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Funding for Gender Equality in India: Applying a Feminist Lens

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Abstract

While funding committed to gender equality has increased steadily over the last five years, globally, only 1% of funds have reached women's rights organisations. A unique opportunity to part ways with these existing trends and implement reliable, effective funding for gender equality is currently arising in India, where new forms of organised philanthropic giving are emerging. This paper maps the contemporary funding patterns for gender equality in India through a desk review and detailed virtual interviews with domestic Indian philanthropies and key informants in the sector. Using an intersectionality-based analysis framework to identify emerging trends and analyse their implications, we conclude that political and corporate factors continue to drive funding to the surface of gender equality, with feminist organising[1] having to rely on a trickle-down from the large funding to health, education, and livelihoods. This pattern perpetuates existing trends and continues to starve movements that challenge the hegemonic power of much-needed funds.

Keywords: gender equality, philanthropy, India, women empowerment, giving in India, funding, feminist ecosystems, intersectionality, intersectional feminism

1 Feminist organising is a hold-all term for all manners of mobilising that challenges gender relations. This includes - but is not limited to - forming organisations, building movements and networks and engaging with communities. - Mouzinho, Âurea, and Sizaltina Cutaia. "Reflections on feminist organising in Angola." Feminist Africa 22 Feminists Organising—Strategy, Voice, Power (2017): 33

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Table of Abbreviations

AWID Association for Women's Rights in Development

CSO Civil Society Organisation

CSR Corporate Social Responsibility wing

FCRA Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act 1976

IBPA Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis

OECD The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

SHG Self Help Groups

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1. Introduction

Funders increasingly agree that support for women and girls is critical for an equitable future.[2] As the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) notes, there is a trend of having 'the presence of women and girls as a priority - at least a rhetorical one - in nearly every funding sector and in the mainstream'.[3] Globally, multilateral and bilateral funding institutions have announced more than $1bn (£0.8bn) in new commitments to support gender equality throughout the last two years. However, only 1% of gender equality funding actually reaches women's rights and feminist organisations that do a bulk of the core organising and movement-building work that challenges and subverts the hegemonic power at the heart of gender injustice.[4] There is mounting evidence pointing to the role of vibrant feminist movements in influencing policy,[5] directing fund flows[6] and fundamentally thwarting patriarchy.[7] Why, then, are these groups left with the tiniest pots of money? This requires critical, nuanced examination.

On the regional front, India is witnessing an emergence of new forms of organised philanthropic giving, including new public and private foundations, investments through corporate social responsibilities, and venture philanthropies.[8] This revitalisation of the Indian philanthropic landscape places India in a unique position and presents opportunities to break with existing trends, bridge the gap between the available financial resources and those in need, and significantly advance gender equality in India.

However, India has reached 'middle income country' categorisation and donors, guided by a widespread and erroneous belief that economic growth alone solves all social inequalities, are no longer finding it relevant to invest in long-term social change. Aid agencies are slowly receding from supporting work that advances social justice and instead opting to function in the domain of supporting private sector growth or social enterprises.[9]

At face value, the situation in India seems to mirror the global one - a flood of money to the sector at large, with only a trickle of private funding reaching the core work that moves social change. However, a closer look unveils specific factors that impact the funding landscape in India: the deeply-embedded

1 Jones, Kanyoro, and Nundy, "A New Approach to Gender Lens Grantmaking"; Unterhalter, "A Review of Public Private Partnerships around Girls' Education in Developing Countries"; Mesch et al., "Gender Differences in Charitable Giving".
2 Arutyunova and Clark, "Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots:The Status of Financing for Women's Rights Organizing and Gender Equality".
3 Staszewska, Dolker, and Miller, "Only 1% of Gender Equality Funding to Women's Organizations – Why?"; Dolker, "Where Is the Money for Feminist Organizing?"; Miller and Jones, "Towards a Feminist Funding Ecosystem".
4 Weldon and Htun, "Feminist Mobilisation and Progressive Policy Change".
5 Hessini, "Financing for Gender Equality and Women's Rights".
6 Baksh and Harcourt, Introduction; Miller and Jones, "Towards a Feminist Funding Ecosystem".
7 Nair, "The Opportunity for New Philanthropy".
8 Behar, "Social Enterprise Is Eroding Civil Society".
9 Sociologist Michael Flood defines misogyny as 'an ideology or belief system that has accompanied patriarchal, or male-dominated societies for thousands of years and continues to place women in subordinate positions with limited access to power and decision making'. Julia Serano, in her book Whipping Girl (2007) extends this to include a hatred of the feminine, bringing anti-transness under the umbrella of misogyny.

misogyny[10] in Indian society which normalises gender inequality, the corporatisation of the current philanthropic landscape, and the political will of the current establishment. **Our study investigates this hypothesis by mapping and analysing competing domestic trends in funding for gender-equality in India through an intersectional feminist lens.** We use this lens to nuance our analysis of power by bringing in different identities - like class, caste, religion etc - that sit with gender realities to influence philanthropic giving.

The research is organised into six sections. The introduction lays the groundwork for the study as well as key conceptualisations. The second section outlines the gaps in the existing literature and posits the rationale for the study, while the third one lays down the conceptual frameworks that will support our analysis. The fourth section details our research methodology, while the fifth section details our findings and analysis based on our contextualisation of the funding ecosystem in India. We discuss the implications of our findings, as well as the limitations of this study in the sixth and final section.

Conceptualisation

Globally understood as the use of private resources for public good, **philanthropy** - as a term and practice - has become intrinsically linked with charity through a big part of history.[11] With its etymology in Greek broadly translating to a 'love for humanity', recent work has attempted to provide definitions that help philanthropy break from the sentimentality of charity.[12] The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy (2016)[13] offers a simple distinction: charity addresses symptoms; philanthropy attempts to address causes. If accepted, this definition puts a lot more political, social and financial intentionality and strategy to philanthropic giving that we have come to associate more with institutions than individuals, and is the definition we will be using for the purposes of this research.

It is in this separation from charity that we can start to move towards defining **feminist philanthropy**, which seeks to challenge the hierarchy that the act of 'funding' can create between the 'giver' and the 'receiver' and instead sees both as collaborators with specific goods/services/resources to offer for a collectively visioned change in the world.[14] It also questions who decides what 'public good' is, and envisions a form of giving where funders do not dictate global geo-political agendas through philanthro-capitalism.[15] **Feminist funding doesn't just look at the 'what' of funding, but also the 'how': the modalities of grant-making and reporting**.[16] We posit that funding for feminist or gender equality causes remains incomplete if the principles of feminist funding aren't applied to the process, so this research will treat the two as an extension of one another.

Gender equality has been defined in many different ways in literature and by policymakers and feminist researchers.[17] As such, there are different apptroaches to conceptualising gender equality and strategies for advancing it. According to the United Nations, "Gender equality implies that the inter-

10 Johnson, "Global Philanthropy Report: Perspectives on the Global Foundation Sector"; Godfrey, Branigan, and Khan, "Old and New Forms of Giving"; Jung, Phillips, and Harrow, The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy.
11 Jung, Phillips, and Harrow, The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy.
12 Jung, Phillips, and Harrow.
13 Bosch and Bofu-Tawamba, "Philanthropy Is a Feminist Issue".
14 Jung, Phillips, and Harrow, The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy.
15 Mesch et al., "Gender Differences in Charitable Giving"; Goss, "Foundations of Feminism"; Kirkby, "Class, Gender and the Perils of Philanthropy".
16 Martin, ""Said and Done" versus "Saying and Doing": Gendering Practices, Practicing Gender at Work"; McCall, "The Complexity of Intersectionality"; Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory".
17 UN Women, "Important Concepts Underlying Gender Mainstreaming", 1.

interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration, thereby recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women."[18] For the purposes of this research, we borrow heavily from the UN definition. We define gender equality as equality of interests, needs, priorities, and recognition of diversity among all genders, and not just 'men and women'. However, despite recognising that gender is a spectrum, this research is still bound by its binary construction in the philanthropic space and language, and that reflects in many of our data points and analyses. In addition, for this essay, **intersectionality** will be described as defined by Hankivsky and Cormier, "The term intersectionality references the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities."[19] It is a concept conceived in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw. It explicates and enhances a singular level of gender analysis and allows us to understand the complex, multiple, and overlapping power dynamics and structural inequalities that shape experiences.[20]

It is within this context that we place the definitions and purposes of **Civil Society and Civil Society Organisations** (CSOs). Civil Society and CSOs have been defined by scholars over the last decades,[21] but for the purposes of this study, we are using the World Bank's definition. According to the World Bank: "Civil society ... refers to a wide array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], labour unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations and foundations."[22] Their purpose, simply put, is to strive for sustainable social change.

18 Hankivsky and Cormier, "Intersectionality and Public Policy", 2.
19 Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins".
20 Carothers and Barndt, "Civil Society"; Malena and Finn Heinrich, "Can We Measure Civil Society?"
21 We Forum, "Who and What Is "Civil Society?", 1.
22 Cantegreil, Revealing Indian Philanthropy.

2. Literature Review

The Current Landscape of Philanthropy in India

Charity and philanthropic giving have had a rich, if informal and scarcely documented, history in India.[23] Several recent landscape studies and philanthropic reports, however, suggest that the sector is continuously growing and formalising into institutional givingX+. In 2020,[24] 'private-sector funding totalled about INR 64,000 crore—close to 23% more than in fiscal year 2019.'[25] In terms of the spread and extent of institutional giving, the Harvard Kennedy Business School estimates 583 philanthropic foundations currently operate in India.[26]

The formalisation and institutionalisation of philanthropy in India has often been attributed to the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) law. Section 135 of the Companies Act of 2013 became the first of its kind in the world to mandate companies to give 2% of their profits to social development causes. Today, CSR constitutes 28% of all philanthropic funding in India.[27] However, questions remain whether CSR represents philanthropic giving or not.[28] Philanthropy, as defined earlier,[29] is traditionally understood as giving with a self-driven vision for social change. Can philanthropic giving, then, originate from a place of mandatory compliance?

What lies beyond debate, however, is that the CSR law has fundamentally affected giving patterns in India. For one, mandatory compliance situates philanthropic giving within a business model, leading to a cost-based approach that then permeates across the sector today. Additionally, in the name of 'professionalising' the sector, there has been an influx of techno-managerial corporate leadership that structurally shifts how not-for-profit visioning is led.

In such a strictly mandated law, there are also technicalities that create further chasms between charity and philanthropy. The 'local area preference' skews the geographies of intervention to states with the highest development indicators in India. Further, the lack of reporting with disaggregated data makes the whole process marginalisation agnostic. In addition, CSR companies tend to have a top-down approach with more than 80% doing interventions[30] without prior needs assessments.[31] An overt reliance on quantifiable impact and a quarterly reporting cycle is also a major constraint that

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23 Gates Foundation and Sattva, "Domestic Institutional Philanthropy in India: Charting a Course Post COVID-19"; EdelGive and Hurun, "EdelGive Hurun India Philanthropy List 2019"; Sheth et al., "India Philanthropy Report 2020".
24 Sheth et al., "India Philanthropy Report 2020".
25 Johnson, "Global Philanthropy Report: Perspectives on the Global Foundation Sector".
26 Sheth et al., "India Philanthropy Report 2020".
27 Koehn and Ueng, "Is Philanthropy Being Used by Corporate Wrongdoers to Buy Good Will?"; Sasse and Trahan, "Rethinking the New Corporate Philanthropy"; Singh and Verma, "From Philanthropy to Mandatory CSR: A Journey Towards Mandatory Corporate Social Responsibility in India".
28 Jung, Phillips, and Harrow, The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy
29 Balakrishnan, "Where Indian Philanthropy Has Gone Wrong".
30 India Philanthropy Initiative, "Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportunities, 2020"; Centre for Emerging Markets Solutions and F, "Catalytic Philanthropy in India by FSG and IS"".
31 India Philanthropy Initiative, "Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportunities, 2020"; Sheth et al., "India Philanthropy Report 2020".

results in short-term myopic visioning and planning.

Despite CSR laws tightening funding patterns, civil society in India is poised to fall back on the domestic philanthropic system for core organisation movement-building work. The 2020 amendments to the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act 1976 (FCRA) strongly restrict what foreign funds can contribute to. There are two amendments of note that directly affect feminist movements - the revoking of sub-granting to smaller CSOs and collectives and the keeping of administration costs to 20% of the overall budget. Coupled with the CSR mandate of less than 5% administration costs, this directly impedes the organising and movement-building work done, which are all human resource-heavy and grassroots-bound.[32] With reporting compliances getting tighter, funding organisations prefer shorter funding cycles, further straining long-term social change work. Since gender justice, at its core, involves overthrowing age-old power structures,[33] it requires heavy investment in people and processes, both of which stand at odds with the current FCRA and CSR laws.[34]

This also puts a disproportionate responsibility on family and independent foundations in India to carry the weight of funding for long-term, sustainable, grassroot-based social change around gender equality. But are they really carrying it? The Bain/Dasra philanthropy report for 2020 points out that the majority of the funds given by family philanthropies go to education and healthcare, while gender equality - on which India globally performs more poorly - barely gets direct funding.[35]

Gender and philanthropy: an overview

Charitable giving to 'women and girls'[36] has become an active funding area in the last 40 years, particularly for foundations and corporations.[37] As of 2015, globally more than 100 women's funds provide grants for women's rights, reproductive health, economic empowerment, movement building, among other causes.[38]

Although it is encouraging to see the growing attention towards gender equality within the philanthropic sector, there is still room for better use of funding and collaboration, as an OECD report reveals.[39] Feminist scholars note that apart from a few forerunners, not many donors make gender equality a priority.[40] For instance, between 2013-15, 60% of the global $3.7 billion that went to supporting gender equality was attributed to two large[41] foundations.[42]

Further, the Official Development Assistance (ODA) dedicated to gender equality as a primary objective has stalled at around 4% of all bilateral ODA.[43] OECD estimates which classify financial flows of

32 Yuval-Davis, "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics"; Capek and Mead, Effective Philanthropy; Ginsberg and Gasman, Gender and Education al Philanthropy- New Perspectives on Funding,Collaboration, and Assessment; Goss, "Foundations of Feminism'.
33 Godfrey, Branigan, and Khan, "Old and New Forms of Giving"; Gautier and Pache, "Research on Corporate Philanthropy".
34 Sheth et al., "India Philanthropy Report 2020".
35 We found that gender equality has been reduced to "women and girl's causes" - namely menstrual or reproductive health, sexual violence, early marriage, financial literacy etc. These findings have been discussed in detail in the following sections. - Mesch et al., "Gender Differenc es in Charitable Giving"; Dale et al., "Giving to Women and Girls", April 2018..
36 Duflo, "Women Empowerment and Economic Development"; Mesch, "Women and Philanthropy- A Literature Review.Pdf".
37 Otis and Jankowski, "Women, Wealth, and Endowed Philanthropy".
38 OECD, "Insights on Philanthropy For Gender Equality".
39 McCarthy, "Women and Philanthropy"; Pushpa, "Women and Philanthropy in India".
40 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) accounted for almost half of total gender-related giving (USD 1.6 billion; 43%), followed by the usan Thompson Buffet Foundation (STBF) between 2013-15.
41 OECD, "Handbook on the OECD-DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker"; OECD, "Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empower ment".
42 OECD, "Handbook on the OECD-DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker".
43 "Linking Aid to the Sustainable Development Goals – a Machine Learning Approach".

ODA and other global official financial flows, suggest that Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, related to gender equality, may be the third least supported of the SDGs.[44] These numbers are striking as the ODA is considered to be the 'gold standard' of foreign aid and is the main source of global financing for development aid.

Giving for gender equality in India

In India, there is a dearth of comprehensive, cumulative, and gender disaggregated data around philanthropic giving and patterns.[45] However, a 2019 UNDP report notes that the top 100 firms in the country spent a mere 4% of their total expenditure on corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities on women's economic empowerment in the fiscal year 2017-2018.[46] Concurrently there has been decreased social spending and increased vulnerability for women, especially those who belong to minority groups.

Gaps in the existing literature and rationale for the study: According to feminist scholars, global donor philanthropic commitments to women can be categorised into two broad trends: economic empowerment and women as change makers, i.e., as active participants in addressing and solving poverty and development agendas.[47] Having said that, there still exists a wide gap in academic research on philanthropic giving to women and girls, globally. In fact, beyond institutional giving, there is very little information around what specific causes get funded, how gender equality is addressed, or what the vision is for gender equality or women's rights and participation etc.

This gap becomes rather stark in the case of India. In India and elsewhere, there have been no specific national surveys that have evaluated charitable giving to women and girls. A large-scale survey such as The Philanthropy Panel Study (PPS), for instance, provides 11 categories for tracking giving such as religion, education, and health, but not women and girls. In academic studies, researchers have often focused on specific charitable sectors such as education[48] or charity to human services or service creation.[49]

While literature on private philanthropy in India exists, there is very little that takes a feminist lens to the analysis. All causes that claim to work with and on women are seen to be furthering 'gender equality', and this fundamentally obfuscates what we have known in academic and development spaces: that simply instrumentalising women as change agents does not shift the power structures that patriarchy mandates. This study, therefore, attempts to do a preliminary analysis of giving to gender equality through an intersectional feminist lens, mapping some patterns that emerge, and identifying gaps and barriers to entry.

44 This is discussed in more detail in the following sections.
45 UNDP, "Corporate Engagement in Women's Economic Empowerment".
46 Dale et al., "Giving to Women and Girls", April 2018; Mesch et al., "Gender Differences in Charitable Giving"; Miller and Jones, "Towards a Feminist Funding Ecosystem"; McCarthy, "Women and Philanthropy".
47 Mesch et al., "Gender Differences in Charitable Giving".
48 Roberts and Soederberg, "Gender Equality as Smart Economics?"
49 Jenkins, Narayanaswamy, and Sweetman, "Introduction".

3. Conceptual framework

This paper draws on an intersectional feminist framework for its results and discussions. A feminist lens moves beyond the 'what' of funding to gender equality, and expands it to the 'why' and the 'how'. Feminism primarily concerns itself with power between genders: its nature, the way it manifests, who uses it, and how. It contests a binary understanding of power as that between the taker and the giver and contextualises it.[50] Intersectionality nuances this. As Alison Symington says in Intersectionality: a tool for gender and economic justice, intersectionality "lay[s] bare the full complexity and specificity of [gender] rights and development issues, including the structural and dynamic dimensions of the interplay of different policies and institutions."[51]

To understand the reality of why gender is funded as it is in the Indian context, the intersectional feminist lens is indispensable, since the realities of gender are so closely tied to that of caste and class in the everyday performance of patriarchy.[52] Simply accounting for gender, risks taking a myopic view to the complex reality of funding, power, privilege and social change.

To apply this lens, we use the 'Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis (IBPA) framework' developed by Olena Hankivsky et al.[53] The IBPA framework captures and responds to the multi-level, intersecting and interacting social locations, factors and power structures that influence human life and experiences. The policy tool highlights how policies can construct power and privileges vis-à-vis their socio-economic-political status, and well-being of individuals, structures and organisations. Thus, the framework provides a suitable method of understanding the implications of equity relevance and a much-needed intersectional lens to the funding landscape in India.[54]

The IBPA framework has two core components: a set of guiding principles and a list of 12 overarching questions to help guide the analysis. This study only utilises the guiding principles showcased below as the driving tool for structuring the findings of this research. We have grouped the various guiding principles and reframed the terminology as 'Power, Privileges, and Knowledges', 'Social Justice and Equity' and 'Multi-level Implementation'. The definitions have been discussed in detail in section 5.

Mainly, we posit that the core elements of sustainable long-term change such as organising, raising awareness, conducting advocacy, and building collectives tackle the deep structures at the root of gender inequality. In contrast, isolated approaches such as micro-credit, quotas for women without supporting systems change - among other 'magic wand' approaches - water just the leaves of the tree.[55]

50 AWID, "Intersectionality: A Tool for Gender and Economic Justice Gender and Economic Justice", 3.
51 Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India"; Pushpa, "Women and Philanthropy in India".
52 Hankivsky et al., "An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framewor", December 2014.
53 Hankivsky et al., "An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework", December 2014.
54 Arutyunova and Clark, "Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots: The Status of Financing for Women's Rights Organizing and Gender Equality".
55 The methodology has been discussed in detail in the annexure.

4. Methodology

The research design of this study seeks to map what is actually funded under the ambit of gender equality, how it is funded, what drives this giving and what patterns emerge from this process.

To study the question, we took a mixed methods approach, with an emphasis on descriptive data collection methods. We started with a detailed literature review, secondary data analysis and desk review. These were followed by a digital survey of philanthropies in India and semi-structured interviews of selected respondents to the survey.[56] Figure 1 explains the process of data collection.

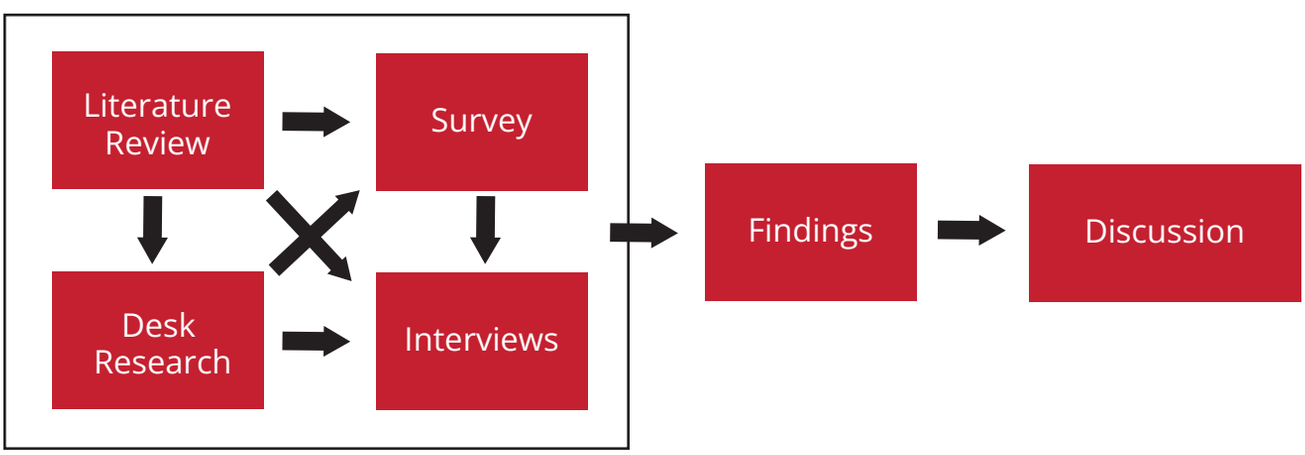

Figure 1: A model of our research methodology and the various interactions between the different research aspects

At the interview stage, we employed purposive sampling, to select the participants for the interviews. There were two (somewhat overlapping) sets of foundations (Table 1) that were interviewed as primary subjects: those who had filled the survey and expressed a willingness to give a longer interview, and those who consistently are seen as the 'big players' in the Indian philanthropic space, i.e., large and influential philanthropies that set the patterns of funding and thereby dictate the politics of fund flows.

Description of Sample

We conducted 33, one-hour, semi-structured interviews[57], in Hindi and English, including two round table discussions with CSOs. The interview participants were divided into two sets: key informants and subject interviews. The key informants were researchers and academics, heads of global and domestic women's funds, board members of philanthropies and corporates, chartered accountants,

56 The interview guide can be found in the appendix.

57 While the subject interviews sought to seek answers from within institutions and their leadership, the key informant interviews contextualised these in a larger socio-political reality.

among others. The subject interviews on the other hand primarily consisted of heads or upper management of philanthropic foundations, corporates, CSRs, and venture philanthropy.[58] The interviews were triangulated by two round tables with CSOs where funding grantees gave first-hand accounts of what the patterns are and where the gaps lie when it comes to raising money for gender equality and related causes.

Their sector-based division is showcased in the graph below (Figure 2).

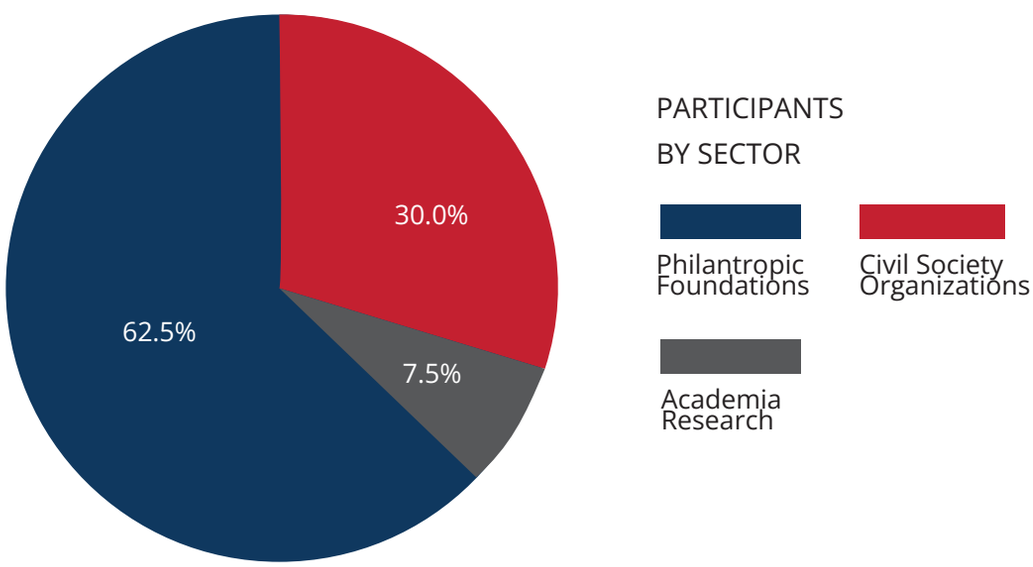

Figure 2: Interview participants divided by sector

The subject interviews, key informant interviews and round tables have been given code names to ensure the anonymity of our participants. The codification follows a simple method of assigning a serial number, followed by acronyms of the type of interview, type of foundation and gender (M/F). Please refer to Table 1 for the detailed list.

58 Hankivsky et al., "An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework", December 2014.

5. Results and Discussion

The following section outlines our research findings and analysis of attitudes, perspectives, and thought processes of our interviewees on the Indian funding ecosystem.

To support our analysis, we have combined the eight guiding principles of the IBPA framework into three brackets, to better represent the varied aspects of our research findings, within the Indian context and ecosystem.[59] The three categories are showcased in Figure 3.

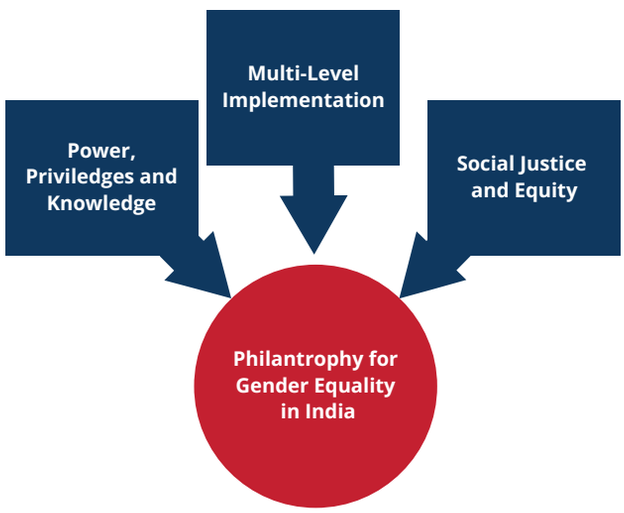

Figure 3: The adapted guiding principles of the IBPA framework to be used in this section.

Power, Privileges and Knowledges: Power plays an essential role in knowledge production, marginalisation, theoretical perspectives, paradigms and representations. We start the section with discussing power within philanthropies and CSOs and then move to analysing how knowledges mediate power between them. We end with the power of the state and compliance, and how it drives specific funding patterns.

Power and decision-making: Of the 65 philanthropies studied as part of desk research, nearly two-thirds were either company-established foundations or CSRs, with family philanthropies making up a significant part of the remaining third[60] (Figure 4). Power and decision-making follow different patterns in both, but a common thread that emerges is the top-heaviness of decision-making. Most funding and strategy decisions seem to be 'approved' by the founder or the chair of the board, concentrating much of the power in a few hands.

> "We are a private foundation, so we don't have a board. The individuals in the family make these strategic and funding decisions. So what we (the team) do is we provide information to the family for them to make their decision." – 7SIFM

59 Independent foundations constitute the remainder.
60 Mesch et al., "Gender Differences In Charitable Giving"; Beck, "Why Women Give To Women: A Portrait Of Gender-Based Philanthropy".

This is at odds with the equity of power the philanthropies are seeking through their work.

We also find that 43% of all CEOs (Figure 5) and 22% of all board chairs/presidents are women (Figure 6), showing numbers of women dwindling as power increases. Transgender and non-binary persons don't find representation at all. However, while there is literature linking women in power to better gender funding,[61] our data shows no significant correlation between women in decision-making roles and more gender-specific grant making (Table 12). The reasons for this could be located in the Indian context, where class and caste perpetuate patriarchy in very particular ways,[62] while also pointing to specific ways in which the corporate world benchmarks success. Clearly, the solution is not as simple as more women having a seat at the table, it is also who these women are and what structures they are embedded in.

> "These boards also are full of mainly men. So even if you're mandated to have one woman, that's not always the case. In the ones that have one woman because of legal compliance, they have got their one family member.... all these women come with their own powers, lack of powers, inheritances, conversations of inheritances...so much." – 14SICF

Women from privileged intersectionalities are often as prone to carrying and perpetuating patriarchal structures as men.[63] At the same time, when such few women find themselves with a seat at the table, they carry even more pressure to perfectly represent all women, and risk becoming the 'single story'.[64] This calls for a keener eye on making boards and decision-making roles not just gender-diverse, but diverse across caste-class-religion identities.

Money, movement-building and privilege: Historically, the women's movement in India has had a tenuous relationship with funding, often seeing both movement-building and feminist organising as voluntary work.

> "One doesn't really talk about the value of money in our movements... In the 90s in India, you kind of came to your feminism as it were, so the resource part was somehow very dirty. And anybody who did anything about getting money, never talked about it. We all saw it as a stipend." – 7KIF

We also find that elements of this continue to seep into present-day budgeting of change processes and are exacerbated by the deeply corporatised, service-delivery approach taken by most philanthropies in India. As a result, budget-lines for human resources remain limited, and timelines for grant-giving keep reducing. Hence, organising for gender equality, a thoroughly process-driven, longitudinal undertaking, remains chronically under-financed.

> "Gender equality work is organising work: it is salaries, it's people's feet on the ground. That's 90% of the work. In a school, are you not going to ask for money for doing work - for teaching? ...A lot of gender equality perspective training work is really action work. So it needs to support grassroots leaders from that community. We are trying to say that let's get to at least wages which are decent... which are meeting mini-mum wage standards." –9RTCSOF

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61 Ambedkar, "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development".
62 Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India".
63 Chimamanda Ngozi Adichi, in her 2013 Ted Talk "The Danger of the Single Story", talks about how only a single narrative about a person or a place can create stereotypes that work to supress entire groups of people by painting them "as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become". This can be extended to understand how marginalised genders are often typecast in certain ways to justify the continued denial of opportunities.
64 Termed as change labour by feminist economists.

The extremely low pay scales in civil society organisations in India also ensure that only those with a financial safety net - i.e., the upper-class elite - find themselves leading these organisations, further limiting the representation of more marginalised women

Globally, several feminist funds work to sensitise the system at large to the needs of funding gender equality, bring more direct funding into the fold, deal with the heavy bureaucracy of grantmaking, and consciously direct fund flows to collectives and organisations that may lack the bandwidth to raise funds. We were able to find only one such fund operating in India - the South Asia Women's Fund India. A respondent outlines here why these funds are crucial to the health of the funding ecosystem at large:

> "I think the whole feminist funding ecosystem is a very important way in which to understand a feminist philanthropy and also the philosophy behind women's funds: to say that when the ecosystem is strong and when the ecosystem is more flexible, it is more responsive to the needs on the ground, and you can really support transformative work. They are even more important because currently our philanthropy is tied up in very restrictive mindsets and practices." – 9KIF

Most philanthropies continue to invisibilise the labour that gender justice work requires.[65] A precarious relationship with funding and a decided lack of diversity in leadership also weakens the ability of the CSOs to demand funding for right-based agendas. The regional and national funds that can mediate this demand are few and far between, creating a chasm in lobbying - and ultimately - funding for gender equality.

Knowledges, language and collaboration: A conversation with Indian philanthropists, when compared to leaders of CSOs, sheds light on two similar themes: language and knowledge. Both contest that the other uses language that takes away from the issue. Where CSOs are accused of using jargonistic language that makes gender justice less accessible, philanthropies are charged with reducing complex realities to numbers. This is embedded in having approached the world and problem-solving in different ways: a classic qualitative vs quantitative split.

With respect to knowledge, both believe they bring the more valuable expertise to the table: CSOs pride their grassroots understanding and experience; philanthropists maintain they bring problem-solving abilities that helped them thrive in business. Ultimately, both feel undervalued in the relationship: where the CSO feels used as just a last mile implementer, the philanthropist feels reduced to a pot of money.

> "The issue is that they do not understand our language and we do not understand theirs...They work in numbers so they will ask for change in numbers. It is difficult for them to understand that the work we do cannot be captured in pure numbers. It is a hard system for everyone... I think the way we all communicate with each other needs to change. We need to understand that their way of working is completely different from how nonprofit sector works and they need to understand that for us too." - 4RTCSOF

65 Registrations required under the Income Tax Act for NGOs and charitable institutions in India.

However, of the 17 subject interviews, only seven reported being an active part of collaboratives or coalitions. Further, the desk review reveals that less than 45% of all philanthropies share their annual reports on the website (Figure 7), and only 32.3% shared their financial reports (Figure 8). As a respondent stated:

> "We are a private foundation with private funds, we do not need to share our investment details with anyone." – 3SIFF

This lack of transparency and collaboration may be seen as the product of several factors. With limited funds, CSOs are often competing for the same pots of money, therefore rejecting collaboration in an attempt to self-preserve. But what of the resource-rich philanthropies? Often directing this behaviour is the capitalist idea of competing for the 'customer' and reducing complex social change to a race between philanthropies to the silver bullet solution. This is the same kind of funding that is concerned with branding every intervention with logos and pithy catch lines, wanting to set it apart from the other interventions of its kind. However, this lies in direct conflict with the realities of the social development space, which rely on collaboration and knowledge-sharing to be able to affect change at scale. A benefit of collaboration is discussed by an interviewee from the philanthropic sector. They say,

> "Collaborators make sense in Philanthropy in India because it helps in hedging the risk of funding. To be able to help manage this risk, we come together… I think coalitions play a very important role especially going forward in the risk mitigation, hedging of funds, and being able to find more than what individuals would be able to." (16IIIF)

Navigating centres of power: When discussing the roles and responsibilities of philanthropies and CSOs in furthering gender equality, it becomes imperative to talk about the state and its use of the legal apparatus to create, re-locate, and diminish centres of power in the funding landscape.

With growing compliances required of CSOs, a respondent asks the question,

> "Everyday there is something new to learn within bureaucracy - a new online portal, a new way to observe compliance, a new form to fill. When do we actually practice thought leadership?" – 2RTCSOM

Another respondent locates an emerging centre of power, and its potentially devastating impact on civil society at large:

> "You have your 12A and 80g.[66] Earlier we were all doing the work and nobody was asking about the nitty-gritties of the compliances. Now it's a five year [renewal] cycle. So, who ends up advising these philanthropies? Chartered accountants. Who don't care about philanthropy. They just want to ensure you're on the right side of the law. They will advise you to take the path of least resistance. And you must comply or the government will shut you down. This is how you suck all risk-taking ability out of civil society." - 1KIM

With compliances constantly shifting the landscapes of power - from corporates to lawyers to now chartered accountants - accountability becomes that much harder to pin to individuals and institutions. This concentrates power in the hands of the state that all entities ultimately become subservient to.

66 Registrations required under the Income Tax Act for NGOs and charitable institutions in India.

We can thus see that power plays a crucial role in the philanthropic ecosystem. The nuances of power within, around, and over philanthropic foundations throw up multi-factoral, complex realities within which funding for gender equality must be seen. The discourse shifts away from blaming individual actors and instead locates the lack of gender equality funding in specific processes and structures.

Social Justice and Equity: Intersectionality studies place a deep emphasis on social justice and within that purview falls the idea of equity. Simply put, equity is concerned with fairness. Inequities exist when differences in outcomes are not context-specific, but are unjust or unfair. This section examines how social justice is defined in the domestic philanthropic space, and how gender equality fits into that ambit. And how, when philanthropy meets capitalism, gender equality must compete for its place in an unforgiving economy of visibility and attention.

Funding whose vision and language?: The primary giving areas for philanthropies in India are health, livelihood, poverty alleviation and education. These are also the most recurring words in the vision and mission of organisations, along with other recurring notions such as 'nation building' and 'fighting poverty' rather than 'human rights', 'equality' or 'social justice'. Of the philanthropies analysed as a part of the desk research, only 21.5% have mentioned gender in their vision and mission statement (Figure 10).

However, gender does find a mention under secondary programmes for nearly 60% of the philanthropies reviewed (Figure 13). A further reading of this fact reveals the broad definitions that are often applied to gender justice. In a majority of the interviews, the assumption was that if the organisation was working with women, it was working on gender equality. A large number of grants, especially those that tangentially address gender, tend to see women as instruments of change, and rely on them to do much of the change-making. All this is illustrated in this quote from a respondent:

> "I am saying that the gender piece automatically comes up in education...From a gender lens, if we are focussing on tribal[s], amongst tribal[s], gender is the women. So, the moment we say tribal, the focus is going to be on women... When we have to actually work with a community to demand government services and all, it is women only. As in, men will not come to solve any problem so the community, only the women are coming. Since the inclusion always comes from women to solve the problem, so the solution design by default is leaning towards the women." - 1SICM

At the same time, only 2 out of the 17 subject interviews actually sought gender disaggregated data in their reporting. This tokenistic idea of addressing gender extends to the imagery of 'empowered women and girls' that are splashed across 92% of annual reports and websites (Figure 12).

A further nuance that reflects in subject interviews with corporate philanthropies, when talking about gender, is the avoidance of any 'rights-based' or 'equality' language. Instead, we see a repeated occurrence of the words 'women's empowerment', 'education for girls', 'changemakers', 'victims', etc. This suggests a reluctance to engage with women as equals, and instead sees them as projects to be 'fixed'. This construction of philanthropy as charity only replaces traditional gender power inequalities with vertical donor-beneficiary relationships creating their own cycles of dependency and hegemony.

Thus, our findings suggest that the understanding of funders about women and girls show conflicting tendencies: women are portrayed either as victims of violence or trafficking or are seen as heroic individuals with the responsibility to carry social change in their communities by themselves.[67] This purview ultimately results in funding for legal-medical remedies or investing in women as beneficiaries to their families, communities and society. Very few philanthropies attack structural gender inequalities by funding collectives advocating for their rights, networks and movements seeking policy changes, CSOs working with comprehensive sexuality education and deepening local democracy, etc. Fewer still insist on a gender lens being applied across programmatic interventions (from education to health), earmarking funds to get to the heart of why and how misogyny embeds itself in everyday life. What is funded and not is also reflective of a historical undervaluing of emotional labour.[68] So, core organising work - largely consisting of nuanced communication and negotiation with communities and individuals - goes unrecognised as labour and, as a result, remains unfunded.

Social justice within limited means: Limiting the definition of gender equality to surface phenomena also has a direct impact on how 'urgent' it looks to funders of any type. Even as newer forms of fund-raising and giving emerge - crowd-funding, retail funding, venture philanthropy, etc - gender equality finds itself losing the 'oppression olympics'[69] over and over.

> "Women's causes have not really picked up in terms of retail fundraising with us. They are one of the least funded causes online. It could be because gender is more abstract, it is difficult to quantify the impact...." – 5KIF

The responsibility of ensuring that the all-pervasive nature of gender inequality is made more urgent to funders is often thrust upon grassroots organisations and their communication strategies. As one respondent says:

> "If women's rights organisations don't manage to tug at the heart strings of funders, why will they open their purse strings?" - 4KIM

When gender equality enters the philanthropic marketplace, it becomes a product that must be 'sold' rather than understood and programmed for. It raises the question of what, then, is marketable when it comes to issues. Are battered women easier to fund for than empowered women wanting to set their own agendas? Are school kits given to girls easier to brand than long-term, community-level engagements with shifting mindsets that prevent access to schooling? Is it simpler to sell the idea of an Aadhaar Card campaign for women than policy level engagements on how the legal apparatus refuses to see women as family units in themselves?

Further, shrinking foreign funding, increasing compliances and a hostile political landscape for movement-building force CSOs also to compromise on core funding and the social justice lens.

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67 Boris and Orleck, "Feminism and the Labor Movement: A Century of Collaboration and Conflict"; Arslan, "Women and Work".

68 The phrase was first used by Elizabeth "Betita" Martínez in a conversation with activist Angela Davis in 1993. Simply put, Oppression Olympics posits that marginalisation is viewed as a competition of oppression of individuals or groups, based on their identity (Yuval-Davis, "Dialogical Epistemology—An Intersectional Resistance to the "Oppression Olympics"").

69 Mayoux, "Advocacy for Poverty Eradication and Empowerment: Ways Forward for Advocacy Impact Assessment".

Multi-level implementation: This section analyses the various aspects of the implementation of projects, impact mapping, and funding modalities. We explore the inherent human differences and biases that become a part of grant giving and project implementation. The section begins with a discussion of the paradoxes of modern funding modalities and ends with a brief discussion on the corporatisation of Indian civil society.

> Core funding and gender normativity: Of the 65 philanthropies reviewed, only 24.6% have gender equality, or something related, as a separate programme vertical (Figure 9). Notably, 50% of these are microfinance Self-Help Groups (SHG) programmes, whose legitimate promotion of the female empowerment paradigm has been questioned multiple times.[70]

The previously discussed understanding of gender work equalling women also fundamentally barricades a move towards gender fluidity. A few funding organisations are looking at engaging men and boys in their projects to shift the onus of changemaking, but a more holistic understanding of gender as a spectrum embedded in unequal power relations is largely absent in funding patterns. A respondent sheds light on how corporate-led funding, nomenclature, and a binary construction of gender come together:

> "When I was doing CSR, there was a lot of interest in doing projects that benefited women etc... They see that as an externalised concept and therefore, the phrase preferred is 'women empowerment'... But it's still a long way off from using the word gender because I think somewhere that insinuates the need to look internally as well. How are they equal? What does that mean - diversity and inclusion? Are we making space internally within the organisation? etc. And then, remember, 'gender' opens the doors also to LGBTQIA+ groups, and then you will need to articulate a stand on that as well. So they stay away." – 2KIF

As women's images, bodies, labour, emotions, and identities are reduced to either tokens to flaunt or instruments for change, patriarchal binaries of gender inhabit the ecosystem, and construct and perpetuate the same gender structures that inhibit holistic equality.

Further, only three of the 17 philanthropies interviewed fund core organisation and movement-building. A respondent points out the lack of 'putting money where the mouth is' with funding for gender equality in India:

> "They are all talking about women empowerment, eliminating violence, creating institutions for women, and yet their investment in the actual budget line on gender equality is zero." – 9RTC-

This lack of funding to grassroots CSOs and movements is often explained away as their inability to absorb funds, which we find to be code for knowing how to fill log frames, deal with compliances, and understand multi-stakeholder management. All of this is also framed in management-centric narratives and English-heavy communication, alienating many who fundamentally lack access to these skills.

> "I know of so many of our partners who find it a struggle to cast their work in those logical frameworks. Which are expecting to force fit your work into quantifiables... It is almost colonial in its construction , where you take knowledge from the community, you package it and give it back to the community as new-found knowledge, in the form of formats that they will stumble over." - 9KIF

70 The Rockefeller Institute defines impact investing as "investments made into companies, organizations, and funds with the intention to generate social or environmental impact alongside a financial return."

A question then arises - if core organisation development is not consciously funded for, how can constituency-led collectives and organisations ever hope to be ready to absorb funds?

Corporatisation of philanthropy: Further, within philanthropies, there is a tendency for upper management to come directly from the business side of the venture, bringing a techno-managerial, output-driven approach to grant-making. This approach seeks 'silver bullet' solutions rather than seeing the problem as iterative, non-linear and structural. Additionally, within the broader ecosystem, there is a shortage of accountability mechanisms for corporates or philanthropies. Few systemic questions are asked of them vis a vis their committed funding, implementation or adherence to international human rights agreements. There is also minimal scrutiny of how the private sector, which is historically driven by profit motives, influences the priorities or practices of the development sector.

The corporatisation of philanthropy also wields the power of money in a specific way: the casting of the community or individual as a beneficiary and the framing of the social intervention as a business transaction with an expectation of 'returns on investment' (ROI). Proposal formats and reporting log frames mostly also revolve around coming up with a 'cost per beneficiary'. Thereby, gender equality is reduced to quantifiables: uniforms for girls going to school, violence victims given counselling, pregnant mothers given ante-natal care, etc.

> "The priority for funding is something that will be seen to have a large-scale impact. This is always the inherent alpha point for all decision making... As such, getting projects of gender equality funded is very difficult because the assumption is that gender equality is not scalable.". - 12SIOF

In addition, there is a much broader paradigm shift from development financing to impact investing.[71] This reflects the growing influence of the private sector on the spectrum of development agencies and development models. The private sector, in search of the best models for effective use of funds, is leaning more and more towards impact investing. This is compounded by the fact that many CSR and independent foundations are also gradually moving to models of direct implementation rather than grant-making, which was usually seen to be the philanthropists' domain. 60.5% of the philanthropies and CSRs studied as a part of the desk research are either partially or fully involved with the direct implementation of their interventions, as opposed to 31.6% that disburse grants to grassroots organisations (Figure 11). This is a sudden pivot even traditional philanthropies are making, with an eye on 'garnering more control'. As a respondent from a philanthropy shares:

> "If we want to show scale, we realised working with NGOs limits the kind of scale you can achieve. By doing direct implementation, we can - at a large scale - mobilise schemes of the government, thereby using our money to unlock even more funds. Giving small grants to smaller NGOs can drain a lot of time and resources." – 14SIFF

This is alarming for the ecosystem at large, because philanthropies themselves taking on implementation can drastically shift the roles and power dynamics between CSOs and funders. Because of previously raised concerns of a corporate-led approach to funding that focusses on scale and cost-effec-

71 The Rockefeller Institute defines impact investing as "investments made into companies, organizations, and funds with the intention to generate social or environmental impact alongside a financial return."

tiveness, this pivot makes issues like gender equality and movement-building slip further down the totem pole of funding priorities. It also threatens to increase the 'top-down' nature of giving, concentrating more power in fewer hands, although a further exploration of that is beyond the scope of this paper.

6. *The Funding Ecosystem: Implications and Conclusion*

We identify three large trends that shape the atmosphere of the Indian funding landscape for gender equality: the political will of the current establishment, the omnipresence of capitalistic actors in the philanthropic space, and the all-pervasive misogyny in Indian society. While policies of the current establishment cut off circulation to risk-taking through stringent applications of the compliance laws, corporate-led domestic giving creates deep silos of competition and 'cost efficiency'. Casual misogyny obfuscates the issue from view altogether by normalising the invisibilising of women and other genders, requiring more energy and resources to expose and solve for. These come together to form a hostile environment of funding within which the findings of this research are embedded.

Our analysis shows that output-based, time-consuming monitoring models utilised by most philanthropies in India impact how philanthropies view and reach for change. Change is seen as something that is quick, quantifiable and scalable. Gender equality or lack thereof has deep roots within the patriarchal system and is seen as difficult to fund or measure. Most of the funds that do come to gender equality are a trickle down from larger funding to health, livelihoods and education. Even the funds that are committed to gender equality fund for symptoms - lack of access to schools, health services and financial decision-making - rather than their root cause.

There is a further, more dangerous aspect to how funders treat the idea of gender. On one hand, women's participation is tokenised and reduced to just the optics of 'being present'. On the other hand, this funding concentrates much of the change labour[72] on women without addressing structural causes for their lack of participation. So, women end up carrying multiple burdens: of the home, the family, and now the community. As subjects of interventions, women are seen from a pervasive and established patriarchal gaze that reduces them to singular dimensions as victims of violence, or mothers, or drop-outs, or as homemakers without financial decision-making powers.

In the same vein, the steady, sustainable process of capacity building, raising awareness, organising

for women, building collective power, and strategies that attack the deep patriarchal roots are rarely funded. They are considered slow, hard to scale and difficult to measure. We find that less than a handful of organisations support direct funding modalities such as capacity building, core support, movement building programmes or feminist collectives.

Even the strategies first employed by the feminist movement in India have been plucked from their comprehensive collective approaches and implemented as standalone initiatives: micro-credit, self-help groups, legal interventions for violence against women and girls, among others. These initiatives planned and applied in silos, devoid of other interventions that work together to strike at patriarchy, have limited impact. While they affect the lives of individuals and, to an extent, their communities, they fail to reach the roots of hegemonic power imbalances and have a tangible, sustainable impact on the status of gender equality in India at large.

We find that all of these solution-driven approaches to the complex lives of women barely end up grazing the surface of the patriarchal structures at the heart of it all. This impacts not only the CSOs' abilities to strive for sustainable, social change in their communities, but also hinders the larger philanthropic mission of attacking the causes of social inequities. This is compounded by the current socio-political landscape in India where rights-based work is akin to political and economic risk-taking. Within this landscape, all these battles are fought by the philanthropies in silos. We find that there is a glaring lack of collaboration, sharing of power, resources or knowledge among all the funding organisations, when collaboration would in fact help mitigate some risks associated with funding. Collaboration, power and resource sharing, as well as dialogues with CSOs would benefit these organisations, by mitigating some risks associated with funding and making the grant process easier for all stakeholders.

Having said that, the private Indian funding landscape - mainly consisting of corporate and family philanthropies - is currently uniquely placed to respond to a growing need for domestic investment in social change. While it seems to have risen to the challenge with healthcare, education, and - to some extent - livelihoods, its funding for gender equality leaves much to be desired both in terms of quantity and quality. Programmatic interventions that attack the systemic enablers of gender inequality such as networks and movements advocating for policy change, and programmes on comprehensive sexuality education among others need to be funded. However, due to the structural nature of interventions required to hit at the heart of gender inequality, the risk-averse, capitalistic, market-driven Indian philanthropic actors - often themselves steeped in misogynistic structures - fall short. We also need feminist funding models that address the modalities of grant-making and resourcing as opposed to just the 'what'.

It will take humility, dialogue, collaboration, and a decolonisation of attitudes to wealth and giving for this to significantly change.

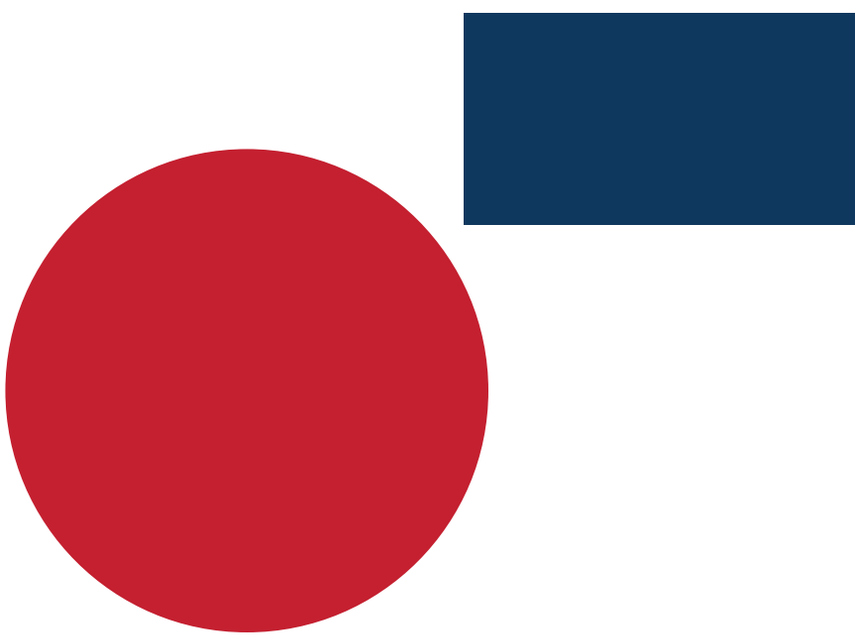
72 Boris And Orleck, 'Feminism And The Labor Movement: A Century of Collaboration and Conflict'; McDowell, 'Gender, Work, Employment and Society'.

Limitations:
Given the lack of a readily-available central roster of philanthropic foundations in India, the initial list of foundations always runs the risk of being incomplete or biased in favour of foundations that are more outward facing in their website and social media presence. Smaller, more 'quiet' foundations may not have made it to the list, hence affecting the analysis.

As with most forms of qualitative research, this one also relies heavily on the respondents. The analysis offered up changes minutely but notably across gender and role within the organisation. Where possible, the gender and the role have been mentioned to account for this limitation.
Further, throughout the data collection and interview phase, we found ourselves bound by the binary construction of gender within the philanthropic space and language in India which is reflected in many of our data points and analyses, as well as our coding system which denotes M or F for men or women.

We were met with a similar limitation when using an intersectional approach to our research. While we have utilised an intersectional lens and theory in our analyses and to the extent possible, in our research, we find it to be wanting. The data points we collected around caste, class, and their intersections with gender identities are insufficient and limit the nuance we offer to the argument.

In addition, since all of the interviews conducted for this study were online, physical space and man nerism observation did not factor in at all. If possible, this might have added an additional layer of nuanced analysis.
Though the research was mostly located in a pre-COVID reality (most desk research was limited to documents until 2019), the fact that the data collection was happening during the second wave of the pandemic in India might have caused some recency bias in how certain respondents took on certain questions about issues. -



Appendix (research tools; other supplementary matter)

Targeted words used in Literature Review

The targeted words that were used were philanthropy OR philanthropy in India OR charitable giving in India OR charitable giving OR funding OR funding for gender equality OR history of philanthropy OR history of philanthropy in India OR giving in India OR giving for women OR funding for women's rights OR funding for gender equality OR funding for social issues OR philanthropic landscape in India OR foundations in India.

Details of the methodology used

As secondary data on gender equality funding in India is nearly non-existent, and since the scope of this study did not allow for a comprehensive mapping of funds allocated and strategies used by every Indian philanthropy, we relied on the perceptions and motivations of some key players, triangulated to the extent possible through other influential narratives.

To start with, a detailed literature review of the philanthropic space, and gender equality funding in India and globally[73] was conducted. This was followed by a review of all available data and reports on Indian and regional philanthropy, yellow pages, and the websites of corresponding foundations. Based on this a comprehensive list of 281 private philanthropic foundations was made, out of which 65 were researched in detail.

As the first step of the data analysis phase, the above-mentioned list was populated with basic information[74] available through reports and websites about the scale, leadership and issue focus of these foundations, as well as financial data available over the last three years. These reviews then informed the development of a digital survey tool for philanthropies, which sought some first-hand information about the patterns of funding in India. This survey was emailed to each philanthropy on the above-mentioned list. The emails were followed up with some cold calls[75] and interviews. This database has been used to inform both our qualitative interviews as well as our data quantitative small n-analysis.

We employed purposive sampling at the qualitative interview phase, to select the participants to the interviews. There were two (somewhat overlapping) sets of foundations (Table 1) that were interviewed as primary subjects: those who had filled the survey and expressed a willingness to give a longer interview, and those who consistently are seen as the 'big players' in the Indian philanthropic space, i.e., large and influential philanthropies that set the patterns of funding and thereby dictate the politics of fund flows. These interviews followed an interview guide that was open and free of subject bias to the extent possible. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with key informants (Table 1) who had different vantage points within the sector, to inform our understanding of the philanthropic space.

73 List of the targeted words in the annex.
74 List of categories in the annex.
75 Due to a lack of response to email requests, we called the philanthropies on our list to invite their participation in our survey.

Details of Interview Participants

IDENTIFIER	INTERVIEW TYPE	SECTOR	TYPE OF FOUNDATION
1SICM	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
2SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
3SIFF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Family Foundations
1KIM	Key Informant	CSOs	
4SIIM	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
5SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
6SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
7SIFM	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Family Foundations
2KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
3KIM	Key Informant	Academia/Researchers	
4KIM	Key Informant	Academia/Researchers	
8SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
9SIIM	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
5KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
10SIFF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Family Foundations
11SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
12SIOF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
6KIF	Key Informant	CSOs	
7KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
14SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
14SIFF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Family Foundations
15SIIM	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
16SIIF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
13KIF	Key Informant	CSOs	
14KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
8KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
9KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
10KIF	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Other
11KIM	Key Informant	Philanthropic Foundations	Independent Foundation
12KIM	Key Informant	Academia/Researchers	
13SICF	Subject Interview	Philanthropic Foundations	Corporates and CSRs
1RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
2RTCSOM	Round Table CSOs		
3RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
4RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
5RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
6RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
7RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
8RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		
9RTCSOF	Round Table CSOs		

Table 1:Details of interview participants.

Secondary Data Review

Type of Foundations

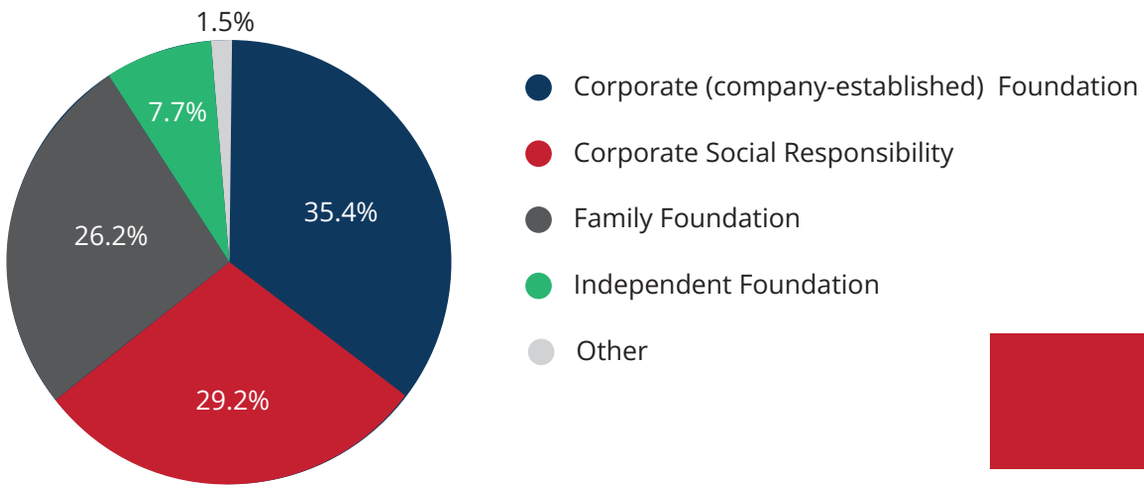


Figure 4: Distribution of types of foundations in India philanthropies reviewed.

TYPE OF FOUNDATION	COUNT
Corporate (company-established) Foundation	23
Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)	19
Family Foundation	17
Independent Foundation	5
Other	1
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 2: Distribution of types of foundation in India philanthropies reviewed

Gender of current CEO (top of the management chain)

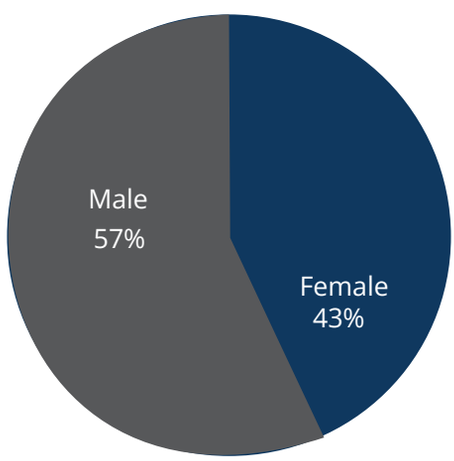


Figure 5: Ratio of male to female CEOs in India philanthropies reviewed. The above percentage has been rounded.

GENDER OF CURRENT CEO (TOP OF THE MANAGEMENT CHAIN)	COUNT
Female	28
Male	37
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 3: Number of male/female CEOs in India philanthropies reviewed.

Gender of president / chairperson of board

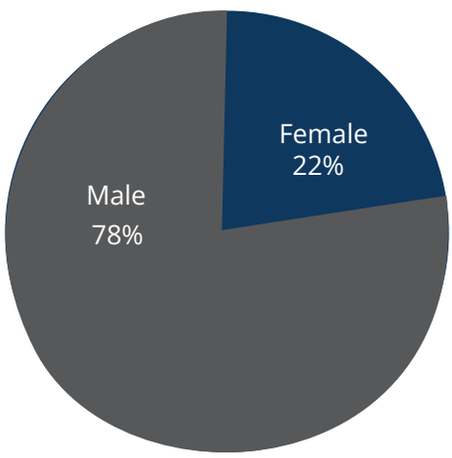


Figure 6: Ratio of male to female president/chairperson of board of India philanthropies reviewed. The above percentage has been rounded.

GENDER OF PRESIDENT / CHAIRPERSON OF BOARD	COUNT
Female	14
Male	51
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 4: Number of male/female president/chairperson of board of India philanthropies reviewed

Are annual reports available for past three years?

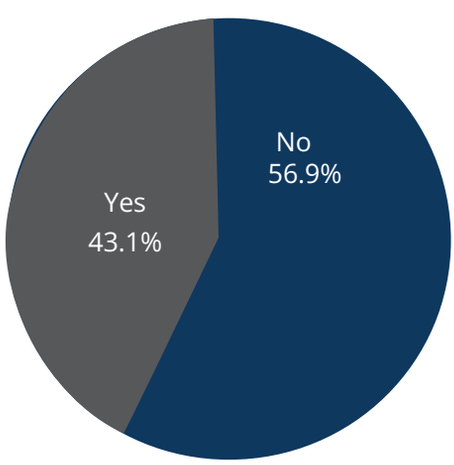


Figure 7: Availability of annual reports for India philanthropies reviewed.

ARE ANNUAL REPORTS AVAILABLE FOR PAST THREE YEARS?	COUNT
No	37
Yes	28
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 5: Availability of annual reports for India philanthropies reviewed

Are financial reports available for past three years?

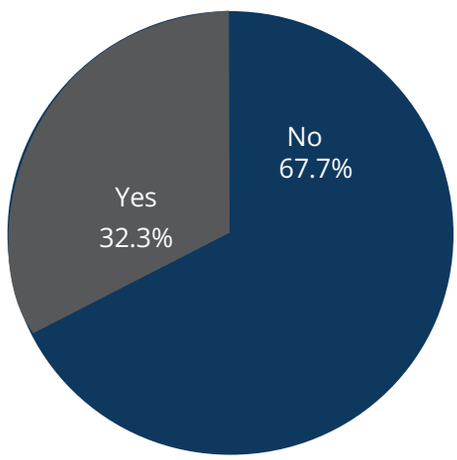


Figure 8: Availability of financial reports for India philanthropies reviewed.

ARE FINANCIAL REPORTS AVAILABLE FOR PAST THREE YEARS?	COUNT
No	44
Yes	21
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 6: Availability of financial reports for India philanthropies reviewed

Is gender (or something directly related to it) a separate program?

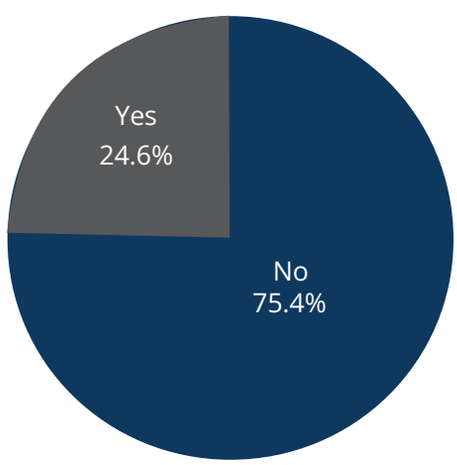


Figure 9: Existence of separate gender programme in India philanthropies reviewed.

IS GENDER (OR SOMETHING DIRECTLY RELATED TO IT) A SEPARATE PROGRAMME?	COUNT
No	49
Yes	16
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 7: Existence of separate gender programme in India philanthropies reviewed.

Any Mention of Gender in their 'about us' or vision statement or mission statement?

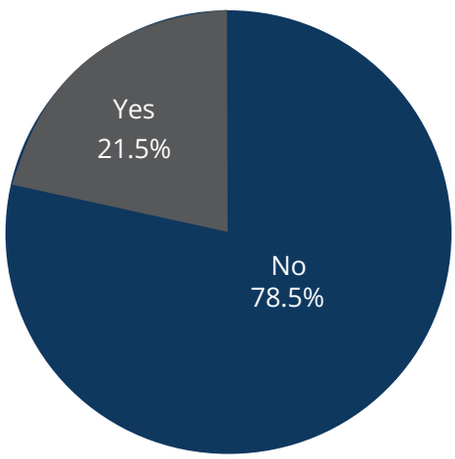


Figure 10: Distribution of philanthropies mentioning 'gender' in their 'about us' or vision statement or mission statement among India philanthropies reviewed.

ANY MENTION OF GENDER IN THEIR ABOUT US OR VISION OR MISSION STATEMENT	COUNT
No	51
Yes	14
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 8: Distribution of philanthropies mentioning 'gender' in their 'about us' or vision statement or mission statement among India philanthropies reviewed.

Type of CSOs funded by Indian philanthropies

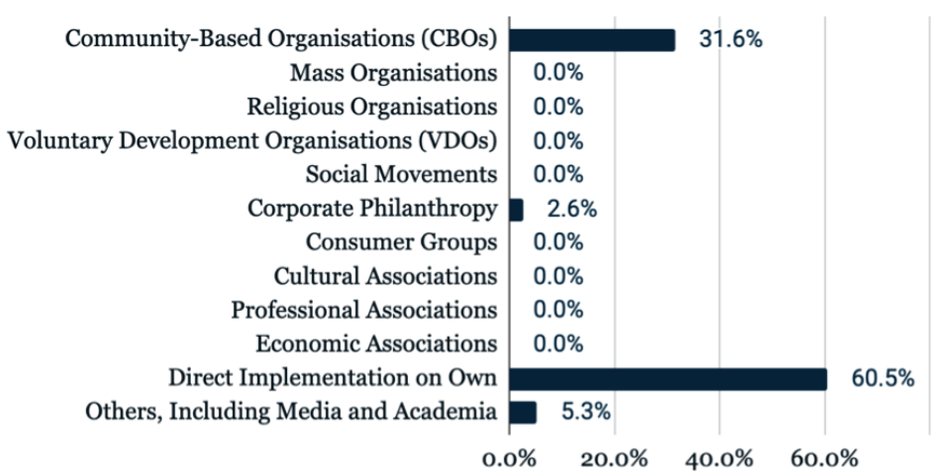


Figure 11: Distribution of types of CSOs funded by India philanthropies reviewed.

TYPE OF CSO	COUNT	
Community-Based Organisations (CBOs)	12	31.6%
Mass Organisations	0	0.0%
Religious Organisations	0	0.0%
Voluntary Development Organisations (VDOs)	0	0.0%
Social Movements	0	0.0%
Corporate Philanthropy	1	2.6%
Consumer Groups	0	0.0%
Cultural Associations	0	0.0%
Professional Associations	0	0.0%
Economic Associations	0	0.0%
Direct Implementation on Own	23	60.5%
Others, Including Media and Academia	2	5.3%
GRAND TOTAL	38	100.0%

Table 9: Distribution of types of CSOs funded by India philanthropies reviewed

Does the cover image/banner/dashboard of the website or annual report feature women prominently?

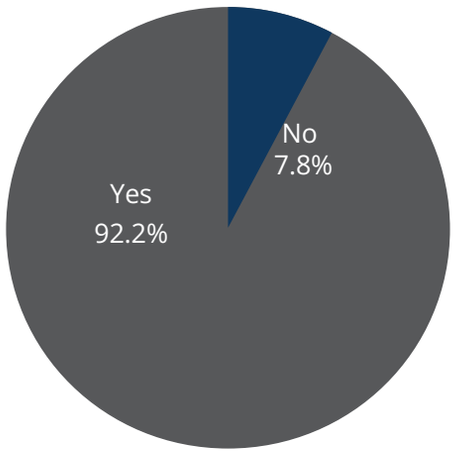


Figure 12: Distribution of philanthropies featuring women prominently in the cover image, banner, or dashboard of their website or annual report among India philanthropies reviewed.

DOES THE COVER IMAGE/BANNER/DASHBOARD OF THE WEBSITE OR ANNUAL REPORT FEATURE WOMEN PROMINENTLY?	COUNT
Yes	47
No	5
GRAND TOTAL	51

Table 10: Distribution of philanthropies featuring women prominently in the cover image, banner, or dashboard of their website or annual report among India philanthropies reviewed.

Is gender (or something directly related to it) part of any programme?

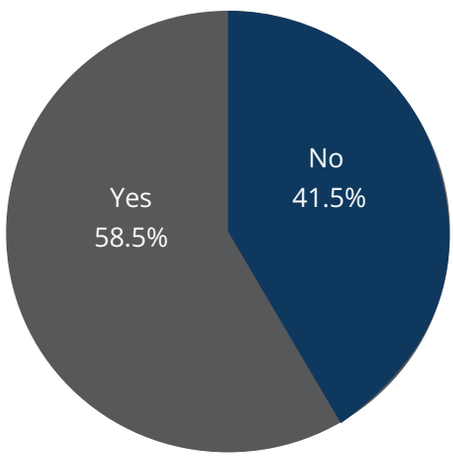


Figure 13: Distribution of philanthropies addressing gender (or something directly related to it) as part of any programme (either separate or part of another programme) among India philanthropies reviewed.

IS GENDER (OR SOMETHING DIRECTLY RELATED TO IT) PART OF ANY PROGRAMME?	COUNT
YES	38
No	27
GRAND TOTAL	65

Table 11: Distribution of philanthropies addressing gender (or something directly related to it) as part of any programme (either separate or part of another programme) among India philanthropies reviewed.

Gender of Current Ceo (top of the management chain)	**Is gender (or something directly related to it) a separate programme?**		
	No	Yes	Grand Total
Female	21	7	28
Male	28	9	37
GRAND TOTAL	49	16	65

Table 12: Cross tabulations 'Gender of current CEO (top of the management chain)' versus 'Is gender (or something directly related to it) a separate programme?'. Cramer's V with bias correction: 0.000

CSIP_G@W Survey Questionnaire Draft

Abbreviations
Optional - O
Multiple choice - M
Single choice- S

Intro Questions

1. Name (optional):
2. Name of your organisation/ employer:
3. (O) Your role in the organisation:
4. Location of organisation (City/ Town/ Place of work):
5. (S) How would you classify your organisation?
    - Independent Foundation
    - Family Foundation
    - Corporate (company- established) Foundation
    - Community Foundation
    - Faith-based Foundation
    - Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)
    - Other - and a place card.

Funding/ Patterns

1. (M) What are the primary causes your organisation funds?
    - Human and civil rights
    - Social welfare
    - Education
    - Health
    - Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)
    - Livelihood
    - Microfinance
    - Social entrepreneurship
    - Community development
    - Poverty alleviation
    - Disaster response and relief
    - Arts and culture
    - Faith and spirituality
    - Children
    - Adolescent and youth
    - Elderly
    - Women and girls
    - Disability rights/ people with disability
    - Gender rights and empowerment
    - Environment, climate change and climate justice
    - Animal rights
    - Other - please list

2. (S) Do you also address gender equality and rights within your primary causes?
    Yes (continue)
    No (skip to 6 'Ways in which you fund')

3. (M) What aspects of gender equality do you fund?
Gender-based violence
Peace-building and gender-based violence in contexts of conflict/post-conflict
Human trafficking
    Economic rights and empowerment
    Labour rights and employment
    Access to education
    Right and access to food
    WASH
    Property and land rights
    Housing and infrastructure
    Leadership and empowerment
    Movement-building
    Digital literacy and empowerment
    Media
    Political rights and participation
    Human rights defenders
    Health
    Reproductive health and rights
    Sexual rights
    Sexual health (including HIV and AIDS)
    Queer/ LGBTQIA++ identity rights
    Mental health
    Other, please list

4. (M) Which communities do you work with?
    Dalits and other marginalised castes
    Adivasis
    Denotified tribes
    Religious minorities
    Queer/ LGBTQIA++
    Urban poor
    Rural poor
    Refugees
    ulnerable occupations
    Others, please specify

5. (M) What strategies (approaches/ projects/ activities) for gender equality do you fund?
    Service provision (e.g. distributing pads, school supplies, nutrition kits)
    Creating access to entitlements and rights
    Emergency and crisis response
    Awareness-raising

Advocacy
Community organising/ collectivising
Employment skilling
Capacity building
Leadership building
Movement-building
Organisational development
National and global network building
Research and knowledge-building
Others, please list

Questions for everyone

6. (M) In what ways do you fund?
   Flexible, general support grants
   Core/operational support
   Project grants
   Small grants
   Implementation partnerships
   Gender impact investing
   Gender mainstreaming
   Seed grants
   Multi-year grants
   Others, please specify

7. (O) What was your annual budget for the year 2019-2020?
   Comment box

8. (S) What percentage of your annual budget directly or indirectly funds gender equality?
   N/A
   0-5%
   5-10%
   10 -15%
   15% and above
   Final set

9. (S) Can we contact you for a brief follow-up conversation?
   Yes
   No

10. If yes, email address:

11. (O) and phone number:

Interview Guide

Intro Questions

1. To begin, perhaps you could share a little bit about yourself, your organisation and your role in the organisation?

Prompts:

Name:
Name of your organisation/ employer:
Your role in the organisation:
Location of organisation (City/ Town/ Place of work):
How many years have you been with your organisation?

2. Do you have multiple offices? Or do you work out of one headquarters office?

3. How does your organisation classify itself? For instance, given what you have shared with us, would you classify it as a (family foundation) …

Prompts: If the person doesn't respond, can ask one of these:

Independent Foundation
Family Foundation
Corporate (company- established) Foundation
Community Foundation
Faith-based Foundation
Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)

4. What do you think is the vision of your organisation? Are the funding strategies written with that vision in mind?

Going back to the strategising point, I was wondering what's the strategic planning timeline of the organisation?
Which communities do you work with, i.e., what are your constituencies? And if possible, could you share which states in India you work in?

Funding/ Patterns

5. In what ways do you fund, i.e., how does the granting work within the organisation? How do you generally tend to give the grants/funds/money?

What kind of organisations do you fund? Do you have specific selection criteria for selecting organisations? Do you build the capacities of the organisations that you fund?
Talking about your funding strategies - what are the primary causes your organisation funds, i.e., in your last strategic planning, what did you identify as your primary causes?
What are the main programmes that address these primary causes? Would be grateful for some examples.

6. When thinking about funding for gender equality, do you also address gender equality and rights within your primary causes/ projects that you have mentioned above?
   If not responded before - Do you have specific programmes for gender equality?

Prompt– if yes, ask – Would it be possible to share examples? Probe for any and all information.

7. Within all you work – what aspects of gender equality do you fund?
   How do your funding strategies, particularly around gender equality, relate to the organisational vision? Or what is your vision for a gender-equal world?
   How has gender been addressed in your last strategic planning?
   Within your gender-related work, what are the specific activities that you fund?
   What kind of programmes do you fund under these strategies? Can you give an example?
   Where and with what communities?

8. How long have you been funding these programmes?

9. How do you select your grantees?

10. How do the implementing partner/CSO/ grantees report? Is the reporting data disaggregated by gender?

11. What was your annual budget for the year 2019-2020? And what percentage of your annual budget directly or indirectly funds gender equality?

12. To end, given your vision and the varied programmes, what do you think has been your organisation's impact on gender equality in India in the last 5 years. Be great to know some highlights!

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