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The Current Landscape of Philanthropy for Adivasi and Tribal Women at the Grassroots

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between philanthropy and grassroots NGOs (non-governmental organisations) working with Adivasi and Tribal women. It places Adivasi and Tribal women as subjects who face layered marginalisation in Indian society on account of their gender and ethnicity. Their social location thus provides unique insights into the nature of structural oppression in Indian society. We conducted in-depth interviews with 14 representatives from eight NGOs in Assam, Jharkhand, and Maharashtra, nine representatives from three philanthropic organisations, and five experts in the development sector. Our findings suggest that grassroots NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal women have higher compatibility with foreign funders in terms of vision and that philanthropic giving in India does not address gender, caste, and ethnicity as axes of oppression, let alone their intersections.

Keywords: Adivasi, Tribal, Indigenous, Adivasi women, Tribal women, decolonise philanthropy

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1. Introduction

The philanthropic ecosystem in India has grown rapidly in the past decade. While sectors such as education and health have seen a surge in funding, crucial areas such as gender equality and access to justice have received meagre attention.[4] Furthermore, despite caste-and ethnicity[5]-based oppression being recognised as dominant factors of social exclusion in India, research available on domestic philanthropy seldom examines funding directed towards socially oppressed groups.

In post-Independence India, Adivasis and Tribals (see Appendix 1 for a detailed discussion on the nomenclature) – the Indigenous peoples of India who comprise 8.5 per cent of the total population – have largely been excluded from the benefits of development.[6] According to the *National Family Health Survey (NHFS-4), 2015–16*, close to 50 per cent of Adivasi families fall below the poverty line.[7] Hence, from an intersectional lens – wherein women from marginalised communities face layered discrimination due to their social and gender identities – Adivasi women constitute one of the most vulnerable social groups in the country with respect to poverty, education, and health indicators.[8] This places Adivasi women at a unique locus from which to look at social exclusion and structural oppression in Indian society.

In 2019, only 1 per cent of domestic philanthropy funds were allocated to gender equality.[9] With no disaggregated data available on the distribution of funds for women from marginalised groups, it becomes difficult to ascertain the percentage allocated for the empowerment of Adivasi women and thus the impact of philanthropy on Adivasi women.

This study examines the contemporary philanthropic ecosystem in India, with an empirical focus on NGOs that work with Adivasi and Tribal women at the grassroots, and with philanthropic organisations. It examines how these NGOs approach and receive philanthropic funding. It also explores how philanthropic organisations approach grant making, as well as their perspectives on gender, caste, and ethnic inequalities. The paper contributes to what we identify as a significant gap in the literature on Indian philanthropy, particularly with regard to gender, caste, and ethnic inequalities.

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4 Ramesh Mangaleswaran and Ramya Venkataraman, Designing Philanthropy for Impact: Giving to the Biggest Gaps in India (n.p.: McKinsey & Company, 2013), https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/dotcom/client_service/social%20sector/pdfs/. designing_philanthr opy_for_impact.ashx; Hurun India and EdelGive Foundation, EdelGive Hurun India Philanthropy List 2019 (Mumbai: EdelGive Foundation, 2019), https://www.edelgive.org/wp-content/up loads/sites/3/2020/04/EdelGive-Hurun-India-Philanthropy-List-2019-1.pdf; Dasra and Bain & Company, India Philanthropy Report 2020: Investing in India's Most Vulnerable to Advance the 2030 Agenda to Action (Mumbai: Bain & Company, 2020), https://www.dasra.org/a sets/uploads/resources/India_Philanthropy_Report.pdf2020.

5 Since Adivasi communities officially lie outside the Hindu caste system, we have used the term ethnicity – instead of caste – to refer to their social categorisation. This does not mean that Adivasis are not subject to caste- based discrimination.

6 Ramachandra Guha, 'Tribals gained least from economic development or political freedom,' India Today, 3 July 2006,https://www.indiat day.in/magazine/guest-column/story/20060703-tribals-gained-least-from-economic-development-in-india-ramachandra-guha-782864-2006-07-03; Debjeet Sarangi, 'How Development Excludes Adivasi Peoples,' India Development Review, 12 February 2019, https://idronline.org/how- development-excludes-adivasi-peoples/.

7 International Institute for Population Sciences and ICF, National Family Health Survey (NFHS-4), 2015–16: India (Mumbai: IIPS, 2017), https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR339/FR339.pdf.

8 Swagata Yadavar, 'Scheduled Tribes are India's Poorest People,' IndiaSpend, 28 February 2018, https://www.indiaspend.com/sche uled-tribes-are-indias-poorest-people-18413/; Anamika Ashish and Varun Behani, 'Working with Adivasi Peoples, Instead of for Them,' India Development Review, 14 August 2019, https://idronline.org/working-with-adivasi-peoples-instead-of-for-them/.

9 Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020.

1.1. Objective and Research Questions

This study's principal aim is to examine the philanthropic ecosystem in India, particularly how philanthropy serves Adivasi and Tribal women at the grassroots. This objective is explored through the following questions:

- How do NGOs that work with Adivasi and Tribal women approach philanthropy?
- What kind of philanthropic funding reaches Adivasi and Tribal women?
- What are the fundraising strategies of such organisations? Are there any barriers they face in accessing funds from philanthropic foundations?
- What are the key areas of concern for Adivasi and Tribal women that civil society organisations seek to address?
- How does philanthropy address the developmental needs of Adivasi and Tribal women?

1.2. Methodology

To answer the research questions which were exploratory in nature, we used qualitative methods. First, we conducted a review of literature to understand philanthropy in India and the developmental needs of Adivasi women. With the guidance of our mentors, we used these insights and discussions to design two semi-structured interview guides: one for the NGOs and another for philanthropic organisations.

We selected the states of Assam, Jharkhand, and Maharashtra for the study. Our review of literature showed that a large proportion of philanthropic funds are directed towards high-income states like Maharashtra, with low-income states like Jharkhand receiving a paltry share.[10] We selected Assam as a third area of study because of how Adivasis are uniquely but not advantageously placed there, as they are not officially recognised as Scheduled Tribes. While the study initially focused on Adivasi women, we expanded the scope to include Tribal women, as in our data collection, we found NGOs working with Tribal women from north-east India and also those from the Vimukta Jati or 'Denotified' Tribes/Nomadic Tribes.

In the first phase of our data collection, we conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 14 representatives from eight NGOs. We used purposive sampling to identify participant NGOs. In our selection process, we sought to address the criticisms raised by activists and intellectuals from marginalised communities about NGOs working with marginalised communities being largely led by upper-caste people in the country. Our final sample had three NGOs led by Adivasi and Tribal women, one led by an upper-caste woman, and four NGOs led by Adivasi and Tribal men. Appendix 2 has brief profiles of the NGOs. All interviews were conducted in Hindi or English, or in both languages. Consent was taken to record the interviews which were subsequently transcribed and translated into English. The study was informed by Indigenous and feminist perspectives which view research as a political act rather than being value-neutral, and advocate 'a strong moral and political commitment to decreasing inequality'.[11] Such a lens, examining issues of structural inequalities and social justice, was found to be apropos to the research focus.

10 Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020, 7; Centre for Social Impact and Philanthropy (CSIP), Estimating Philanthropic Capital in India: Approaches and Challenges (Sonipat: Ashoka University, 2019), 12, https://csip.ashoka.edu.in/research-and-knowledge/.

11 Claire M. Renzetii, 'Confessions of Reformed Positivist: Feminist Participatory Research as Good Social Science,' in Researching Sexual Violence Against Women: Methodological and Personal Perspectives, ed. M.D. Schwartz, 131–43 (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997), 133.

Due to the sensitive nature of the research, we have anonymised the identifying information of participant NGOs, philanthropic organisations, and industry experts with the aim of maintaining confidentiality.

All three authors self-identify as Adivasi women and belong to the Kurukh/Oraon, Santal, and Munda communities respectively, with roots in the state of Jharkhand.

2. Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Historical and Social Context of Philanthropy and NGOs in India

In *Philanthropy in India*, Kassam et al. broadly explore the lineage of philanthropy in the country.[12] While a comprehensive overview of the whole country is unfeasible, the book unpacks some of the dominant trends in philanthropy and giving historically. The earliest forms of giving in India are traced to religious conventions like *daan* in Hinduism and *zakat* in Islam. They note that community interactions, and consequently giving, were highly influenced by 'India's deeply rooted social structure', i.e. the caste system. This meant that giving was often confined to one's kin and kith or caste group. Social attitudes towards gift giving indicated that the recipient would be indebted to the giver. Bornstein writes that giving to strangers was considered impractical and could imply the neglect of one's own people, such that generosity towards others could be traditionally understood as being perilous.[13] The onset of British colonialism and industrialisation in India brought the country closer to present-day forms of philanthropy. The British introduced the concept of charity rooted in Victorian attitudes, wherein a prominent notion was the binary of a deserving and an undeserving poor.[14] They encouraged Indian elites to engage in the British style of philanthropy thereby socialising them to 'imperial control'. As the hold of Indian elites on political power dwindled during colonialism, philanthropy became a means to exhibit leadership and moral authority.[15] When Christian missionaries intervened in the education and health of the colonised population in the name of welfare and reform, they were paralleled by Indians setting up organisations for social and religious reform.[16] Notably, most of these were founded by people for the welfare of their own caste groups.

12 Meenaz Kassam, Femida Handy, and Emily Janson, Philanthropy in India: Promise to Practice (New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2016).
13 Erica Bornstein, Disquieting Gifts: Humanitarianism in New Delhi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).
14 The concept of a deserving and an undeserving poor has religious, moral and legal underpinnings dating back to the Elizabethan era. Accordingly, the deserving poor comprised the sick, elderly, and disabled who were incapable of taking up work, whereas the undeserving poor were perceived to be wilfully indolent thereby posing a threat to a social order where one's survival and upkeep had to be earned through productive labour. A number of poor laws were framed to legislate the fortunes of masses of poor. In 1834 the Poor Law Amen ment Act or the New Poor Law mandated the establishment of workhouses for the poor, stating that able-bodied poor people could only receive aid in those places. The workhouses were kept in depleted conditions, so as to discourage people from joining them. These ideas have since been critiqued as they contribute to the vilification of the poor. Steve Hindle, 'Civility, Honesty and the Identification of the Deserving Poor in Seventeenth- century England,' in Identity and Agency in England, 1500–1800, eds. Henry French and Jonathan Barry, 38–59 (NewYork: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
15 Jesse Palsetia, 'Merchant Charity and Public Identity Formation in Colonial India: The Case of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,' Journal of Asian & African Studies 40, no. 3 (2005): 206, https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909605055071.
16 D.L. Sheth and Harsh Sethi, 'The NGO Sector in India: Historical Context and Current Discourse,' International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations 2, no. 2 (1991): 50–51, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01398670.

When the anti-colonial resistance came to a head, a shift occurred with the rise of M.K. Gandhi who reinvented traditional and religious ideas. He popularised the notion of seva and encouraged trusteeship amongst Indian businessmen. If reform implied westernisation, Gandhi advocated *swarajya* (self-rule) that combined both spiritual and material well-being. It was in this period that 'organisations *for* women, Harijans and Tribals'[17] were established, drawing these marginalised communities into the freedom struggle. Gandhian values are popular in the NGO sector in India till today.

The post-Independence era saw a decline of Gandhian organisations and an increase in reliance on the state for funds.[18] With the launch of the New Economic Policy in the 1990s, 'Indian foundations began trying to emulate foreign donor practices and enter mainstream development.'[19] While philanthropic trends are by no means globally uniform, there has been a gradual evolution of non-religious philanthropy in India along with contemporary developments such as philantrocapitalism and venture philanthropy.

The literature on philanthropy in India thus indicates that caste, class, and ethnicity have historically played important roles in philanthropic giving in the country.[20] In addition, both the culture of giving and organisations for the marginalised have traditionally been top down in nature.

2.2. Contemporary Philanthropic Giving in India: Gender, Caste, and Ethnicity

Recent reports assessing the scale and scope of domestic philanthropy in India either make no mention or only a passing reference to caste and ethnicity as important axes of oppression in the country.[21] With respect to gender, the literature only superficially addresses the need for or lack of a gender lens in philanthropic funding in the country.

The *India Philanthropy Report 2021* recognises the abysmally low rate of funds flowing towards gender inequality (1 per cent), even as gender equality ranks low in India's Sustainable Development Goals index (SDG).[22] According to the Candid India website, which provides the most comprehensive data available on philanthropy in India, the key areas for funding from private funders comprise education, health and community, and economic development.[23] Education receives one-third of all philanthropic funds, despite India ranking well on this SDG.[24] The categories of women or gender equality do not feature in the list of focus subjects. However, leaving these categories aside, the principal lens through which the literature views funding for human vulnerability is that of poverty.[25] Mosse notes that caste and ethnic inequalities have been excluded from global policy debates on sustainable development, even as research demonstrates that they require attention because of the primacy of gender and race in shaping the opportunities available to and race in shaping the opportunities available to

17 Sheth and Sethi, 'The NGO Sector in India,' 51.
18 Sheth and Sethi, 'The NGO Sector in India,' 52–53.
19 Kassam et al., Philanthropy in India, 25.
20 Kassam et al., Philanthropy in India, 9; Sheth and Sethi 'The NGO Sector in India,' 50.
21 CSIP, Estimating Philanthropic Capital; Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020; Dasra and Bain & Company, India Philanthropy Report 2021: Accelerating Family Philanthropy towards a Thriving India (Mumbai: Bain & Company, 2021), https://www.dasra.org/resource/india-philanthropy-report-2021.
22 Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020, 2.
23 https://india.candid.org/dashboard/.
24 Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020, 2.
25 CSIP, Estimating Philanthropic Capital; Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020; Dasra and Bain & Company, India Philanthropy Report 2021; VikasAnvesh Foundation (VAF), Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportunities.

people.[26] He emphasises that even 'as fewer Indians remain poor, more of those who remain in poverty are Dalits and Adivasis, especially women among them'.[27]

In a survey of 388 organisations across the country in 2020, Venkatachalam et al. found that systemic underfunding hurts Dalit, Bahujan, Adivasi (DBA), and rural NGOs much more than non-DBA-led ones. The report states:

> They are twice as likely to operate outside of the country's eight largest cities and have modest financial resources. Half reported annual budgets of less than INR 50 lakhs, compared to 30 percent among those with non-DBA leaders. Seventy percent had no budget surpluses over the past three years, and 60 percent had fewer than three months of reserves in September 2020 after the advent of COVID-19 –significantly worse on both counts than non-DBA led NGOs.[28]

There also exists a geographical skew in philanthropic funding in India in favour of high-income states as compared to low-income ones. In 2018, Maharashtra, which has a poverty rate of 17.35 per cent, received the biggest share of funds at 34 per cent, whereas Jharkhand, which has an exceptionally high poverty rate of 36.96 per cent, received less than 1 per cent of CSR funds.[29]

Studies have found that personal views, preferences, and affiliations impact how philanthropists approach grant making.[30] Many High Net Worth Individuals (HNWIs) prefer giving to communities near their 'native places, workplaces, or who they can relate to'.[31] VikasAnvesh Foundation (VAF) points out that these areas are not the ones most in need of aid. Referring to its interviews with Ultra High Net Worth Individuals (UHNWIs), it mentions how very few such individuals make their decisions based on the intensity of need and deprivation. Additionally, it is the 'marginal value gained and number of people impacted per unit investment'[32] that influences the flow of philanthropic giving above needs and geographical areas.

2.3. Decolonizing Wealth and Indigenizing Philanthropy

Indigenous grant maker Edgar Villanueva works towards decolonising philanthropy in the United States. In his book *Decolonizing Wealth*, Villanueva critiques the institution of philanthropy, calling it 'colonialism in the empire's newest clothes' and 'racism in institutional form'.[33] He underlines how historically and at present times the wealth owned by big philanthropists has been extracted from the land and labour of Indigenous peoples and those of the Global South.

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26 David Mosse, 'Caste and Development: Contemporary Perspectives on a Structure of Discrimination and Advantage,' World Development, volume 110. (Amsterdam: Elsiever [sciencedirect], 2018), 422-436. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X18301943.

27 Mosse, 'Caste and Development: Contemporary Perspectives on a Structure of Discrimination and Advantage.

28 Pritha Venkatachalam et al., Building Strong, Resilient NGOs in India: Time for New Funding Practices (Boston: The Bridgespan Group, 2021), 20, https://www.bridgespan.org/insights/library/pay-what-it- takes/funding-practices-to-build-strong-ngos-in-india.

29 Dasra and Bain, India Philanthropy Report 2020, 8.

30 Caroline Hartnell, Philanthropy in India, Working Paper (New Delhi: Philanthropy for Social Justice and Peace, 2017), 45, https://globalfun communityfoundations.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/PhilanthropyInIndia_Oct17.pdf; VikasAnvesh Foundation (VAF), Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportun ties, India Philanthropy Initiative (Pune: VikasAnvesh Foundation, 2020), 34. https://www.vikasanvesh.in/books/big-philanthropy-in-i dia-perils-and-opportunities/.

31 VikasAnvesh Foundation (VAF), Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportunities, 35.

32 VikasAnvesh Foundation (VAF), Big Philanthropy in India: Perils and Opportunities, 64.

33 Edgar Villanueva, Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides and Restore Balance (Oakland: Berret-Koehler Publishers, 2018),3, 4–5.

And how even contemporary philanthropic operations reinforce the binaries of white or dominant saviours, who work as experts in the development sector, versus the marginalised, who are worked upon and developed. Villanueva calls for dialogue about structural issues in philanthropy, asking questions about the source of philanthropists' wealth and the powers in charge of managing it.

Key to Villanueva's understanding is the use of money as medicine to heal colonial wounds and close the racial wealth gap. This can be achieved by healing which involves multiple steps including:

> rejection of racial hierarchies; rejecting the consolidation of power that wealth accompanies; acknowledging the history of your institution and how colonization, slavery, and other forms of oppression facilitated the accumulation of the wealth that you protect, grow, and distribute; naming and redistributing the power you have acquired by your proximity to wealth.

In a similar vein, Cultural Survival has a series of articles on Indigenizing philanthropy. Angarova and Francour speak of how philanthropy must acknowledge that the wealth of philanthropists is tied to the 'extraction and exploitation of Indigenous Peoples', as that will enable it to move towards positive transformation.[35] They advocate the popular slogan 'Nothing about us, without us' in demanding representation for Indigenous people in philanthropy. Most notably, they present the 4Rs – Respect, Reciprocity, Responsibility, and Relationships – of transformed giving and partnerships developed by the International Funders for Indigenous Peoples (IFIP).[36]

2.4 Adivasi and Tribal Women, Development, and Philanthropy

Adivasis and Tribals, the original inhabitants of India, have paid the highest costs towards nation-building and development.[37] Many of the temples of modern India, as Jawaharlal Nehru called them – the big dams, power plants, and other heavy industries – were built on Adivasi land. Even though Adivasis and Tribals constitute only about 8 per cent of the total population of the country, they account for almost half, i.e. 50 per cent, of the total population displaced by such projects.[38]

In describing the systemic exploitation and oppression of their communities at the hands of caste society, Adivasi and Tribal scholars have called these phenomena internal colonialism or double colonialism, and even multiple waves of colonialism.[39] Through this they assert that colonialism for Adivasis and Tribals does not only refer to British imperialism, but also colonialism within the nation state from non-tribal or caste society.

The Draft National Tribal Policy notes that Adivasi and Tribal land has been treated as a free resource

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34 Edgar Villanueva, The Decolonizing Wealth Toolkit, (Michigan: Decolonizing Wealth Project, 2020), 1-32. https://decolonizigwealth.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/DWP_Toolkit_fnl2.pdf.

35 Galina Angarova and Daisee Francour, "Indigenising Philanthropy: Shifting Grantmaking Practices from Extractive to Reciprocal," Cultural Survival, 1 December 2020, https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/indigenizing-philanthropy-shifting-grantmaking-practices-extractive-reciprocal.

36 Galina Angarova, Daisee Francour, and Lourdes Inga, "Indigenizing Philanthropy: Indigenous Led Funds," Cultural Survival, March 17, 2021.
https://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/indigenizing-philanthropy- indigenous-led-funds; Jenn Tierney, "Funding Indigenous Peoples Strat gies for Support International Funders for Indigenous Peoples," Grantcraft, A service of Foundation Center, November 6, 2015. https://internationalfunders.org/funding-indigenous-peoples-strategies-for-support-2/.

37 Guha 'Tribals gained least.'

38 Ratnaker Bhengra, C.R. Bijoy and Shimreichon Luithui, The Adivasis of India (London: Minority Rights Group, 1998), 8.

39 Virginius Xaxa, Tribes and Social Exclusion, (New Delhi: UNICEF, 2011), 3. https://cssscal.org/pdf/unicef/OP_Virginius_Xaxa.pdf.; Ram Dayal Munda and S. Bosu Mullick, The Jharkhand Movement: Indigenous Peoples' Struggle for Autonomy in India (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2003); S.R. Bodhi and Bipin Jojo, eds., The Problematics of Tribal Integration: Voices from India's Alternative Centers (Hyderabad: The Shared Mirror, 2019), 12, http://www.ticijournals.org/wp-content/uloads/2019/07/The-Problematics-of-Tribal-IntegrationVoices-from-Indias-Alternative-Centers.pdf.

for the whole country at the expense of Tribal rights. In this way:

> Tribal communities witnessed their habitats and homelands fragmented, their cultures disrupted, their communities shattered, the monetary compensation which Tribal communities are not equipped to handle slipping out of their hands, turning them from owners of the resources and well-knit contented communities to individual wage earners in the urban agglomerates with uncertain futures and threatened existence.[40]

Likewise, the third report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Inter-sectoral Issues Relating to Tribal Development in 2009 declares that the constitutional mandate concerning the rights of the Adivasi and Tribal citizens remains unfulfilled and the failure of the Indian state to protect its Adivasi and Tribal citizens has primarily been administrative.[41] As the onus of development is shared by civil society and increasingly the private sector, it becomes necessary to examine philanthropy's relationship with Adivasi and Tribal communities in the country.

If philanthropy originated as a colonial system in the West, then its practice in India, which is heavily influenced by the West in contemporary times too, retains these colonial principles. When combined with the experience of internal colonialism it produces a layered form of colonial power dynamics. In India, one of the principal reasons for the low development indicators of Adivasi and Tribal communities is attributed to the remoteness of the areas they inhabit and the 'backwardness' of their lifestyles and cultural practices. And yet such arguments can easily be critiqued. For instance, Nathan and Xaxa observe that while services and infrastructure are inadequate in these areas supposedly due to their remoteness, the infrastructure for heavy industries and the development of those plants somehow reaches these places. They underline that 'exclusion and the related remoteness that is supposed to result in exclusion are not absolutes, nor do they exist for all purposes'.[42] Additionally, studies show that significant government bodies and policies such as the district mineral foundations[43] and the Tribal Sub-Plan have failed in their mandates.[44]

A significant amount of grey literature dedicated to the development of Adivasi and Tribal communities fails to incorporate both an Indigenous and a gender perspective. In thinking of an inclusive way to involve Adivasi and Tribal communities in development, Adivasi activist Gladson Dungdung argues for the replacement of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP)– a top-down approach that places Adivasis and Tribals in the role of supposed beneficiaries, but fails to empower them as decision-makers – with a Tribal Sustainable Development Plan (TSDP).[45] He envisions this as empowering Tribal communities to decide their own development based on their needs and priorities, including protection of their distinct identities alongside ensuring transparency, government accountability, and development based on respecting the fundamental rights of Tribal communities.

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40 Ministry of Tribal Affairs, The Draft National Tribal Policy (New Delhi: Government of India, 2006), 8.

41 Bhalchandra Mungekar, Third Report of the Standing Committee on Inter-sectoral Issues Relating to Tribal Development (New Delhi: Government of India, 2009), https://tribal.nic.in/downloads/Statistics/OtherReport/Mungekar3rdreport2.pdf.

42 Dev Nathan and Virginius Xaxa, Social Exclusion and Adverse Inclusion: Development and Deprivation of Adivasis in India (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

43 District mineral foundations are statutory bodies which have the government mandate of conducting development work in mining areas.

44 Srestha Banerjee et al., People First: District Mineral Foundation (DMF), Status Report (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment, 2018), 5; Abhay Xaxa, 'Adivasis and the Indian State: Successive govts distorted Tribal Sub Plan policy, denied community fair share of budgetary reserves,' FirstPost, 27 August 2019, https://www.firstpost.com/india/adivasis-and-the-ind an-state-successive-govts-distorted-tribal-sub-plan-policy- denied-community-fair-share-of-budgetary-reserves-7235461.html.

The literature review suggests that philanthropic giving in India has been inattentive to gender, caste, and ethnicity, let alone their intersections, as markers of marginalisation. Hence, even as poverty or other issues that do receive funding overlap with those of marginalised communities, there is an absence of perspective on historical oppression. Notably, the social exclusion and marginalisation of Adivasi and Tribal communities has continued post-Independence and development has not been inclusive in nature. While there exist endeavours to decolonise philanthropy in the West, such a dialogue or even that of social justice and reparations is absent from philanthropic discourse in India.

In light of these issues, and especially since development work is impacted by philanthropic funding it becomes important to examine how NGOs are currently serving Adivasi and Tribal women at the grassroots. Studying how philanthropic funding reaches them can provide valuable insights into how philanthropy in India addresses the most vulnerable. Accordingly, this study researches the condition of grassroots NGOs working with Adivasi women, their financial situation, struggles with fundraising, approach to philanthropy and how it affects their work, and last but not the least, their work with communities, and especially Adivasi and Tribal women.

3. Findings and Discussion

NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal communities showed higher compatibility with foreign funding organisations compared to domestic philanthropy.
The funding landscape in India is rapidly shrinking due to Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act, 2010 (FCRA) amendments and the worst affected will be small-scale grassroots NGOs.
Domestic philanthropy is not attuned to gender, caste, and ethnicity as markers of marginalisation.
CSR funding comes with several conditions and pitfalls that are unsuitable for social justice work.
NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal communities face multiple hurdles in accessing government funds, often seeing it as the last resort.
It is rare for an NGO working with Adivasi and Tribal communities to be led by Adivasis, especially Adivasi women.
Grassroots NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal communities are often compelled to work without funds.
Personal networks influence how funding partnerships are secured.
Individual grants for activists or founders of NGOs often fill in for gaps in institutional funding.

Table 1: Summary of findings

Table 1 provides a snapshot of the key findings of this research study. They are incorporated in the discussion below, which paints a larger picture of the funding landscape for NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal women.

3.1. Adivasi and Tribal Women's Developmental Issues

In our desk review, we found the bulk of literature on issues affecting Adivasi and Tribal women focused on five key areas: education, health and nutrition, economic deprivation and livelihoods, land rights, and gender-based violence. While agreeing with these findings, the eight participant NGOs nuanced these issues by pointing out the particularities of their work in their respective areas.

Adivasi and Tribal women are by no means a monolithic social category; their struggles and needs vary depending on their location and context. Factors such as land alienation, displacement, conflict and militarisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation affect their psycho-social and economic well-being.

Nonetheless, following the insights developed by Black and Indigenous feminist scholarship,[46] the convergence of the two axes of oppression and marginalisation in their social identity – gender and ethnicity – place them in a distinct social location from which to examine structural oppression and systemic injustice.

All participant NGOs believed that Adivasi and Tribal women's developmental needs are interwoven with those of their communities. An NGO founder, an Adivasi and Tribal woman herself, elaborated,

> We talk of gender issues and Indigenous issues, but when we particularly come to Indigenous women's issues, we can see a difference. The way structural oppression works and weakens the entire system from the inside…it impacts Indigenous women's lives and it's not just individual rights, it is connected to collective rights. In the initial days when we started working with the community, we realised that the community has so many issues and if we do not address those and instead address the individual issues of women, then we will not come to any solution.

This is not to say that Adivasi and Tribal women do not require discrete attention as women or that their individual rights are of secondary importance, but rather that their developmental needs are enmeshed with those of their communities. The kind of work the participant NGOs detailed validates this argument.

One NGO, located in an area affected by political and ethnic strife, built a support system for women street vendors. Initially, this included mostly widowed women who had taken to hawking to fend for themselves and their dependents. They were ashamed of their work, thinking it was dishonourable. There was also a stark contrast between the permanence of shops owned by men and the temporariness and uncertainty of those of the women hawkers. The NGO worked on changing the women's outlook by making them see the value of their economic contribution to their community and the country. They brought in local administrators to talk to and encourage them, and even started an award for their entrepreneurship, thus honouring their spirit and fortitude. This brought about a change in gender relations and how the community perceived these women. All this work was carried out with money from their own pockets, without specialised funding.

Another NGO, located in a tea garden area, noted that 75 per cent of the workforce there comprised Adivasi and Tribal women. The high demand for women's labour makes it easier for them to find jobs. The founder of the NGO stated, 'If a girl is born, she is celebrated as another earning source for the family.' While the gendered nature of work in the tea gardens may seem like a livelihood advantage for Adivasi and Tribal women, the abysmal living wages of USD 1 (Rs 70) per day, after deductions for living amenities and retirement savings, mean an abject quality of life.[47] Adivasi and Tribal girls are also less likely to attend high school in tea gardens since these are located far away, making long commutes both inconvenient and unsafe. In order to work with them the NGO has to work with their families to educate their daughters and raise collective ambitions.

At present, feminist funding that aims to fund social justice work by addressing power imbalances has

46 The Combahee River Collective, The Combahee River Collective Statement. United States, 2015. Web Archive. https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028151/; Joyce Green, ed. Making Space for Indigenous Feminism(Zed Books, 2007), 26.

47 Rahul Karmakar, 'Assam tea workers get a fourth of "living wage": Study,' The Hindu, 14 July 2021, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/assam-tea-workers-get-a-fourth-of-living-wage- study/article35315619.ece.2021; Nazdeek, 'Tea Worker Income Brea down,'n.d., 2014, http://www.nazdeek.org/download/1469786012assam-wage-infographics-02.pdf.

become popular internationally. From our sampling, none of the NGOs mentioned feminist funding in India and only one domestic philanthropic organisation –popular for its progressive functioning – incorporated a gender-sensitive lens in their grant making. Nevertheless, when it comes to addressing Adivasi and Tribal women's issues, it is evident that one cannot look at women's empowerment in a silo; the holistic empowerment of the entire community must be the aim.

Although grassroots NGOs are attuned to the needs of communities they work with, they are inevitably part of an evolving philanthropic ecosystem where, increasingly, most attention seems to focus on market values like innovation, scaling impact, and introducing business solutions to development work.[48] Such trends indicate increasing precarity and dimmed prospects for grassroots NGOs working on Adivasi and Tribal issues, women's rights, human rights, and even social justice.

3.2 How Do Adivasi and Tribal NGOs Approach Philanthropy?

An NGO's approach to philanthropy is intimately tied with their approach to their work and how they envision change and transformation in the communities they work with. Thus the principles or ideologies that guide their work have an effect on how they apply for funds, which funds they are comfortable accepting, and how those funds are put to use.

The majority of participant NGOs in the study can be described as homegrown because they were founded by community members working for the betterment of their communities. A few first emerged as community-based collectives that only sought official registration after a few years. These NGOs are thus rooted in the socio-political groundings and aspirations of their communities. While varying in degrees of professionalisation compared to urban standards, their prime focus is the welfare of their communities, with financial security being a peripheral concern. The founder of an Assam-based NGO put it succinctly: '*Dekhiye hum non-profit organisation hai, aisa humlog ka koi loss nahi hai aur profit bhi nahi hai. Humlog ka hamesha balance zero hota hai*' (See, we're a non-profit organisation, we don't have profits or losses, our balance sheet is always at zero).

A majority of five out of eight NGOs reported doing work without any funding, while two mentioned contributing money from their own pockets for work that didn't have any funding. Money is the means to work on social issues and not the chief priority. Thus most NGOs were looking for effective philanthropic support not as the solution but as one amongst many for the complex problems present in their communities. Hence work continued even without that support. At one NGO that was unable to raise funds at the start of the pandemic, the founder told her teammates, 'Will you wait to start work until money comes our way? Let's start working, then people will see our work and send money.' This underscores how even as the philanthropic ecosystem oscillates in providing funds to NGOs, the issues on the ground remain urgent and relentless.

All participant NGOs were particularly critical of CSR initiatives, calling them a numbers game. One of the founders who has been working in a conflict-affected area for more than two decades stated:

> You tell them 5,000 women are getting a livelihood or the income of 1,000 farmers has increased and they are very happy. But there are stories and faces behind those numbers that are ignored. They do CSR for the sake of compliance and have no interest in getting into the roots of the problems such as why there is scarcity of food and drinking water, why underdevelopment occurs. They cannot tolerate these 'why' questions.

48 Anand Giridharadas, Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018).

While most participant NGOs acknowledged the necessity of impact assessment, six of them seemed unconvinced about the notion of quantifiable impact, which was most popular with CSR funding. This is because work with communities continues even after measurable indicators are achieved. Most funding is project based, with very limited funds available that provide for the long term. NGO staff stressed that issues Adivasi and Tribal communities grapple with do not get resolved with the completion of projects. For instance, intergenerational poverty cannot be marked as resolved due to a sudden increase in income or temporary access to low-wage work.

The general understanding was that change is a long-term commitment, whereas funding is often short term. While funded projects are nevertheless important to work with communities, all the NGOs demonstrated long-standing dedication in working with people with or without funding. As one NGO staff member remarked, '*Issues bandh nahi honge kyunki* we don't have money. *Haath daala hai toh kaam karna hi padega*. We can't say, '*Arrey paisa khatam ho gaya'* (Issues won't stop because we don't have money. If we've started working then we will have to continue. We can't say, oh we don't have any money to do work).

In a similar vein, another NGO founder asserted, 'Not all issues need to be addressed through projects.' In such situations, NGOs largely relied on community funds and support, stretched their money, and engaged in work that didn't require material goods and benefits.

3.3. The Philanthropic Ecosystem for NGOs Working with Adivasi and Tribal Women

The funding landscape for grassroots NGOs working with Adivasi and Tribal communities is fast shrinking. Obtaining funds was a constant struggle for the participant NGOs in the study, other than for two long-standing NGOs. The majority relied on foreign funders and the largest percentage of their funding came from abroad. Four NGOs received both foreign and domestic funds, two only received domestic funds, and two others only received foreign funds. Half of the eight participant NGOs were struggling financially whereas the other half were relatively secure in terms of funds as they had some access to long-term funds and strong relationships with funding partners.

In the domestic sphere, funding sources found in the study can be subdivided into a) government; b) trusts and foundations; c) CSR; and d) community contributions.

Complexities of government funding

From the eight participant NGOs, four had access to government funds. However, the general perception was that government funding is entwined with red tapism and control of the organisation. Thus most organisations viewed it as a last resort, with the process of obtaining these funds being extremely laborious and time consuming.

An NGO founder and an industry expert in Assam spoke of how accessing government grants often required a certain percentage of the grant to be 'returned' to the processing officers, which Dreze calls a commission.[49] Even though this is an under-the-table transaction, it is an accepted and unavoidable norm in the region. Similar practices were also reported in Maharashtra. In fact, there the NGO had

49 Jean Drèze, Sense and Solidarity: Jholawala Economics for Everyone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 29, https://ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Jean_Dreze_2017_Sense_and_Solidarity.pdf.

only received a part of the funds and not the whole amount because they had refused to engage in bribery.

Domestic foundations, CSR funding, and ethical negotiations

When it came to domestic trusts and foundations, the participant NGOs reported them to be few and far between and also difficult to access compared to foreign funders. The Adivasi-and Tribal-led NGOs also stated that barring a few exceptions domestic funders did not seem to completely relate to nor embrace Adivasi and Tribal issues. One NGO founder said that Adivasi and Tribal issues are often misunderstood or seen from a prejudiced lens, observing, 'If you add the word Adivasi or Tribal to proposals, funding becomes difficult.'

The general perception about CSR funds was that they came with more pitfalls. For instance, one NGO director said that CSR funders often expected some sort of exchange for granting funds, wherein they would expect the NGO to use their products or promote their brand name in their work. All NGOs had strong ethical stances about using corporate funds. While some had a blanket ban on using funds from extractive corporations whose work they believed exploited Adivasis and Tribals, others undertook complex negotiations before deciding to use corporate funds.

An Adivasi-led organisation was initially opposed to partnering with any CSR organisations; but with several funding opportunities presenting themselves, they decided to deliberate on the prospect. After months of circumspection, they decided to be open to partnering with CSRs and drew up guidelines and rules of engagement for this. The main consideration was that the corporation's work did not compromise with the Adivasi community's value system – the 'notion of community, justice and regulated use of surrounding resources'[50] – which prioritises the protection of *jal, jangal,* and *jameen* (water, forests, and land) and is against extractive industries like mining. Thus any philanthropic organisation, CSR, or government entity working in accordance with those values and principles was welcome to partner with them.

Similarly, another NGO that worked with local Adivasi and Tribal artisans deliberated for a while whether or not to take funds from a foundation linked to a big multinational corporation which dedicates some funds for livelihood issues in Tribal communities. The winning argument was that if they didn't take those funds someone else would do so. They had also observed how NGOs led by non-Adivasis working with Adivasi artisans in their region had developed over the years with better capacity and infrastructure while the socioeconomic condition of the artisans had not improved.

Lastly, community funding was a source that four of the Adivasi-and Tribal-led NGOs relied on at different stages. This includes two NGOs which were supported to a small extent by family and friends in the initial phase of their work, one NGO that received cooked meals, grains, and other resources from the local SHGs and collectives for their shelter homes, and another NGO that tried to start a monthly contribution from the community (this was not successful since the community members didn't have much financial capital themselves).

Withdrawal of foreign funders and future anxieties

The large majority of NGOs viewed foreign funders as being more reliable and consistent; their funding too came with fewer granting and reporting conditions. They were also said to have a more

50 Ratnakar Bhengra, C.R. Bijoy, and Shimreichon Luithui, The Adivasis of India (London: Minority Rights Group, 1998).

perceptive understanding of on-ground problems as opposed to domestic funding agencies. This was attributed to the fact that foreign funders, especially feminist funding foundations, had a rights-based and social justice approach to philanthropy.

A few NGOs also felt that avoiding domestic funds, especially government and CSR, meant that they could function more independently. This was a way to ensure that they were serving the community and not the local administration while also holding the local government officials and institutions accountable.

Over the past decade, foreign funding in India has come under increasingly stringent regulations leading to several international funders withdrawing from the country. Due to recent amendments in the Foreign Contributions (Regulation) Act 2020 (FRCA), transferring and sub-granting foreign funds between organisations was outlawed which has drastically affected the funding ecosystem. This was confirmed by domestic funding organisations which have partnered with several NGOs working with Adivasis and Tribals. One of the funding agencies which has a portfolio dedicated to Adivasis and Tribals noted, 'Foreign funding drying up is something we're acutely aware of – [with] every NGO partner we speak to that's the situation. This year is particularly horrible…we've come across a lot of organisations shutting down.'

Philanthropy experts Amitabh Behar and Pushpa Sundar both stress that in light of foreign funding for social justice causes drying up, Indian philanthropy needs to step into the role.[51] Unfortunately, the observed trend is that Indian philanthropists are conservative and shy away from addressing social justice issues. Thus most big philanthropy players in India do not include a 'power analysis of the social, gender, class and caste complexities in India' [52] in their work.

This withdrawal of foreign funding organisations and the insufficiency of domestic philanthropy funding for social justice issues has grave implications: the smaller grassroots NGOs with a social justice bent to their work will be adversely impacted. Notably, all of the participant NGOs in the study had anxieties about future funding prospects with FCRA rules becoming increasingly stringent. Even the ones with long-term foreign funders had begun seeking domestic alternatives.

Individual grants filling gaps in institutional funding

One of the ways in which gaps in funding are being met is through individual grants and awards. All eight participant NGOs were founded on the vision and convictions of mostly one person or a small core group of individuals. These founders, especially those from the community, inadvertently became spokespersons in larger civil society for the communities they serve. They have acquired much fame and recognition and are routinely invited for events representing diversity and a voice from marginalised communities. The chief irony being that their star stature doesn't translate to institutional funding.

Nonetheless, the limelight keeps them in circulation, and allows them to create an opening to talk about their work and social issues. Most grants and fellowships awarded to them revolve around their NGO's core work, which are specific to the region or ethnicity or locally address a humanitarian crisis. These grants are largely meant for personal development or are unrestricted, but NGO founders channel these funds towards the upkeep of their organisations instead of safeguarding their own financial security. Regardless of the amount, these funds mainly served as tide-over funds for the NGOs and

51 Hartnell, Philanthropy in India, 23.
52 Hartnell, Philanthropy in India, 24.

were not seen as viable substitutes for institutional funding.

Alternatives to traditional funding and accessibility

Even with the Indian funding ecosystem in dire straits, VAF notes the rise in Indian philanthropists setting up their own implementing organisations; this is likely to work to the detriment of small NGOs which lose out on such funding.[53] This also risks creation of echo chambers, lack of representation from marginalised communities, and philanthropy being led by those with similar worldviews to the philanthropist.

One funding organisation in the study which recently began implementation work itself, mentioned that they were looking at venture philanthropy as an alternative funding source since the regular sources were unreliable. The director noted, 'We very strongly feel that we need to look for some innovative funding mechanisms to support the communities on ground. Just depending on CSRs or the government is a big challenge.' Even as such alternatives are accessible to implementing organisations of philanthropic organisations, it is unlikely that grassroots NGOs like the study participants would have access to the networks, vocabulary, and social capital required to build such partnerships. While highlighting the need for the improvement of domestic philanthropy, a staff member of a funding organisation stated:

> Even if there are more philanthropic organisations, I don't think Adivasi and Tribal organisations will be the ones to benefit, because they're not visible and they're small. Most donors will look for a certain rigour in systems and processes, which I'm not saying doesn't exist but I think they've not had the opportunity to have that kind of funding support to set all that up.

Caste networks and funding opportunities

In interviews with both NGOs and funding organisations we found that most funding partnerships emerged through professional and private networks. Research shows that caste-and tribe-based oppression in employment has evolved to persevere in the modern market economy in India and has detrimental effects on Adivasi, Tribal, and Dalit communities. Accordingly, caste-based networks restrict the access of marginalised communities to information and opportunities impacting employment and upward mobility.[54]

While there is no data available on Adivasi, Tribal and Dalit representation in the philanthropic sector, the above arguments apply across the Indian labour market. Villanueva highlights that while calls for diversity and representation in the philanthropic sector in the United States have increased, the actual implementation is tokenistic and there is a long way to go for ownership and decision-making to become truly equitable.[55] In India, such conversations are not yet visible in the philanthropic discourse, although NGO experts do advocate supporting community leaders and working with them on the ground.[56]

All three funding organisations participating in the study reported that while they had either funded or come across NGOs working with Adivasis and Tribes, they had rarely encountered one led by Adivasis and Tribals themselves. A health-based philanthropic organisation spoke of receiving many

53 VAF, Big Philanthropy in India, 30.

54 Sukhadeo Thorat and Katherine S. Newman, 'Caste and Economic Discrimination: Causes, Consequences and Remedies,' Economic and Political Weekly 42, no. 41 (2007): 4143, https://www.epw.in/journal/2007/41/caste- and-economic-discrimination-special-issues-specials caste-and-economic; Mosse, 'Caste and Development,' 429; Alpa Shah et al., Ground Down by Growth: Tribe, Caste, Class, and Inequality in Twenty-First Century India (London: Pluto Press, 2018), 31.

55 Villanueva, Decolonizing Wealth, 149.

56 Ashish and Behani, 'Working with Adivasi peoples.'

proposals from non-Adivasi/Tribal-led NGOs based in Delhi and Mumbai which wanted to work with Adivasis and Tribals in rural areas. The same organisation advocated for more diversity in their organi sational staff as it would enable marginalised communities to approach them due to affinity and vice-versa. On the other hand, the two other philanthropic organisations did not factor in caste and ethnic location in their work.

This does not mean that Adivasi-and Tribal-led NGOs have not built their own networks through years of work and visibility; they have. Two Adivasi-led NGOs have had access to long-term funds because of their years of work interventions and being among the very few NGOs led by community members. Four NGOs had links with global Indigenous networks and bodies and had campaigned in internation-al fora. And yet, the contrast between networks and how they translated to funding was telling; one upper caste-led NGO, whose founder acknowledged her 'privilege' despite facing discrimination on account of her gender, remarked, 'Where our friends are there, it is easy to convince them.'

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we presented the key findings of our study examining the present philanthropic ecosys-tem in India. In the literature review we traced how philanthropic giving in India has revolved around caste groups, personal preferences, and communities, and how Adivasi and Tribal communities have faced the brunt of the fallout of national development initiatives, even as they have been denied access to the fruits of this development. In addition, philanthropy in India has not adopted or engaged with race and ethnicity as crucial lenses through which to understand gender and social inequality.

We found that grassroots organisations working with Adivasi and Tribal women align better with foreign philanthropic organisations than domestic philanthropic organisations. However, the future looks precarious for them with foreign funding rapidly shrinking. The work of these organisations is highly contextualised and developed in response to the needs of their communities. There is often a mismatch between their priorities and the large-scale visions of big philanthropy in India. Thus, there is an urgent need for philanthropy in India to engage with development through the lenses of gender, caste, and ethnicity in addition to the established metrics of social development.

Some of the chief limitations of this study were its small sample size and limited geographical expanse. Accordingly, the findings should be interpreted as a snapshot of what is happening on the ground in certain states of the country. This research study can inform larger and more expansive studies in the future which could also look at statistical indicators for measurement.

This research foregrounds a vision for an Indigenous (Adivasi and Tribal) philanthropy which could facilitate new discussions for the philanthropic sector in India. As an NGO founder said, 'It [Tribal philanthropy] has to be different, it has to address the historic injustices that the Tribal communities in India have faced.'

The study also calls for the acknowledgment of historical oppression that continues today and the inclusion of marginalised people in funding and grant-making spaces, and most importantly, in decision-making positions. For, as Villanueva underscores, 'all of us who have been forced to the margins are the very ones who harbor the best solutions for healing, progress, and peace, by virtue of our outsider perspectives and resilience'.[57]

5. Recommendations

The recommendations have been drawn from the suggestions provided by the participant NGO staff, philanthropic organisations, and sector experts, and our analysis of the issues faced by them. They span the areas of systems change, procedures and compliance, human resource inclusivity, and fundraising.

5.1. For Philanthropic Organisations

- Long-term funding: This allows for stability and continuity in projects for NGOs.
- Core funding: For organisations to be secure and sustainable, investments in building organisational capacity and ensuring longevity are crucial to their survival.
- Shorter turn-around time for granting responses and approvals: Announcing decisions faster would allow NGOs to plan the execution of their projects better, and in case of rejections, to look for other sources.
- Trust the expertise of community leaders: Treat community members and leaders as experts in their issues, including for providing the solutions. Incorporate participatory approaches for monitoring and evaluation.
- Create inclusive grant-making teams: Hiring more staff from the community allows for an insider approach to grant making.
- Simpler paperwork: While many granting partners have already simplified funding application processes, the contracts are often loaded with legal language, restrictive conditions, and threat of repercussions.
- Qualitative measures of change: A rehauling of the metrics of social development and change, to accommodate holistic and contextualised yardsticks to measure the impact of work instead of numbers alone, would help capture the particularities of issues within Adivasi and Tribal communities.

5.2. For NGOs

- No amount is too small: To move into the eligibility bracket for larger grants, NGOs should try to secure several small and mid-sized grants to achieve the total funding revenue.
- Keep funding in circulation: NGOS should take what they get, and do what they can with them.
- Keep bank accounts active: With the paucity in funding, especially for small organisations, even being able to show some transactions – small amounts of money trickling in on a regular basis –

57 Villanueva, Decolonizing Wealth, 6.

will hold them in good stead for larger funding opportunities as well as with income tax authorities and other regulatory compliances.
- Reciprocity: Organisations need to build a community of NGOs and activists that work on reciproci ty; they can help each other and seek help with basics of fundraising such as proposal writing, budget preparation, and filing taxes.

6. Appendices

6.1. Appendix 1: Definitions of Adivasis, Tribals, and Indigenous Peoples

Scheduled Tribes is the constitutional name for Adivasis and Tribals or Indigenous peoples in India. Article 366 (25) and Article 342 of the Indian Constitution defines and lays out the scope of the categ ory of Scheduled Tribes. In Schedule VI (Sixth Schedule) areas with ten autonomous councils in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Mizoram and the rest of North-East India the term 'Tribal' is used to denote their distinct ethnicity. In the Schedule V (Fifth Schedule) areas of the ten states of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajas than, and Telangana, the term 'Adivasi' and/or 'Tribal' is used. The Adivasis in Assam, have not been officially conferred with the Scheduled Tribe status, while their communities in peninsular India have. Yet, they assert themselves as Adivasi.

Vimukta Jati, or 'Denotified tribes/Nomadic tribes, are spread across the country and included in differ ent official categorisations. They are the tribes which were originally listed under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 as 'Criminal Tribes', and were 'Denotified' upon the Act's repeal in 1949. This Act, however, was replaced by a series of Habitual Offenders Acts, and the denotified tribes were reclassified as 'habitual offenders' in 1959.[58]

We thus use both the terms Adivasi and Tribals for the Indigenous peoples of India in our research to incorporate this history and to honour the self-determination of nomenclature and identities of our peoples.

While each of the terms Adivasi, Tribal, Scheduled Tribe, and Indigenous have their own genealogies

58 National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes, Report 1, Volume 1 (New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice & Empo erment, Government of India, 2008), https://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/NCDNT2008-v1%20(1).pdf; National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Tribes, Draft List of Denotified Tribes, Nomadic Tribes and Semi-Nomadic Tribes of India (New Delhi: Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India, n.d.), https://socialjustice.nic.in/writerea.

and conceptual histories, the use of Indigenous for Adivasi and Tribes sits uncomfortably with many scholars, as it is framed within the discourse of settler colonialism. But Virginius Xaxa, reiterated by Raile Rocky Ziipao, helped us formulate this usage, application, and ownership. According to Ziipao:

> Tribes in India face two waves of Colonialism, what [Xaxa] calls 'double colonialism' – one from the British and one from the non-Tribal Indian population. Hence, the problem of trying to unravel Tribal social reality from the post-colonial framework of South Asian Studies, Tribes still have yet to experience a post-colonial reality. For Tribes, post-colonial reality and framework is just an

As for the history of the term Adivasi, Xaxa says:

> The ascription of the term Adivasi as being Indigenous (what the Indian Government assigns as Scheduled Tribe from the administrative perspective of lack of literacy, economic backwardness, lack of political participation and their inability to deal with the external societies) emerged more as a political self- reference than as an anthropological definition of such groups. It relates more to the common experience of subjugation faced by Tribal groups from the state since colonial times. The term signifies our demand for recognition of our identity and rights over ancestral lands, forests, customary practices and self-governance amidst the exploitative relationship by the larger dominants.[60]

6.2. Appendix 2: Profiles of the NGOs

Each of the eight participant NGOs from Assam, Jharkhand, and Maharashtra has been registered either as a trust or a society. Out of the eight, six NGOs have been legally operational for more than 20 years and two NGOs for more than five years. The participant NGOs have been working in Schedule V and Schedule VI areas (See Appendix 1) and with Adivasi and Tribal women directly or indirectly.

Sl. No	Profiles of NGOs	Key Areas of Work	Primary Sources of Funding
1	The NGO works with a rights-based and gender-justice perspective with marginalised communities in conflict-affected areas.	Capacity building of communities in health, education, and livelihood	Foreign: Foundations, awards, and fellowships, Domestic philanthropic organisations: Foundations and CSR
2	The NGO's mission is to work with the Adivasi and Tribal communities with the aim to collectively build an equal and just society. The NGO works with communities living in tea estates.	Education, livelihood, disaster management, and public participation in governance	Foreign: Funding agencies and foundations Government funding
3	The NGO's vision is to provide quality education in rural areas, primarily in tea gardens. The NGO has women's rights at its core.	Gender-based violence and inequality, education, livelihood, and disaster management	Foreign: Foundations, awards, and fellowships Domestic philanthropic organisations: Foundations and CSR
4	The NGO works towards the attainment of Sustainable Development Goals concerning marginalised communities. It primarily works with women and children	Combating human trafficking, education, and livelihood	Government and CSR
5	The NGO was founded by concerned citizens to work with the Indigenous communities. It works in extractive industrial and mining areas for the rights of Adivasi communities and functions as a collective on the basis of consensus.	Livelihood, education, and conservation of indigenous knowledge and practices	Foreign funding organisations Domestic philanthropic organisations: Foundations and CSR

59 Amy Johnson, 'Epistemology is the Key to Tribes' Emancipation,' Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute, Harvard University, 15 March 2018, https://mittalsouthasiainstitute.harvard.edu/2018/03/epistemology-is-the-key-to-tribes-emancipation/.

60 Virginius Xaxa, 'Tribes as Indigenous People of India', Economic and Political Weekly 34, no. 51 (December 18-24, 1999), 3589-3595.

6	With the mission of achieving gender justice, the NGO works with women using an intersectional approach.	Gender justice, livelihood, human rights, and community forest rights of indigenous communities	Foreign funding organisations
7	The NGO works in urban informal settlements with the mission of nurturing and building the capacity of young people through a gender-justice lens.	Capacity building of youth, awareness on the rights of marginalised communities, and furthering the foundational values of the Constitution of India	Domestic philanthropic organisations, awards and fellowships
8	The NGO has its roots in a local collective providing support to young Adivasis in higher education. It works in Adivasi and Tribal areas undergoing urbanisation.	Education, livelihood, and conservation of indigenous knowledge and culture	Government and CSR

6.3. Appendix 2: Profiles of the Philanthropic Organisations

The participating philanthropic organisations have at least one NGO partner in the states of Jharkhand, Assam, and Maharashtra.

Sl. No	Profiles of Philanthropic Organisations
1	The philanthropic organisation provides long-term grants to NGOs working with the most vulnerable of our society. The organisation has multiple grant-making portfolios. The one addressing land and forest dependent groups handles the grant making for Adivasi and Tribal concerns.
2	The philanthropic organisation operates through an intersectional lens and has an intersectoral approach to grant making. The funding application is open year-long and key areas of support include health, gender justice, and capacity building. The organisation provides core funding and programme funding on a rolling basis.
3	The organisation is the nodal agency of one of the largest philanthropic organisations in India. It does grant making for NGOs and also operates as an implementation organisation. It functions in Adivasi and Tribal regions with poverty alleviation and livelihood as key areas of funding.

6.4. Appendix 3: Semi-structured Interview Guide for NGOs

About the organisation

1. What is the story of your organisation? What prompted you to start the organisation?
2. What is the vision and mission of the organisation? What are the long-term goals?
3. What was the process of drafting the mission and vision of the organisation? What steps were taken to bring in community participation?
4. What are the ongoing projects of the organisation?
5. Does the organisation have equal representation of women (especially in decision-making)? Do women lead the women-focused projects?
6. What are the ways your organisation ensures gender sensitivity among staff?
7. How many people do you have as staff? Do you have a fund-raising team?

8. Are most of your staff full-time or part-time? Do you hire them on the basis of projects? Do you hire consultants?

Projects for women's issues

9. Which are the main flagship programmes for Adivasi women in your organisation?
10. Were women's issues always a focus area for the organisation? If not, then when did you incorporate women's issues into the agenda? What led to this? Why was the need to pay specific attention to women's issues felt?
11. How did you identify which issues to work on while creating these programs?
12. Is the program project driven, fund driven or issue driven?
13. What kind of interventions do you provide for the beneficiaries?
14. From your organisation's work can you identify the key issues that Adivasi women face at the grass roots?

Funding

15. Where does most of your funding come from? Is it international or national? Regarding domestic funds: does it come from government or private philanthropic agencies?
16. What percentage of domestic funding (roughly) has been secured for the flagship programmes?
17. What is the process of securing domestic funding for these issues? How easy or difficult has it been to do so?
18. What are the strategies you use to apply for funds?
19. Did your funding strategies change once you started working on women's issues?
20. Which women's issues are the easy ones to find funding for? In our desk review we found education and health to be the most popular areas; what does your experience say?
21. Are there issues you are unable to work on because of the lack of available funds?
22. What are the obstacles and barriers you face in accessing funds from philanthropic foundations?
23. How many funding applications do you send out in a financial year? What is the percentage (roughly) of selections and rejections you face in domestic applications for funding?

Relationship with funders

24. How would you describe your relationship with funders?
25. Do funders take special interest in Adivasi women's issues beyond the established metrics of social development?
26. What are the other kinds of support, besides finances, that funders provide, if any?
27. What challenges have you faced from funders in implementing project activities?

Social and political pressure

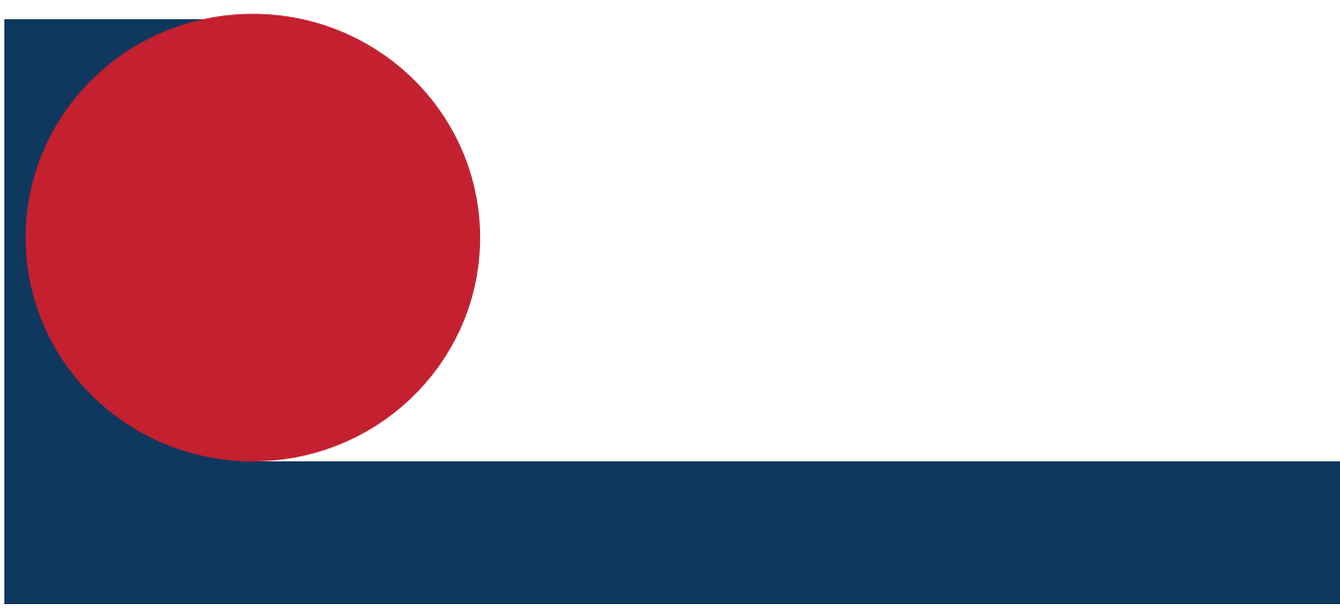
28. Have you ever faced political pressure to close down any of your programmes or work specifically with Adivasi women?
29. Have funders been influenced by the current political climate or the government response to dissent and withdrawn funding from your organisation?

30.What other social threats do you face in implementing your interventions?

6.5. Appendix 4

Semi-structured interview guide for philanthropic organisations

1. How was the vision and mission of your organisation determined?
2. How would you define your organisation's theory of change? How do you envision change?
3. What are the broad areas your organisation is funding? What was the process involved in identify ing and narrowing down to these issues in particular?
4. Do you think women's issues need specific and strategic funding from philanthropic agencies?
5. What is the proportion of proposals for funding you receive from women's organisations?
6. How many funding applications do you receive from organisations working with Adivasi women?
7. Do you think there is a need for strategic funding that addresses the issues of marginalised commu nities, such as Adivasis and Dalits, which are emerging due to the structural oppression they face?
8. What are the ways funding can be made accessible to marginalised communities such as Adivasi and Dalit communities due to the structural oppression they face?
9. In our desk review we found that states like Maharashtra with high GSDP (gross state domestic product) receive more funding compared to states with a lower GSDP such as Jharkhand and Assam. Do you think this is the general trend for your agency and the larger philanthropic arena as well?
10. Do you think there is a disparity between the kind of funding metropolitan-based organisations receive and that obtained by NGOs based in states like Jharkhand and Assam?
11. What kind of eligibility criteria do you have for selecting organisations for funding?
12. Is there anything in the organizing strategies or capacities of Indigenous women's groups that impacts their access to funding? If yes, what is it and how can it be addressed?
13. Are there any diversity and inclusion policies that your organisation adheres to with respect to staff employment? Are members of the marginalised communities you fund or serve represented in your board or staff?



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