectives and networks tried providing support to individual women but with limited capacity, resources and working only for few hours twice a week could not offer sustainable solutions (interviews: *Swayam*). Here the critical question is, despite bridging this crucial gap in combating VAW, why then are support services trivialised and NGO’s tagged as a mere service delivery mechanisms? (Bendana, 2006; Sangari, 2007).

Anindita Majumdar (Assistant Director, *Swayam*) questioning the above conjecture stated -

‘Earlier, one would create all of this awareness but what options did women have? Today there are many more options that women have to combat VAW. I think it is limiting to say one or the other; we got to move towards how the organisations that are institutionalized can contribute in a positive manner in furthering the cause of the women’s movement rather than saying that NGO’s are redundant and are weakening the movement. I think there is need for dialogue because every group has its relevance’.

## 5.4 Concluding Remarks

The above analysis on the issue of funding reveals some crucial points for deliberation, fundamentally urging to look beyond ‘funding’ at some other vital factors which permeate within these two apparently divergent civil society organisations. The analysis at the organisational level brings out that issues of downward *vs.* upward accountability; leadership; volunteering *vs.* paid work; collective functioning *vs.* functional hierarchical are central to both SMO and NGO. It uncovers their struggle with the vitiating politics of power and threatening inequalities. Interestingly, this inherent power politics gets camouflaged by lopsided controversies of ‘professionalization’, ‘upward accountability’, ‘privatisation of services’, ‘donor mandates and agendas’ in global level debates, severely dichotomising SMO and NGO. However, the field level study of *Sabeli*, *Jagori* and *Swayam* and analysis of their conception and strategies in praxis, diffuses the boundaries of categorisation in theorisation of civil society organisations of being an-SMO and NGO.

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<sup>13</sup> Initiative For Social Action and Change Team

## Conclusion: Issues at Stake

The debate on the opposition and differences between two kinds of civil society organisations occurring globally, when contextualised to field level reality unearthed a gamut of processes which dispels the sharp distinction made between SMO and NGO.

This study through the case based analysis of one non-funded SMO (*Sabeli*) and two donor funded NGO (*Jagori* and *Swayam*) reveals that the broad conceptualisation and strategies on the issue of VAW have overarching similarities. The analysis of their work at the organisational and programmatic levels shows fluidity and interlinkage in strategies by SMO and NGO which are cyclic in approach and contribute uniquely towards the larger work on the issue of VAW.

I have argued that the comparative analysis of the conceptualisation of VAW and strategies by SMO and NGO debunks the relevance of funding in practise. The study illustrates that there is a critical need to move beyond the issue of funding in order to analyse how these organisations are positioned in the larger framework of VAW and its ideological roots. The differences between the organisations were related to critical conceptual differences infused by deep seated political ideologies.

Thus, the above analysis urges the debate to be re-cast on different lines, raising other critical issues at stake such as -If strategies by SMO and NGO so get translated as conceptualised and address the root cause of gender inequalities and related injustices? How do they ensure accountability towards the people, specifically women? How are funds being used rather than limiting the discussion to 'funding'? How relevant is sustainability for issue based work? These broader issues are central to both SMO and NGO.

One of the key issues is sustainability of actions and if VAW is addressed in analogy of 'triangle of violence'- direct, structural and cultural violence laying the foundation of a transformative process for accessing social justice, in the absence 'negative peace' and the prevalence of 'positive peace'(Galtung,1969: 183). This is clearly something that only NGO's are able to fulfil unless SMO's have full time political activists with or without funding. The fundamental issue then is that not all civil society organisations can do similar kinds of work and hence differ in objective and organisational capacity. Therefore, 'civil society' should be seen as a political space where different actors contribute in different ways reflecting complementarity in their overall ways of working. For instance, the study illustrates that *Jagori* and *Swayam* though critical of the State collaborate with it, whereas *Sabeli* does not. This in practice could be politically crucial because it's vital to have some groups/organisations which remain outside the realm of the State, as a watchdog. In fact there already exist trends of joint interventions and partnerships on the issue of VAW (review of Websites). The need of multiple strategies at multiple levels and limitation of either resources and/or capacity of organisational work has led these organisations to forge issue based liaisons, and collectively raise the issue on a

larger scale for a greater influence ‘*doing more with much less resources*’ (interviews: *Jagori* and *Swayam*). This is aptly summarized by members of *Sabeli* who stated-

‘It is imperative for all of us in the movement to weave together the various approaches: individual support work, campaigning and agitating, legislative reform, gender sensitization of police and judiciary and women centred research in order to carry forward the struggle’ (Saheli, 2006: 16).

Anuradha Kapoor, Founder Member/Director, *Swayam* reiterated this stating-

‘Spaces like Aman<sup>14</sup> evoke participation of groups on the basis of their commitment towards the issue and within their own capacity take initiatives in pragmatic and creative ways, so it is good to keep some forums non-funded’.

This arguably dispels the perceptible contradictions between non-funded SMO’s and donor funded NGO’s.

However, it should be noted that these findings are specific to a particular context and in other situations the contradictions between SMO’s and NGO’s may well be sharper. There remains relevance of the broader debate but it is important that critical comparative research is undertaken on these issues at stake so that the issue of social transformation and justice is not lost by focusing only on a narrow understanding of the implications of ‘funding’.

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<sup>14</sup> ‘Aman Global Voices for Peace in the Home’ is a non-funded network strategising against domestic violence. It consists of 70 groups from 19 States in India and representation from 4 countries UK, USA, Canada and India (Swayam Website).

# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1 Coordination Matrix between Research Questions and Methodology

Research Questions	Information Set	Data Gathering Methods
Are funded NGO's donor driven with different conceptions and strategies for combating VAW as compared with non-funded SMO's?	<p>To understand the patterns of differences and similarities in conceptualization of VAW; and combat strategies addressing the issue of VAW by donor funded NGO's and non-funded SMO's.</p> <p>A comparative analysis of the following three organisations has been undertaken</p> <p><u>Case Study A-</u> <i>Sabeli</i> (non-funded, SMO)</p> <p><u>Case Study B-</u> <i>Jagori</i> (donor funded NGO)</p> <p><u>Case Study C-</u> <i>Swayam</i> (donor funded NGO)</p>	<p><u>For All Three Organisations</u></p> <p><u>Primary Information-</u></p> <p><u>Organisational Level:</u></p> <p>In-depth interviews with 3-4 founder members/ senior level activists of the organisation. This would enable to understand the organisational journey, ideological stand on the issue of VAW. Also help trace linkages to the conceptualisation and use of strategies.</p> <p><u>Programmatic Level:</u></p> <p>Semi-structured interviews with 3-4 program staff /members involved in conceptualization and implementation of strategies on VAW.</p> <p><u>Secondary Data:</u></p> <p>- Analysis of annual reports and website material.</p>
What is the conceptualisation of 'violence' by a non – funded SMO and donor funded NGO?	<p>- Information to understand the embedded notions and concepts in the conceptualisation of VAW. Tracking the shifts and changes in overall understanding over a period of time.</p> <p>- Make linkages to related strategies enquiring the larger ideological basis of organisational work.</p>	<p><u>Primary Information-</u></p> <p><u>Organisational Level:</u></p> <p>In-depth interview of the 3-4 founder members/senior level activists.</p> <p><u>Programmatic Level:</u></p> <p>Semi-structured interviews with 3-4 program staff /members involved in conceptualization and implementation of strategies on VAW.</p> <p><u>Secondary Data:</u></p> <p>- Intensive study of published event based reports/ Newsletters/ website material to understand ongoing interventions of VAW and identify strategies for analysis.</p> <p>- Publications reflecting stated ideology, vision and mission on the issue of VAW.</p> <p>- IEC material on interventions i.e. campaign and other related documents</p> <p>- Other outreach material on the issue of VAW.</p>
What strategies are followed and are there differences in the nature of work between a non-funded SMO and donor funded NGO?	<p>- Information generated for reflections on the strategies undertaken by both SMO's and NGO's over a period of time. Identifying strategies which will form the basis of comparison; trace evolving patterns and shifts.</p> <p>- Make linkages with conceptualisation of VAW at the programmatic level and to the broader objectives and organisational understanding.</p>	<p><u>Primary Information-</u></p> <p>In-depth interview of the 3-4 members/programme staff involved in hands on implementation identified strategies on the issue of VAW.</p> <p><u>Secondary Data</u></p> <p>- Analysis of event based publication and website material.</p>

Research Questions	Information Set	Data Gathering Methods
Do donor organizations restrict the mandate of the funded NGOs?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Information to understand the processes, changes undergone by NGO receiving donor funding.</li> <li>- Understand compromises, conflicts and negotiations made between donors and funded NGO's; tracing its relevance to overall conceptualisation and strategies on the issue of VAW.</li> </ul>	<p><i>Primary Information:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In-depth interview of the 3-4 founder members/senior level activists.</li> </ul> <p><i>For Case study B &amp; C</i></p> <p>Semi-structured interview with 3- 4 members/program coordinators/project staff involved conceptualisation and implementation of strategies.</p>



## **Appendix 2**

### **Overview of Theoretical frameworks on VAW**

The theoretical exponents have developed models that range from micro-oriented theories which focus on the intra- individual and social psychological explanations to that of macro-sociocultural explanations and to further multidimensional theories (Jasinski, 2001:7). The micro-oriented theories base its reasoning of VAW on individual characteristics and trace its linkages with various other frames. One of them is the social learning theory which propounds that the cause of violence is deeply associated with the process of socialisation in which case family is the primary seat of learning. Hence, this theory is also termed as the ‘intergenerational transmission of violence’ (Kalmuss, 1984; O’Leary, 1988; Straus et al., 1980). It premises on the reasoning that individuals exposed to any kind of violence in their early years of life are more prone to practising violence in their own lives. Also, apart from the family other social institutions like culture, subculture and the media play a critical role in socialising human beings. The social learning theory is strongly critiqued for its linear approach and generalisation, that individuals experiencing violence during childhood would grow up to be perpetrators. However, critics on this perspective are of the view that having been a victim of violence or witnessing the same could have an influence but not essentially is the sole reason for leading a violent relationship. Further, they address the issue of women tolerating violent relationships as not a consequence of ‘learned helplessness’ rather it should be considered as an exercise of covert strategies by women to avoid further violence in face of overt resistance or opposition (ibid). Gondolf (in Jasinski, 2001: 8) posits his critique by proposing the model of ‘survivorship’, which establishes women as survivors of violence rather than victims. It also identifies the perpetuation of violence by existing social structures which deprives women the access to resources.

Building on the above critical review, the macro-sociocultural approach conceptualises socio cultural factors as being central to the act of violence. This perspective thrives on the cultural acceptance of violence along with other ‘theories of patriarchy or feminist perspective, subcultures of violence, and structural stress’ (Jasinski, 2001:12). In this context the deliberations by the feminists have added a critical angle to the existing models of VAW. Feminist discourses have unravelled the patriarchal character of social institutions which breeds inequality, perpetuates violence, reproduces and sustains the same. The structure reifies the societal norms, stereotypical gender biases and discriminatory practices against women, valorising male dominance and power by shrouding women to be the second sex (ibid). The feminist theories per se have transcended the dichotomy of the Marxist feminist’s emphasis on ‘production and private property’ and radical feminist proposition of ‘sexuality’ being the core reasons for women’s oppression and subordination. The criticism of these theories being ‘western’ lead to the inclusion of the voices and lived experiences of ‘women of colour’ from the ‘third world’(Omvedt, 1990: 14). This aptly addressed the issue of electism among gender, class, capitalism, socio culture, sexuality, race etc bringing forth a more intersectional and integrationist approach to counter VAW (ibid).

The multi-dimensional theorists further took cognisance of both social factors and individual characteristics (drugs, alcohol, etc) to develop a model based on principles of exchange theory<sup>15</sup> and social control theory<sup>16</sup> explaining the phenomenon of VAW. Whereby, Gelles (in Jasinski, 2001: 15) points that violence against women persists as the rewards from engaging in this kind of behaviour are higher to the costs of doing /practising the same. The costs remain low as social institutions do not challenge the VAW, which in turn is supported by 'culture' giving men the leverage to do what they feel like, 'in other words men hit women because they can'. Furthermore, models within the umbrella of gender and violence have tried to incorporate the feminist perspective along with those who advocate for the family violence framework. Both hold divergent views on the role played by 'the patriarchal system in violence against women' with regard to the issue of domestic violence. However, the point of contemplation in this remains the contradictions between the dynamics of 'structural and personal characteristics' in the perpetration of VAW (ibid: 16-17).

In the above backdrop it becomes evident that most of these theories address one factor over the other as the pivotal cause for VAW. However, it is apparent that a more holistic model is required which integrates the aforementioned theories, conceptualizes violence as dynamic yet contextual phenomenon which through its multi-pronged applicability would aptly tackle and address the multifaceted causal factors of VAW. This theorisation is comprehensively reflected in Galtung's model of violence.

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<sup>15</sup> Exchange Theory- 'assumes that all human interaction is guided by the pursuit of rewards and the avoidance of punishment' (Jasinski, 2001: 15).

<sup>16</sup> Social Control Theory-'suggests that deviant or criminal behavior will occur in the absence of societal norms to sanction the behavior' (Jasinski, 2001: 15).

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