

Interagency United Efforts to Combat Domestic Violence in Georgia: A Local or International Agenda?

**Tbilisi
2011**

The present study was conducted with the support of the Academic Swiss Caucasus Net (ASCN). ASCN is a program aimed at promoting the social sciences and humanities in the South Caucasus (primarily Georgia and Armenia). Its different activities foster the emergence of a new generation of talented scholars. Promising junior researchers receive support through research projects, capacity-building trainings and scholarships. The program emphasizes the advancement of individuals who, thanks to their ASCN experience, become better integrated in international academic networks. The ASCN program is coordinated and operated by the Interfaculty Institute for Central and Eastern Europe (IICEE) at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). It was initiated and is supported by Gebert Rűf Stiftung.

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Domestic violence (DV) is a serious problem in Georgia, as it is elsewhere. Numerous studies dedicated to the topic of domestic violence in Georgia have attempted to determine its scope as well as attitudes to and knowledge about the problem. According to these studies, reported rates of violence vary from 5% to 31% (Thomas, et. al., 2006). According to medical doctors surveyed in 2008, an average of 35% had encountered victims of domestic violence. Police officers who participated in the same study report that 25% of their cases relate to domestic violence (Kaze, Pettai, 2008a, 2008b).

A recent national study found that 35.9% of women's behavior is controlled by their husbands or partners; they forbid the women to work, have relationships with family members and friends, appear in public places and so on. 14.3% of women were subject to emotional violence, having been threatened, neglected, or humiliated by their partners. 6% of women experienced economic violence: their husbands would confiscate the money the women had earned or would withhold spending money for basic needs. 6.9% of women were victims of physical violence: they were pushed, hit, kicked, dragged, pulled, burnt, threatened or wounded by a weapon. Of these, 4.3% were subject to severe physical violence and 2.6% were moderate cases. 3.9% of women report being victims of sexual violence, having sexual relations against their will (Chitashvili et al. 2010).

Nevertheless, much of Georgian society does not publicly recognize the problem's existence, a fact confirmed by the results of baseline research of public opinion on domestic violence that the American Bar Association (ABA) conducted in 2006. Specifically, 75.7% of the respondents felt that the topic of domestic violence should not be discussed publicly because family problems are a taboo subject. According to 26.7% of the Georgian responses, discussions of this issue are not appropriate, and this is likely due to cultural norms; 20.5% believe that disclosure of the issue is useless because it will not eliminate the problem (Aladashvili, Chkheidze, 2008, Thomas, 2008). These findings were confirmed in a 2010 national study: 78.3% of women believe that family problems should remain within the family, 52.1% of women believe that other family members should not intervene in cases of domestic violence, and 50.7% of women believe that a good wife should obey her husband even if she disagrees with him (Chitashvili et al. 2010).

The Georgian government has taken certain steps to address the problem of domestic violence. In 2006, a state law against domestic violence and a corresponding national action plan were adopted; the State Fund for the Protection and Assistance of (Statutory) Victims of Human Trafficking was established in 2006 and was charged with the additional task of combating DV in 2009. Local and international non-governmental organizations began to work on the problem much earlier. Many experts acknowledge that Non-governmental organizations are helpful in combating the problem (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Johnson, Brunnel, 2006; Johnson, 2009; Roggeband, 2004). Indeed, there are numerous NGOs addressing domestic violence in Georgia, but no research to date has examined the effectiveness of their efforts. One of the goals of this report is to demonstrate the role of non-governmental organizations in combating DV. Because of these NGOs' critical role, it is important to examine the impact of their contributions and to determine what factors contribute to their successes or lack thereof.

To date, no research has examined women's NGOs that combat domestic violence and serve as agents of social change in Georgian society. There has, however, been research on several general characteristics of feminist and women's NGOs in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Funk, 2005; Johnson 2007a, 2007b, 2009).

Nanette Funk, discussing criticism of women's NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union, argues that "Western Feminist NGOs only fund local NGOs to promote their own Western feminist agendas and their own feminist interests that are not the interests of women in the region" (Funk, 2005). Kristen Ghodsee also notes that Western donors "hired professional Western feminists to produce what I call 'feminism by design' in much the same way as the World Bank retained consultants from the big international accounting firms to create capitalism by design" (Ghodsee, 2008).

Armine Ishkhanian notes that Armenian NGOs largely depend on Western assistance. Around the year 2000, Western international organizations, such as Sisters Cities International, Project Harmony, and Winrock International, launched projects on domestic violence in Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and Georgia. The Women's Rights Center was the only NGO working on domestic violence until 2000 in Armenia. Many other NGO representatives viewed the center warily and deemed its representatives to be "destroyer(s) of the family" because they dared to "air their dirty laundry in public" (Ishkhanian, 2003).

The data on Armenian and Russian NGOs and crisis centers that combat DV are useful for comparison because Georgia shares a common past with these countries. There are 160 NGOs working on DV in Russia, and one can find a fruitful coordination of state and NGO efforts in a number of Russian provinces (Ishkhanian, 2003; Johnson, 2009).

At the same time, the data from countries such as Canada and Finland are relevant, as those countries are among the world's leaders in combating DV. Finland's active efforts against domestic violence serve as examples of cooperation between government and non-government organizations. Based on data from Finland and Scotland, Jeff Hearn and Linda McKie concluded that "women experiencing violence are constructed as victims and potential survivors of violence, although the social and gendered hierarchies evident in policies and services result in longer-term inequities and suffering for women and their dependents" (Hearn, McKie, 2010). The EU is considered to be progressive in terms of gender equality and successful in combating domestic violence. However, research conducted in Europe demonstrates that although domestic violence is perceived as a violation of human rights, it is seldom viewed within the "gender equality frame" with the exception of Spain (Krizsan et al., 2007, p. 145). That is probably why the respective policies and services "result in longer-term inequities and suffering for women," as observed by Hearn and McKie in the cases of Finland and Scotland. If the EU countries face such challenges, it is not surprising that the situation is even more difficult in post-Soviet countries.

The international experience of combating domestic violence demonstrates that united efforts between different organizations and community members are needed to ensure effective results (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Johnson, 2009; Weldon, 2004). Thus, united interagency efforts to combat domestic violence are critical in every country, including Georgia. It is also important to examine whether real collaboration occurs between NGOs and the Georgian government in combating DV. This report is the first attempt to investigate the role of social capital—in our case, networking between governmental and non-governmental organizations—in combating gender-based violence in Georgia, as well as potential impediments or challenges to this process.

Our goals are to examine the extent to which the agendas of non-governmental and governmental organizations in Georgia are shaped by Western donors and the effectiveness of the networking between Georgian governmental and non-governmental organizations in combating gender-based violence in Georgia. We pay special attention to how Georgian NGOs perceive themselves, their role, their donors, and their coordination efforts with the government and other stakeholders, such as the local community, the mass media and the church.

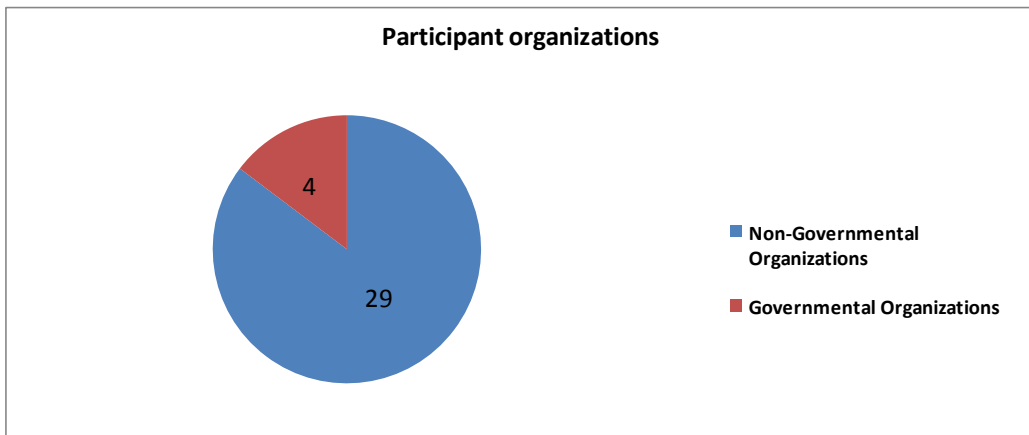
The Research Method

Data were collected through personal in-depth interviews. A questionnaire was developed to collect responses to the central research questions. The instrument was pilot tested to ensure that it addressed the relevant issues and that it was understood by the participants. Both Likert-type and open-ended questions were included. In addition to collecting interview data, the study also included background documentation on governmental and non-governmental organizations combating domestic violence in the country, including their publications and media coverage. After the results were obtained, the respondents and other stakeholders, including donors and researchers, received them at a specially organized conference that successfully obtained feedback from the participants regarding the results. The participants agreed with all of the findings and offered their explanations and comments.

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used to process and interpret the data. The results of these two types of analyses were combined. This triangulated approach provided insights into the feasibility of using different techniques to process and analyze the data.

Sample

We aimed to study all of the organizations in Georgia that had undertaken at least one project on domestic violence. This survey resulted in a list of 35 organizations; including 30 non-governmental and 5 governmental organizations (see the list in the appendix). Unfortunately, not all target organizations are included in this sample: one well-established non-governmental organization refused to participate in the study, and one governmental organization could not be reached. Thus, we interviewed representatives of 33 organizations, including 29 non-governmental and 4 governmental organizations. Two participants were interviewed for each large and developed organization. There were 10 such organizations in total. In some cases, the figures provided by two representatives from the same organization conflicted in terms of the number of completed projects, cultural-informational activities offered, trainings conducted, the scale of the projects, etc. In one case, the representatives of a regional NGO provided such contradictory information that we had to remove their interviews from the sample (graph 1).



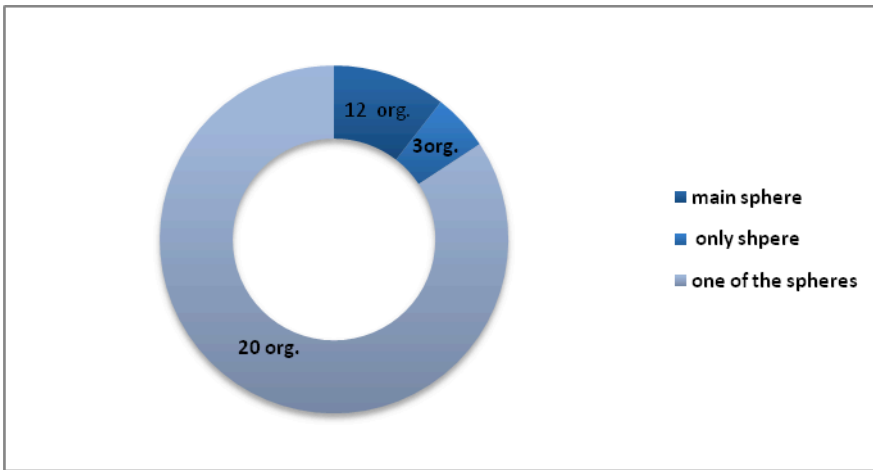
Graph 1. Number of Organizations Interviewed.

We were able to collect some information regarding the two absentee organizations—one governmental and one non-governmental. Thus, the descriptive data regarding the various organizational characteristics and activities are usually provided for the entire population of 35 organizations.

Organizations Working on Issues of Domestic Violence in Georgia

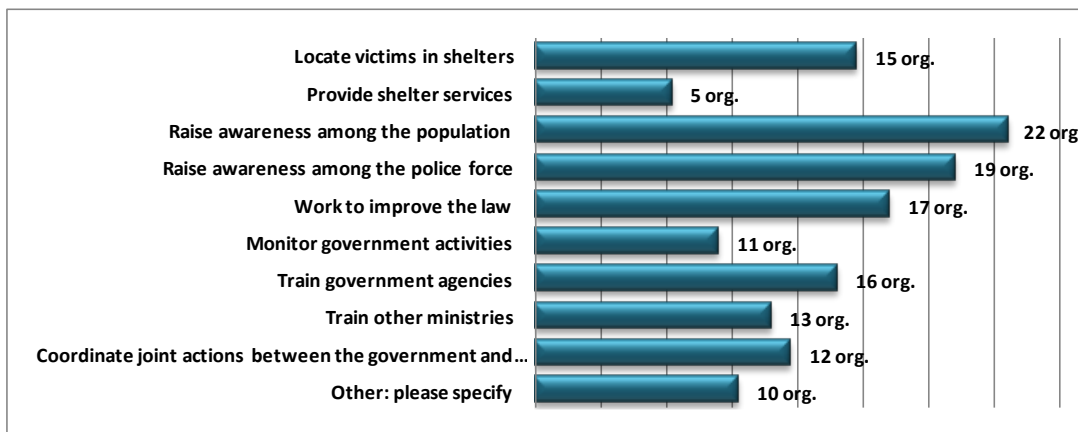
Most of the non-governmental organizations are small in size, have limited technical and human resources, and are primarily staffed by women. While lacking in formal education in the social sciences, the women have experience working on social projects. The organizations that share these characteristics have not been involved in many projects on domestic violence. While most are relatively weak, several well-developed, larger organizations are notable for their more qualified staff and for the number of projects they have completed. Only four state organizations work on domestic violence, and only one of these was created specifically to address the problem: the Inter-Agency Executive Council for the Prevention of Domestic Violence. However, this organization is not active. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health Care each have designated one representative to work on domestic violence. The State Fund for the Protection and Assistance of (Statutory) Victims of Human Trafficking is a well-developed agency with a qualified and experienced staff.

As indicated above, 30 non-governmental and five governmental organizations work on the issue of domestic violence. However, domestic violence is not the main focus for all of them. For 20 organizations, including three governmental entities, domestic violence is one project among many others. 12 organizations, including one governmental organization, consider DV to be their primary task. For three organizations (one central NGO, one regional NGO and one governmental organization), DV is their only sphere (graph 2).



Graph #2. Emphasis on Domestic Violence as a Sphere of Work.

The organizations under analysis work on the following aspects of this issue: 15 organizations work to locate victims in shelters, and of these, five provide shelter services; 22 organizations work to raise awareness among the population; and 19 organizations work to raise awareness among the police force; 17 organizations work to improve the law; 11 organizations monitor the law and the activities of governmental bodies; 16 organizations train governmental agencies; 13 organizations train representatives of other ministries; and 12 organizations coordinate joint actions between the governmental and non-governmental organizations (graph 3).



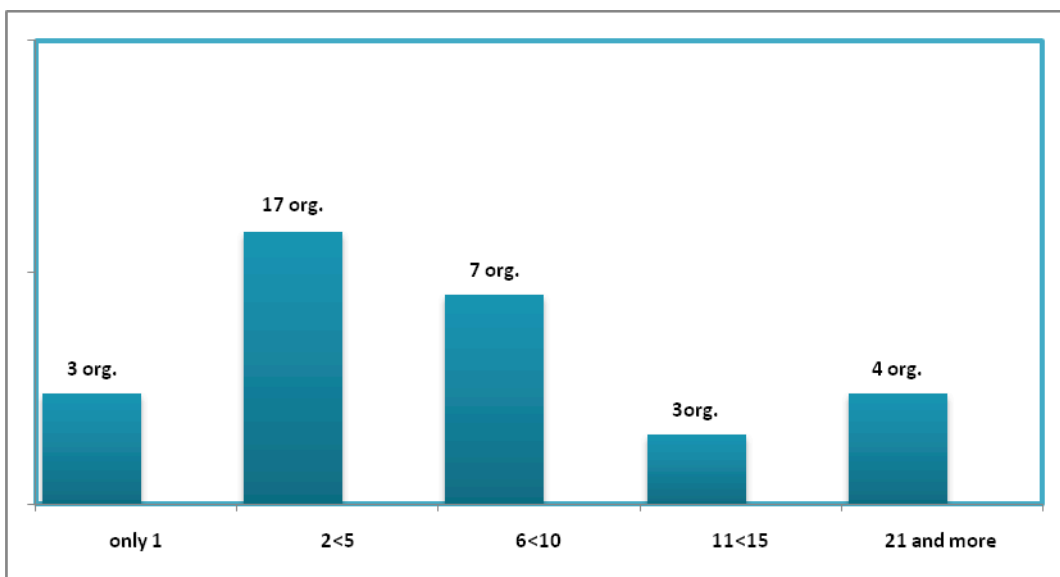
Graph 3. Organizations' Activities.

Most of the organizations have approximately 10 years of experience in working against domestic violence, while a few have more experience and several have less. In a number of cases, organizations began to work on domestic violence immediately after their establishment. Most organizations surveyed initially worked on other issues, such as women's political participation or human trafficking, and they added domestic violence to their list of causes after the issue became more popular or after the anti-domestic violence law was adopted.

Most of the representatives interviewed did not have information regarding their donors' annual grant competitions. In some cases, the organization sits on the other side of the informational

divide, as they cannot afford an internet connection. Some organizations do not have special fundraising staff or do not know the English language. Well-developed organizations do not experience such problems, as they are able to obtain information through the internet and in some cases, through personal contact with the donors.

For 17 organizations, including two governmental bodies, the number of domestic violence projects falls between two and five. Seven of the organizations, including a governmental agency, have worked on six to ten projects related to DV. Three organizations have conducted 11 or more projects on domestic violence; four organizations have undertaken 21 or more projects. At the opposite end of the spectrum, three organizations, including one governmental organization, have undertaken only one project on domestic violence. The Inter-Agency Executive Council for the Prevention of Domestic Violence does not conduct projects (graph 4).



Graph 4. Organizations' Numbers of Projects on Domestic Violence.

Most of the NGOs complain that the ratio of submitted and donor-supported proposals is low: less than 30% of project proposals are funded for each NGO. The NGOs blame these low rates on donors' recent diminishing support for all types of projects. For a few regional organizations that submit a relatively small number of proposals (fewer than 10), the ratio sometimes reaches 80%. The State Fund for the Protection and Assistance of (Statutory) Victims of Human Trafficking is an exception among the governmental organizations, as the staff knows in advance that donors will support their proposals.

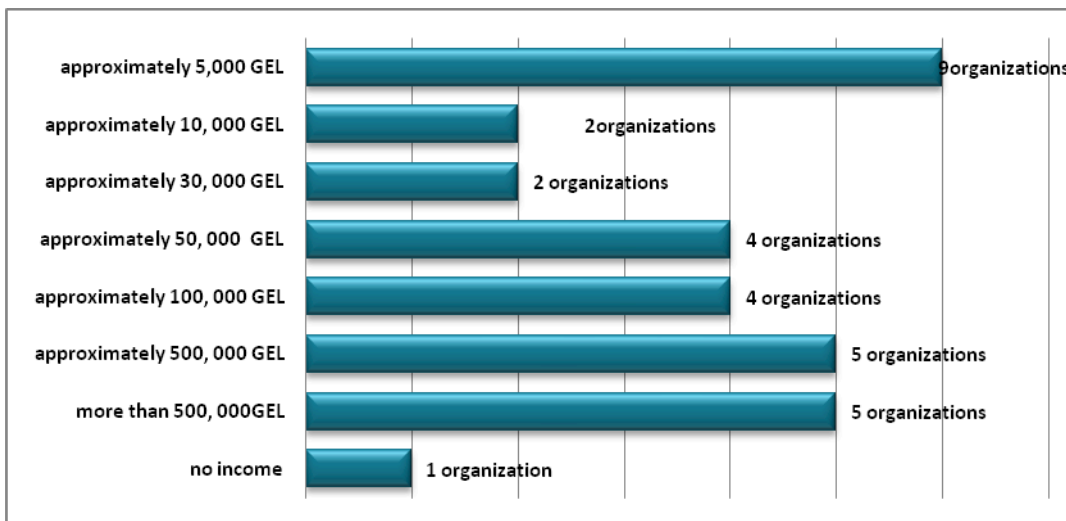
Twenty of the organizations implement their projects only within a particular region. Twelve organizations, including five government agencies, work on a national scale. Three organizations work only within Tbilisi.

The organizations' annual budget varies. For nine organizations have a budget under 5,000 GEL; for two organizations, 10,000 GEL; for another two organizations, 30,000 GEL; for four organizations, 50,000 GEL; and for another four organizations, 100,000 GEL. Five organizations have budgets reaching 500,000 GEL and five organizations (including four government agencies) have budgets of

more than 500,000 GEL. The Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence does not have a budget. The information on one organization is missing. Three non-governmental organizations currently have no income (graph 5).

“For a year and a half, we have had no funding” (Regional NGO representative).

“...For the last two or three years, the amount of donor grants, funds, and overall donors who are interested in this issue has decreased” (regional NGO representative).



Graph 5. Organizational Annual Budgets.

In most cases, the organizations have approximately five employees. The minimum number is three, while the maximum is approximately 150. However, the latter figure represents only the Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association.

“...In fact, there are three permanent employees but more than 100 members” (Central NGO representative).

“...The organization itself...is quite large. There may be more than 150 employees in all of the branches. It is difficult to say the exact number” (Central NGO representative).

When necessary, the organizations hire specialists in addition to the permanent staff.

“The permanent staff number is five; but in general, we have as many employees as necessary for the project” (Regional NGO representative).

In most of the organizations, the staff is female. Male employees tend to hold technical positions (e.g., driver or information technology specialist). However, there are some exceptions:

“...in one of the Muslim villages where the committee has working group, there was a male representative. He was also a headmaster of the school. He was respected and he was good at solving problems” (Regional NGO representative).

The professions and positions of the employees are quite diverse, ranging from social workers to philologists, lawyers, chemists, psychiatrists and even a theologian. The study participants provide a comprehensive list of the people with different professions working at their organizations. They include a social worker, psychologist, lawyer, journalist, philologist, teacher, energy engineer, international relations specialist, international law specialist, economist, chemist and biologist, theologian, conflict resolution specialist, medical doctor, psychiatrist, psychotherapist, historian, political scientist, financier, accountant, computer technology specialist, office manager, driver, and project manager. In many cases, a person’s profession is not a decisive factor in their employment at these organizations. For instance, there is no need for a chemist or an energy engineer in such agencies.

The primary employment criterion at the NGOs is prior work experience at an NGO. People who have worked on issues related to domestic violence are given preference. For some positions requiring special knowledge (e.g., lawyer), people are hired based on their academic training. The organizations studied here have no formalized criteria for the staff selection; in most cases, an organization is composed of active, creative people who are interested in the issue, and their qualifications are enhanced through relevant trainings.

“We have mainly selected the people who would help us in solving women’s problems and would have the resources [to do so]. They had less experience when hired, and they have really improved during the last 10-12 years...” (Regional NGO representative).

“[We hired] active NGO representatives who had already had some experience related to the people, the population, and the regional community” (Regional NGO representative).

However, in case of the two organizations—the Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA) and the State Fund for the Protection and Support of Victims of Human Trafficking—only specialists were hired to fill certain vacancies and the selection criterion was expertise in a particular field. In addition, those hired were required to have relevant work experience.

These data are not surprising if we consider the context of the Georgian labor market, human resources and hiring procedures. Only large and medium-size organizations can afford to have human resource personnel and use well-defined hiring procedures. Even these practices are innovations recently introduced to the Georgian market. Studies show that in many cases, Georgian employers do not have a clear understanding of what to expect from their employees. GYLA belongs to a small coterie of well-developed NGOs with many years of experience and a qualified staff, while the State Fund for the Protection and Support of Victims of Human Trafficking is a state organization founded in 2006. Since that time, a more serious approach to hiring personnel has been introduced in most state organizations.

As for working conditions, most of the organizations have the necessary technical equipment (e.g., computer, copier, printer, etc.). However, a car with a driver and fuel are is a rare luxury.

The organizations in this analysis usually rented their offices. In some cases, they worked at locations provided by the state or the municipal government. In rare cases, they even used their own apartments as office space to avoid extra expenses.

Most of the organizations have sufficient work space for their personnel, although not all do. In exceptional cases, the organizations also have a conference room and library. However, for other organizations, including several regional NGOs, even a table is considered a luxury.

“We have two tables, and we take turns using them” (Regional NGO representative; this organization has five employees).

“...Everyone has his own workplace, while psychologists have separate rooms because they need them...” (Central NGO representative).

“...Everyone has a computer...with a renewable database and security systems...Downstairs, there is a training room [and] a library...” (Central NGO representative).

Because most of the NGOs are not self-sustaining and rely heavily on grants, they at times have no financial support. Nevertheless, the staff members are committed people who understand that their activities are vital for the community, and they are not deterred by material hardships. They recognize that having a permanent office with no rent can assist in the survival of the organization; thus, they attempt to obtain one.

“We write grants [and] try to gain financial support. Sometimes there are interruptions, but we do not stop, and we work on a voluntary basis” (Central NGO representative).

“...It’s very hard; we often work on a voluntary basis, all of our employees...” (Regional NGO representative).

Most of the organizations consider a website to be necessary. Some regional organizations do not have websites, however, often due to a lack of finances.

“Our head-office does have a website...Having a website requires additional finances that we do not have, unfortunately...But we are really eager to have one” (Regional NGO representative).

“Having a website is linked to funds...Otherwise; we have lots of information to upload” (Regional NGO representative).

To the question, “Is your organization membership-based or not?” half of those interviewed answered positively. However, the number of members in these organizations varies from 20 to 700.

“We have about 700 members...Since 2005, we have been implementing projects on the issue of domestic violence” (Central NGO representative).

Interviewees revealed an interesting fact regarding membership: it does not necessarily require a membership fee. “Membership” appears to be understood differently, and in some cases, volunteers are considered to be members.

“I want to clarify the meaning of being membership-based; we do not have membership fees. According to our charter, we just have members” (Central NGO representative).

One of the respondents said that the organization charged membership fees some time ago but currently does not. Other organizations charge fees for members, although the payment is a formality and does not significantly contribute to the budget.

“We have 20 members, including one male. Membership fees amount to 1 GEL monthly...Our organization has existed for one year” (Regional NGO representative).

“Yes, we do have members, approximately 300. But none of this is stable. As our budget, funding, and salaries are unstable, membership is also unstable. They do pay membership fees, but sometimes a member isn’t able to pay it monthly” (Regional NGO representative).

In some cases, the number of members increases because of rising social interest in gender and domestic violence issues. At other times, the number of members decreases because a lack of funding results in fewer projects.

“In my opinion...the interest in this issue and...the strength of these organizations is really increasing” (Central NGO representative).

“Our organization mostly works on domestic violence. Public awareness has really increased with respect to this issue. People are interested in what violence is, who is a victim and who is an offender” (Regional NGO representative).

“The number of members increased to about 180, but now we are unable to work and [the members’] number has decreased again. When we had funds, two or three years ago, everyone tried to become a member in our organization, young girls, women...Nowadays, as we have no funds, [membership] has decreased, of course” (Regional NGO representative).

The staffing fluctuations parallel those of membership. For many organizations, the number of personnel increases alongside the organization’s development or increases only temporarily for special projects. For example, the State Fund hired 15 employees in its local office and additional personnel in its central office when it established two new shelters and a 24-hour hotline.

“Yes, [staffing] has significantly increased...probably by 4 or 5. The organization has been developing, it has more activities, and there is more interest...As for volunteers, there is

more interest in internship programs and working with our organization” (Central NGO representative).

“[Hiring] has increased because we learned how to write and obtain grants” (Regional NGO representative).

“The number of personnel has increased in recent years because of our ongoing projects. Also, one of our activities is internships. We have signed a memorandum with the university and students are able to take an internship program with us. So the number of personnel is much more than before” (Central NGO representative).

“To obtain a grant and start a project, of course it’s necessary to recruit employees. Unfortunately, we dismiss them when a project is over” (Regional NGO representative).

However, there are organizations whose conditions deteriorate, and the number of personnel decreases correspondingly:

“...The financial piece has determined so much. The number of personnel has decreased instead of increasing. Several active people left” (Regional NGO representative).

“Previously, we had 10 employees but nowadays [only] 4. The reason for this decrease is the lack of funds” (Regional NGO representative).

The organizations attempt to send their personnel to capacity-building trainings. Some active organizations are able to send their employees to trainings two or even three times per month.

However, the number of trainings has decreased. The respondents identified several reasons for this change. One reason is the lack of finances: for the last several years, donors have provided less financial support. Additionally, it seems that the numerous trainings have already had an effect in raising public awareness regarding the issue of domestic violence.

“At first, when the law against domestic violence was adopted, it was a novelty for the society and their awareness was very low; at those times, the trainings were held every two months. Since then, they have been held every six months” (Regional NGO representative).

“Because of the [economic crisis in Europe], the number of trainings has decreased” (Regional NGO representative).

“Sending members to the trainings is related to finances, so we are not able to” (Regional NGO representative).

Except in rare cases, organizers themselves cover all the expenses for the trainings. In rare cases, the participants must pay for their travel.

“We had grants that provided funding for trainings. Also, [we received] invitations to trainings where the host organizations paid the expenses. If travel costs were not covered,

we could pay them ourselves, as we usually have travel and communication costs from the Anti-Violence Network of Georgia (AVNG)” (Regional NGO representative).

“There are cases that the host organizations provide partial or full funding. Sometimes...an organizational budget includes a developmental fund” (Central NGO representative).

Based on needs assessments, organizations sometimes arrange trainings on a voluntary basis.

“We conduct trainings on different issues. Their frequency depends on a project. Sometimes we do it voluntarily, without any grant, due to the necessity” (Regional NGO representative).

The topics of the trainings vary, although they can be divided into two groups: specific trainings about domestic violence issues and general trainings for organizational and staff development. Trainings are held both in Georgia and abroad and are supported by various local and international organizations.

“We have interesting trainings on fundraising, tax affairs, gender equality, woman’s reproduction and rights, [and] business development trainings for women” (Regional NGO representative).

“Most of the trainings are on social issues. We usually participate in both international and local trainings” (Central NGO representative).

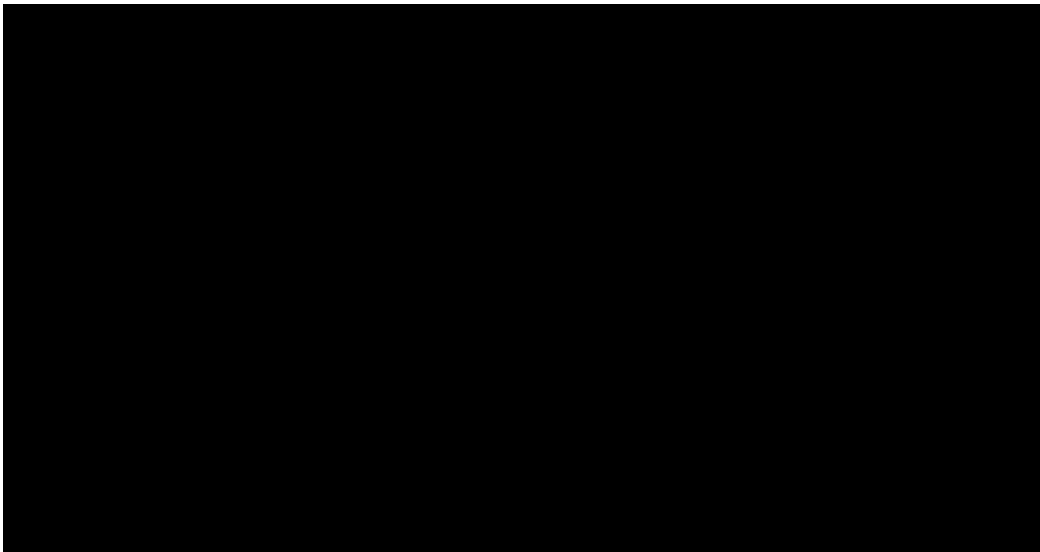
One of the obstacles to organizational development is the challenge of fundraising. The difficulty is related to the fact that it is difficult for regional organizations to compete with central organizations.

“The main problem is finances. Because of limited funds, we do what we are able to. Also, we use our own funds. Fundraising is a very hard task. There are too many organizations working in the capital, Tbilisi, and they have much more experience in fundraising. Maybe they have much more information and it’s easier for them to establish communications with international organizations. And they try to implement their projects in the regions. When we want to work independently, the grant has already been issued. So we do not have enough finances, and it is a real obstacle” (Regional NGO representative).

Organizational Strategies and Activities

There are two types of strategies employed by the organizations: (1) the prevention of the problem and (2) support for the victims. The former is primarily accomplished through trainings, although informational campaigns have also been utilized. The latter is primarily realized through crisis centers and shelters. Some organizations pursue one of the strategies and some employ both. While many organizational representatives assessed their own strategies and activities positively, some criticize the efforts and believe that systematic, specific, and focused projects are lacking.

The relevant research data indicate that domestic violence is widespread in Georgia and that the victims are primarily women. After the adoption of the anti-domestic violence law, the number of reported cases increased as domestic violence victims approached the relevant organizations more frequently (graph 6):



Graph 6. Frequency of Reported Cases of Domestic Violence.

Seven organizations (of which two were government agencies) state that victims report incidents of domestic violence on a daily basis. According to the representatives of 10 organizations (one of which is a government agency), cases are reported weekly. Three of the organizations indicated that cases are reported monthly, and 14 organizations selected the “other” option—meaning that cases are reported with almost no frequency or only sporadically. One organization did not respond.

The organizations can be divided into two categories based on their strategic approaches: (1) organizations that work on awareness-raising and (2) organizations that work on supporting the victims. The main strategy for prevention-oriented organizations, in most cases, is raising awareness in the population through trainings and other activities.

“It may not be the most successful way, but I think that it is important to raise awareness in the population to prevent domestic violence. One must know exactly whom to report to in the case of violence and what support she may receive. So, we usually try to send an exact message to the society and explain that [abused women] should be considered victims if they have a problem like this. Maybe one has been a victim for several years, but she doesn’t know it. So, I personally think that the exact message always has a positive result” (Central NGO representative).

“Women’s awareness-raising is one of the right strategies, I think, because a woman who doesn’t know her rights is not able to protect herself. If a woman knows about her rights, she knows who to approach and how to act; she is stable psychologically and knows how to solve the problem and how to protect her rights” (Regional NGO representative).

Organizations that work on helping the victims are involved in such activities as locating shelters, providing various forms of assistance, and helping to separate spouses.

“Our work is based on a multidisciplinary approach. A number of people are involved: a doctor because of psychological problems, a psychiatrist when necessary...The group discusses each case and then begins a regimen of psycho-correction and psycho-support or in-depth therapeutic work aimed at the development of social skills. The main thing is to help them overcome their situation” (Central NGO representative).

However, some organizations use both strategies:

“Our strategy is to first pursue preventive activities through informational campaigns. If violence has occurred, our organization offers support to the victims” (Central NGO representative.)

“[For our strategy,] the first task is informational, the second is educational, and the third is practical support. Those are three main components of our work. I think this strategy is successful because if one has no information, it is impossible to get help. If you provide the target group with information and knowledge, then they will potentially spread the information to others. As for the third component, if one has relevant information and knowledge but no practical support, the situation will remain the same. That is why we identified these three components at the very beginning of our work” (Regional NGO representative).

To implement the law, the organizations carry out various activities. In most cases, their activities are limited to the dissemination of information. They distribute booklets, arrange conferences, and use media resources. Most of the respondents believe that this is a productive way to implement the law. Twenty-two organizations, including two government bodies, carry out informational campaigns. Three organizations, including one government body, do not carry out informational campaigns.

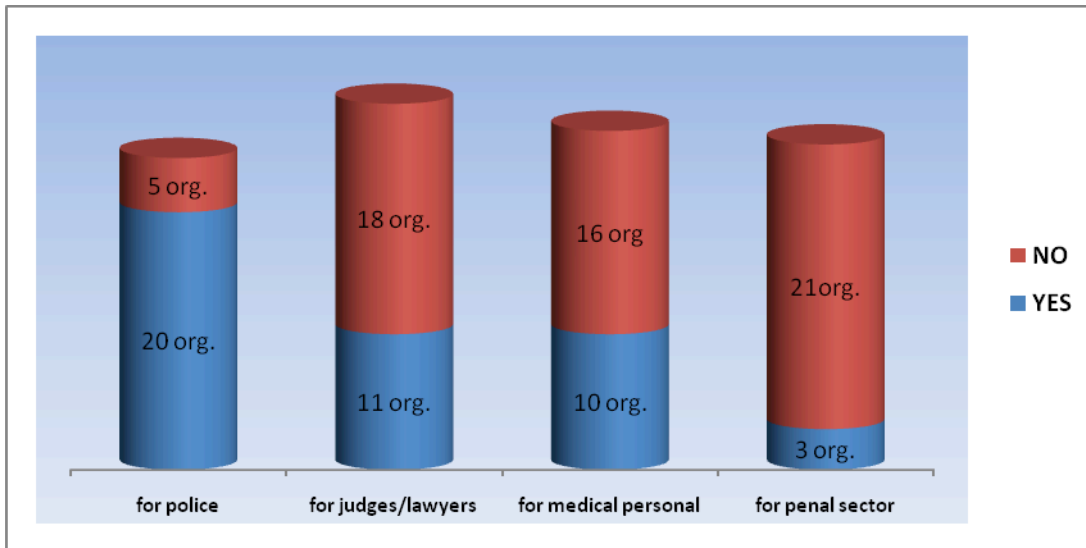
“Once every three months we have informational meetings for our target population along with rural residents, who suffer from a lack of information on this issue. At the meetings, we first introduce the law, as many people do not know that we have a law against domestic violence. We also arrange informational meetings for single mothers, inform them of their rights, and discuss cases in which they should demand maternal rights and alimony. I think that these meetings are very informative, and several women have solved their problems as a result of these meetings” (Regional NGO representative).

“We prepare local newspaper and television announcements. We also hold trainings for target groups. This is one step towards the implementation of the law” (Regional NGO representative).

“Informational booklets and seminars are important for a region like this. People do not even know what domestic violence is...When a husband beats his wife or a wife beats her husband, the family itself does not have a clear understanding of what it is...It is because of

the old mentality...civil society has not recognized what domestic violence is” (Regional NGO representative).

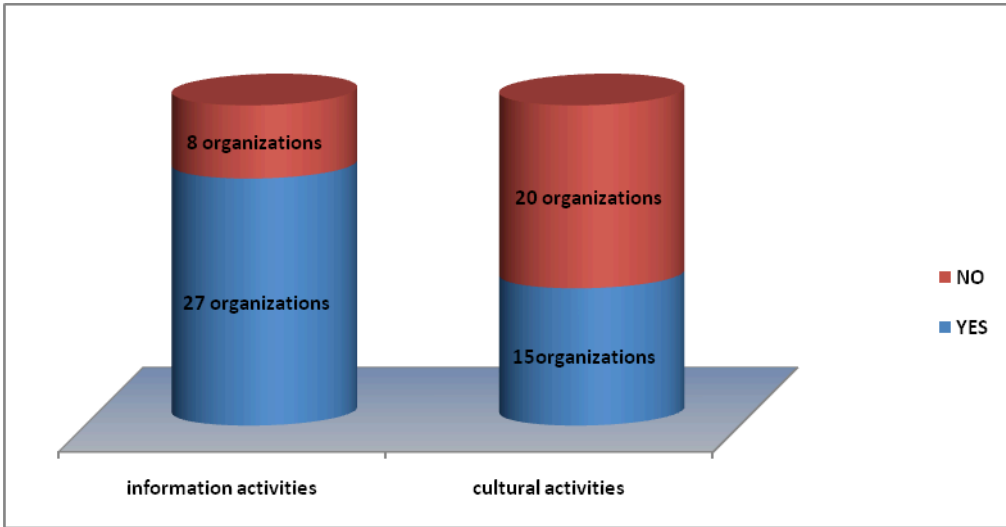
Trainings are considered to be the primary tool to spread information and raise awareness. Most of the organizations have held trainings for police officers, journalists, and representatives of various professions. Twenty organizations have held trainings for the police. Less attention has been paid to the penal sector, for which only three organizations have held trainings. In total, 24 organizations train various professional groups, such as the police, medical personnel, social workers and others. However, the scope of these organizations’ activities varies: two conduct trainings for all types of service providers, 10 organizations train judges and lawyers, and 12 organizations offer trainings to medical personnel (graph 7).



Graph 7. Trainings for Professional Groups.

Based on the results, we found that most organizations do not run crisis centers or shelters. In total, there are five shelters and eight crisis centers. The five organizations that run shelters also run crisis centers. Three organizations run only crisis centers.

Twenty-seven organizations carry out informational/educational campaigns, while eight do not. Only 15 organizations, including a government body, offer cultural activities, while 20 organizations, including four government bodies, do not. Although the respondents believe that cultural activities would complement the law’s implementation, donors do not financially support such activities. In spite of this limitation, some organizations organize exhibitions and other cultural activities with their limited resources (graph 8).



Graph 8. Informational Campaigns and Cultural Activities Conducted by the Organizations.

Overall, interviewees positively assess the impact of the government and NGOs’ activities. They rated these activities on a 10-point scale, where 0 represents “no impact” and 10 represents “maximum impact.” They rated the impact as follows: their own organization at 7.7 points, the non-governmental sector at 8.0 points and the government sector at 7.1 points. Little difference exists between the impact as rated for the non-governmental and governmental sector.

Interviewees present three different perspectives concerning the projects’ adequacy. First, some respondents believe that the projects implemented in Georgia with the donors’ financial support are adequate. They base their arguments on concrete examples such as improved economic conditions for women and the recognition of domestic violence among ethnic minorities. Here, the problems of a particular region or social group are taken into consideration.

A second group of respondents believes that any project regarding domestic violence is useful because the problem is broad and because little has been done to overcome it.

The third group believes that the projects have been adequate only to a point. They provide several reasons for their outlook.

- The donors have their own ideas about the problem and do not take local needs into consideration:

“Many problems that are important for us are not taken into account” (Central NGO Representative).

- The implemented projects are too broad, while the victims need concrete help:

“It is difficult to assess whether the projects are adequate, but it is a fact that victims ask for concrete assistance. NGOs do not have enough resources for that” (Regional NGO representative).

- Multiple and systematic approach to the issue is mostly absent:

“I think that the financed projects were not bad. [Domestic violence] is a priority....but the topic is very sensitive, so different approaches and lasting results are needed” (Regional NGO representative).

The interviewees identified various topics among the projects’ themes. Some of the respondents related how they had decided upon their sphere of activities (e.g., women’s problems and gender), and others recalled how they had selected the themes for their projects. Generally, the respondents noted that the field itself is quite problematic and requires special attention, i.e., those women are in need of support.

The projects are primarily based on prior research and the experience gained from previous projects. Another significant factor is the relevance of the NGO’s priorities to the donor organizations’.

“We select themes for the projects by considering an announced grant’s priorities and also our organization’s priorities” (Central NGO representative).

It is important to note that the NGOs broadly define their agenda as “women’s problems.” Consequently, NGOs prepare specific projects within that rubric based on the grant requirements announced by donors:

“Our priority is to work for women, so when an announced grant refers to women, children or elders, we try to get the grant...” (Regional NGO representative).

The Efficiency of Georgian Governmental and Non-governmental Organizations and the International Influence in Adopting the Anti-Domestic Violence Law

The Anti-Domestic Violence Law was introduced in Georgia in 2006, followed by the National Action Plans for the years 2007-2008 and 2009-2010. Both governmental and non-governmental organizations consider their effectiveness in adopting the Anti-Domestic violence law as modest. They view the demands of international organizations as the main reason for its adoption.

Most of the respondents stated that the passage of the law itself is a success. It was a step forward, and thus respondents assess it positively. However, respondents also discuss the problem of putting the law into action, as the implementation process has not been successful:

“The fact of adopting the law is a success, but as for implementation...I would say it is lower than average. It is not doing what it needs to do” (Central NGO representative).

“It was a success that such a law was adopted, but the 6th chapter of the law specifies that shelters for victims and rehabilitation centers for violators must be built. This still has not been done, which is a big problem. This part of the legislation impedes its implementation. Furthermore, police are not adequately ready or prepared; they do not usually issue

restrictive orders even though they must according to the law. There are a number of problems in the sphere of justice as well: a limited number of protective orders are issued. Thus, although the adoption of law is a step forward, there is a problem its implementation” (Regional NGO representative).

Those who are aware of the law’s existence are not certain as to whether it was adopted with or without changes. Several respondents believe that the law was adopted without changes. Most, however, believe that the law was adopted after being adapted to the local context: “The draft law was corrected and amended many times, though it never lost sight of our reality” (State organization representative).

For some of the respondents, the fact that the law was adopted is quite positive. Several respondents are aware that the law changes constantly and it is improving.

“Since the day of its adoption, the law has changed several times. As this was a totally new sphere, we adopted the law during the initial phase even though we had insufficient experience and knowledge. Afterwards, [the law] was improved and adjusted in terms of local interests. The problems were identified, and a working group was created that analyzed what should or should not to be included in the law. Bylaws were also adopted. Finally, the changes spread to other laws as well” (State organization representative).

Others consider changes to the law to be negative and blame the government for changing everything in accordance with its own interests. Indeed, the government postponed a number of activities to be realized under the law, such as creating a special group of social workers and a rehabilitation center for perpetrators: “There are provisions in the law that were postponed until 2015...When all of these [provisions] begin to work together, the result will be much better” (Central NGO representative).

At the same time, the organizers attempted to initiate several changes to the law but were unsuccessful.

“There were some initiatives from our side. The fact that they [the governmental organizations] asked for our opinion is already very important, though they took our ideas only partially into consideration” (Central NGO representative).

However, only a few of the organizations' initiatives and recommendations were not taken into consideration. One of the initiatives addressed women’s property rights following a divorce. The NGOs attempted to protect the divorced wives and children, but they failed.

Several organizations plan to offer their suggestions for how to improve the law in the future:

“I still have not done it. I plan to discuss the problems of single women. Lately, they have been treated unfairly in our village. I do not know which article should include it, but it should be in the law; it has to be punishable” (Regional NGO representative).

“I remember that we agreed to discuss the topic when the time is right. We did not know what to do with one perpetrator who was underage. The process showed us that we have underage perpetrators, but the law does not say how to deal with them” (Central NGO representative).

The respondents believe that several actors and factors had an impact on adopting and implementing the Law against Domestic Violence:

- EU/international organizations;
- the state;
- non-governmental organizations.

A majority of the respondents mention international influences in the law’s passage:

“The international influence was huge. Lots of money was spent and investments were made in the improvement and adoption of the law” (Regional NGO representative).

The international influence is considered to be a decisive factor in the law’s adoption, while the government is viewed as responsible for its implementation.

“There are political responsibilities that the government has in the framework of the EU Action Plan. As several EU standards had to be achieved, the role of the EU was great. The government took responsibility for achieving these standards” (State organization representative).

“The issue was raised due to the influence of the international organizations rather than local acknowledgement of this problematic situation” (Regional NGO representative).

Respondents ascribe such importance to the international demands that they believe that the law would have been adopted without the participation of NGOs.

“[They would have adopted the law] not only without my participation but without the participation of the council because this was part of a USAID project” (Central NGO representative).

“I believe that they would adopt any law because there was a kind of demand. It was not a bottom-up process. Certainly, the NGOs were active, but the government was responsible for the various international negotiations” (Central NGO representative).

Some interviewees believe that the problem of domestic violence did not concern Georgian society, but rather that the adoption of the law against domestic violence was the result of outside pressure. The respondents discuss the responsibilities that the government must assume.

“There are international norms, for example, the [United Nations] Convention on Human Rights. Everybody in the world tries to follow these norms. Our law also corresponds to these norms. Many new laws have been introduced for this reason (Central NGO representative).

Some respondents believe that international influences affect the law's implementation, but they cannot specify exactly how. Others believe that the influence exists in the form of donors' financial support for projects. One of the respondents remarked that the international influence was strong during the law's adoption, but that it is not active in the process of the law's implementation.

However, some respondents believe that the issue of domestic violence has become crucial, as the number of victims of domestic violence has increased. They believe that the adoption of the Law against Domestic Violence was the government's response to the problem.

"It would not be right to say that the law was adopted only because of international influences. Governmental and non-governmental organizations actively participated [in passing the law]. The problem was acknowledged, and this did not happen because of the international influence" (Central NGO representative).

"The NGOs were active; the government became involved later. The NGOs themselves took the initiative because the donors provided funding for [domestic violence programs], so this is all coming from the West" (Central NGO representative).

Representatives of the government sector respond that the process of adopting the law would have been more difficult and prolonged without the government's participation.

"It is difficult to see, but the most active organization is the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia because the police are the first to react to the violence...Thus, we must take into consideration the police officers' position and level of competence...as well as in the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Affairs. Those are the main actors in this process" (State organization representative).

"Parliament would have adopted the law. Somebody would have worked on it at some point, but without our participation it would have happened much later" (State organization representative).

Aside from international influences and government actions, the respondents discuss the NGOs' role. Some believe that it was not the government but the NGO sector that recognized the severity of the domestic violence problem and that the NGOs' activities persuaded the government to adopt the Anti-Domestic Violence Law.

"Why the NGOs? Because they saw the problem; they were communicating with local people" (Central NGO Representative).

The interviewees from organizations that played a role in passing the law positively assess their participation in the process. According to the respondents, the role of the NGO sector in general (and not one organization in particular) is important.

"This topic became important due to the NGO sector and those who initiated the adoption of the law on gender equality. We cannot say that nothing would have happened without our participation. The law would have been adopted, but the role of the NGO sector, including our organization, was important in its adoption" (Central NGO Representative).

“I think [NGOs participation] was successful. Our organization worked on this problem before the adoption of the law. On the basis of our organization’s experience and others like ours, the law was adopted. Legal barriers had interfered with our work, and this was the reason for adopting the law” (Central NGO representative).

To our surprise, there is one organization that had no information about the adoption of the law against domestic violence. Its representative believes that having such a law in place would make organizational activities more effective.

“As far as I know, the Parliament is considering the law against domestic violence, so the state has been working on legislative acts...I’m certainly not limited, but if I were backed by the law, I would be stronger...” (Regional NGO representative).

Our research has found that organizations assess their influence on the law’s adoption and the action plan with 6.8 points out of 10, where 10 indicates maximum influence. Interestingly, two representatives from the same organization have different views of that organization’s influence on the adoption of the law and the action plan, respectively: one with scores of 8 and 9, and one with scores of 5 and 6.

Non-governmental organizations assessed the other organizations’ role in the same categories with the score of 7.8 for non-governmental organizations and 6.7 for governmental organizations. The representatives of governmental organizations did not answer the question, perhaps because of a lack of information.

“The NGO sector was influential in the process of defining the content [of the law]. But if the government had not wanted it, their influence would not have been there. The participation [of NGOs] was inclusive in the sense of providing both technical and ideological assistance” (State organization representative).

On average, the interviewees assessed their organization’s success in adopting the law and the action plan with 7.3 out of 10 points.

They rated the success of governmental and non-governmental sectors with 7.9 and 8.1 points, respectively, out of 10.

Dependence on and Relations with Donors

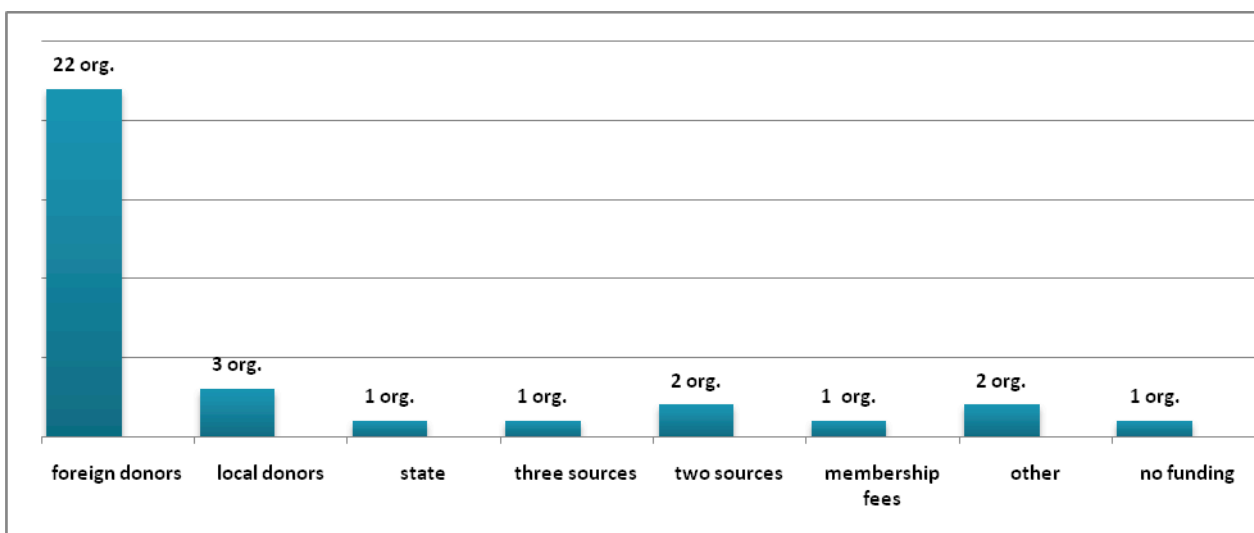
Non-governmental organizations solely depend on donors, the vast majority of which are located outside of Georgia. Still, the NGOs criticize donors for not considering local needs and interests. The state organizations, on the contrary, have a symbiotic relationship with international donors, as they initiate their activities after securing the donors’ support. The two-way communication between the donors and the government demonstrates the parity between both parties.

NGO representatives discount any state contribution to the founding and functioning of their organizations. Establishing organizations requires a specific type of environment that was not available when NGOs emerged in Georgia. Organizational functions require the allocation of funds

at the central and local levels, which does not take place. The donors, however, have played a significant role, as they have provided financial support for the NGOs.

“Those donor organizations that have financed our projects are a vital source for our organization” (Central NGO representative).

Based on the interviews, 22 organizations’ primary funding source is foreign donations. For three organizations, financial support comes from local donors. One organization (a government agency) is supported by the state. The Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence is not funded, and two organizations noted other resources. Four organizations (three governmental and one non-governmental) indicated that foreign donors, local donors and the state provide their funding. One organization has two main sources of income: local and international donors. Only one organization mentioned membership fees as its primary source of income (graph 9).



Graph 9. The Sources of Funding.

As we learned in the previous chapter, membership fees are not a significant source of income for any organization but one, the Young Lawyers Association of Georgia (GYLA). State support is also minimal and is primarily allocated to the Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence in the amount of 1.5 million GEL, which includes funding for both anti-trafficking and anti-domestic violence activities (assignments of the state budget of Georgia, 2011). There are very few local donor organizations in Georgia. Among them, two (the Global Women Fund and Fund TASO) are dedicated to gender equality issues, and both obtain funding from international donors. Local business support is almost nonexistent because of the lack of legislative and state support for charitable donations.

According to one of the respondents, the small number of donor organizations is a cause of the small number of projects on domestic violence.

“There are not many donors, so there are no projects...” (Regional NGO representative).

It is clear that the organizations are dependent on the donors, who exert an influence on their activities.

Most of the respondents named the same number of donor organizations working on the issue of domestic violence (approximately 10). However, they perceive this quantity differently: some believe that it is inadequate, while others believe that it is sufficient. There are several explanations concerning the number of donor organizations.

According to one of the respondents, domestic violence is a current issue; thus, many donor organizations are eager to allocate funds to DV projects. Donors are obsessed with the idea of combating domestic violence.

“Yes, [donors] are numerous. Nowadays [the issue of domestic violence] is like an obsession. In the last decade, the theme of domestic violence has been prevalent in Georgia, and many NGOs that did not focus on domestic violence began to work on it” (Central NGO representative).

Another respondent holds a different position, stating that the interest in domestic violence issues has recently faded.

“Recently [the donors] have lost interest. They have nearly forgotten the issue—it is as if everyone has switched to another issue. After the adoption of the law and action plan, they decided that their work was finished. So the issue has been forgotten” (Regional NGO representative).

It appears that the adoption of the law was considered to be of the utmost importance in combating domestic violence, while its implementation has received less effort and attention.

One of the regional NGO representatives expressed the opinion that the number of donor organizations is sufficient, but that the donors prefer to work with large organizations. Thus, it is difficult for smaller organizations to obtain the funds.

Some of the organizations apply for a grant whether it has been announced or not. However, most apply only when the grants are announced, as they believe that donors have little interest in funding them.

“Usually [a funding opportunity] is announced and you can apply. In our case, despite our determination, we felt a lack of support for our initiative” (Central NGO representative).

“We apply for what has been announced” (Central NGO representative).

When asked to indicate what types of projects the donors have financed, the respondents recall the content and aims of the projects but rarely remember which projects have been supported by which donors.

“...[Donors have been active in] funding regional crisis-centers; introducing the law against domestic violence; and providing information about what violence is, what forms violence

takes, how to prevent it, and how to work with victims. As part of some projects, the victims were able to obtain psychological and legal services...[as well as] medicine and free medical care” (Regional NGO representative).

Clearly, the interviewees consider having information regarding announced grants to be critical. Some of the respondents do not know the average number of grants announced per year. Several respondents had information about the announced grants, though they could not specify the average number of grants per year.

These funding issues bring several factors to the fore of our discussion, as outlined below.

A. There is a communication problem. Most of the respondents claim that they are not able to obtain information about the grants because of communication problems. Means of communication are essential for organizations so that they can follow the donors’ activities.

“Getting international information is very hard for our region. We have less access to information and it is terrible” (Regional NGO representative).

However, some respondents believe that the information is accessible and that the main source information is the internet. There are two primary means of procuring information about the announced grants: by relying on all staff members to conduct the research or by devoting a new staff position to the task.

B. Organizations possess information regarding the grants, but they are not able to participate in the funding competitions. Some of the respondents claim that they typically receive the information late and thus lack the time to develop a proposal. Another reason for not applying for grants is that the organizations’ priorities differ from those of the donors.

Clearly, many regional organizations experience challenges in obtaining relevant information. This difficulty does not arise because the information is unavailable but rather because the organizations cannot afford internet access.

“We had donor support for three years, but afterwards...we applied to the local government in vain” (regional NGO representative).

Respondents provide varying responses as to whether they feel independent from or limited by state and donor organizations. In general, the non-governmental organizations feel independent from the state but dependent on the donors because of their funding situation.

“Yes, I feel independent; if we do not consider that we are highly dependent on donors. I am dependent to some extent, but I feel independent from the state” (Regional NGO representative).

“In terms of financial support, we feel highly dependent on donors, and in terms of practical activities, we really need coordination with the state” (Central NGO representative).

Several respondents suggested that in general, donors restrict NGOs' activities but that their own organizations are independent. Thus, there are certain inconsistencies in the representatives' answers.

"When an organization is weak, it must act on the donors' demands simply to receive funding, and donors are not very sensitive to local issues. But this is not our approach. We collaborate with the donors who are more open and who understand the local situation" (Central NGO representative).

"I do not think that we have any restrictions because we work according to what is written in the grant proposal and try not to go beyond that. I might do something separate from the project framework, but still, I do not have any restrictions" (Central NGO representative).

Some interviewees believe that the organizations depend upon the donors, given that their projects are dictated by the donors' demands.

"Willing or not, we must work with what [donors] offer. However, we have a choice: we will not apply for funding if the requirements do not match our aims and goals (Regional NGO representative).

While discussing donor relations, the respondents mention the donors' readiness to accept organizations' initiatives during project implementation.

"Several problems were pointed out last year. We presented the problems to the donors: 'There is a problem and we would like to solve it.' The donors responded very positively to our initiative" (Regional NGO representative).

According to the respondents, both the donors and the organizations wish to overcome any problems. Thus, the donors are eager to accept the organizations' initiatives.

At the same time, the respondents mention the donors' requirements. Two types of donors have been described: one who tries to take local issues into consideration and one who has certain political aims and shapes the organizations' activities accordingly.

"On the one hand, there are some donors whose restrictions are very serious, and they have their political views. On the other hand, there are donors who treat the local problems more sensitively. They have more respect towards the country and the organizations. There is a huge difference between these two types of donors" (Central NGO Representative).

Representatives of governmental organizations describe feeling supported rather than dependent.

"We feel quite independent to some extent, as it is a public legal entity. We have not felt any kind of restrictions. Instead, I think we are supported in order to do our best" (State organization representative).

It is important to describe the specific details of the relationship between the government and the donors. First, governmental organizations do not need to participate in the grant competition to apply for funding. They develop projects only after having negotiated funding with the donors.

Additionally, respondents acknowledge that the donors are also restricted in some cases, as they must take government priorities into consideration.

“I see that the UN has a different mandate. It has to work in coordination with the government. They [UN] work with the NGOs but their activities must be in accordance with the government.... It is hard for them to work on particular issues (for example, poverty reduction) because this problem is not currently important to the government” (Central NGO Representative).

Several respondents mentioned that they have good relationships with the donors. They also named initiatives that donors tend to fund.

“I know of organizations that collaborate with donors. Our organization is one example. We offer new ideas to our donors...” (Central NGO representative).

However, respondents also discuss the problems they encounter while communicating with the donors:

“I had a better relationship with the donors before; maybe the communication was better, I do not know. Despite the diversity of issues our organization works on...we could not provoke the donors’ interest. This might be our fault, or the donors might not be interested in this [domestic violence] problem...I do not know...” (Regional NGO Representative).

There is evidence to suggest that donors determine which projects are undertaken by grant recipients. It seems that any collaboration between an organization and a donor largely depends on the latter. This fact relates to donors’ imposition of certain activities on the organizations.

“The donors have their activity plans. If the projects we want to implement coincide with the donors’ priorities, they are developed” (Regional NGO Representative).

The respondents were asked to evaluate the degree of success of various activities in combating domestic violence on a 10-point scale, where 1 indicates “minimum impact” and 10 indicates “maximum impact.” The respondents assessed the international donor organizations’ influence in adopting the action plan and the law against domestic violence, on average, to be 8.1 points, whereas the influence of local organizations (mainly NGOs) received only 6.8 points.

Thus, our respondents consider international donors’ contributions to the adoption of the law against domestic violence and the National Action Plan to be more successful than their own.

Governmental and Non-governmental Organizations' Understanding of the Domestic Violence Problem and their Responses to it

Most of the respondents hold traditional views of the family and gender roles. These traditional attitudes influence their understanding of domestic violence. Most of the respondents see the country's weak economic situation to be the cause of domestic violence. Most respondents believe that others should not interfere in cases of domestic violence, and they consider divorce to be justified only for the sake of the children in severe cases of physical violence. However, eight respondents (all of whom represented non-governmental organizations) see structural gender inequality in the society as the cause of domestic violence. They regard domestic violence as a crime, would intervene in a case of domestic violence, and consider divorce in such cases to be justified.

To obtain comprehensive information about the agendas and strategies of the organizations working on issues of domestic violence, it is important to understand how they perceive the problem of domestic violence, what they think causes the problem, and who they consider to be victims. Several critical topics should be emphasized here:

- Is domestic violence a crime? Must the perpetrator be punished? If so, how?
- Should the couple divorce in case of domestic violence?
- Should others intervene? If so, in what way?
- What are the reasons for domestic violence, and who are its victims?

The respondents disagree as to whether domestic violence constitutes a crime. The interviews demonstrate that there are problems surrounding the definition of "domestic violence." Several respondents noted that although domestic violence is not legally considered a crime, they believe that it is a crime, as it affects people's rights.

"Domestic violence is not considered a crime according to the law if it is not large-scale and does not become a penal case. Do I consider it a crime? I think that it is a violation of human rights" (State organization representative).

"It is definitely a crime because the primary quality associated with a person is free choice. When one's freedom is limited and one has to do something against his or her will...this is, of course, a crime, but not legally" (State organization representative).

Besides violating human rights, the respondents believe that domestic violence is a crime because it influences not only the victim, but also other people around him or her. Thus, it becomes a broader problem and moves from the individual to societal level.

"It is a crime because the children become witnesses of domestic violence, the neighbors are bothered, and the perpetrator airs his negative emotions. Domestic violence becomes a social problem. It is not a problem for just one or two people. For example, when a teacher goes to school nervous or after being beaten, she acts aggressively towards the children, and the children act aggressively towards their friends" (Regional NGO Representative).

“Not only the actual victim is affected, but children’s’ psyches are also destroyed. They return to the society aggressive, as violators. There is no child who has grown up in a family where there was violence and did not become a violator himself/herself” (Regional NGO representative).

Clearly, there is not a uniform attitude on this issue among our respondents. The respondents’ answers differ from one another’s significantly. In one segment of society, a taboo continues to exist concerning domestic violence, and people are still afraid to talk about it openly. They believe that the problem must be solved within the family. To them, involving others is shameful.

“It is better to solve it within the family” (Regional NGO representative).

“Too much involvement is not needed. Everybody should concern themselves with their own rights” (Central NGO representative).

“It is not a case where the relatives should get involved. This is an issue that two people should solve” (Central NGO representative).

Others suggest that intervention is important but only by legal authorities, as the involvement of other people complicates the situation instead of solving the problem.

“Representatives of the legal system can intervene, but not the family members!” (State organization representative).

“When there is a conflict, I cannot advise anybody to intervene” (Central NGO representative).

Among the respondents who support intervention in domestic violence cases, there are two different groups: those who believe that others should offer the family advice and those who believe that the authorities should become involved.

“If intervention solves the problem, then others should intervene by giving advice” (Central NGO Representative).

“The law in this country protects the victim, protects the neighbor, and protects the relatives. Use this right to protect the victim and his/her rights. This is regulated by the law, you have a right...You had no right before when there was no law, but now there is a law and thus you can use it to protect the person who is a victim of violence...” (Regional NGO representative).

The respondents who believe that intervention is necessary admit that in Georgia, people’s unwillingness to interfere reflects a certain mentality. They say that the society members’ attitudes are crucial.

“Here we come across the most difficult issue...society’s mentality. They think that everything in the family is a family issue and that even if human rights are breached, one should not react, say anything, or offer help...” (Central NGO representative).

Several respondents hold radical positions, suggesting that the failure to intervene in cases of domestic violence should be considered a crime.

“Not only the violator is guilty, but also the one who is a witness to the violence, starting from the family members, neighbors, and ending with the government” (Central NGO Representative).

Despite this fact, the respondents would not call the police if they witnessed domestic violence. Most indicate that first, they would try to help the family solve the problem, and they would call the police only if they were unsuccessful.

“I might call the police, but it is difficult to say. Despite having worked on these issues since 2000...I am a child of this society, you know” (State organization representative).

The respondents have varying attitudes towards punishing a perpetrator. They understand the word “punishment” in different ways. Most of the respondents indicate that there must be some kind of response to the violence, but that the response depends on the type of violence. The majority of the interviewees consider the following to be light punishments: restrictive orders, fines, verbal warnings, or community service. According to them, jailing the offender or separating the violator from his family are the most severe punishments.

“Here is a concrete example: a woman in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region called the police, but afterwards she told us she would never do it again. ‘Why?’ we asked. ‘100 GEL was my husband’s penalty, which I had to pay...Then, my husband returned after two days, so what did I gain? What mechanism is there to protect me?’....So, I think that perpetrators should fear [punishment] and that the law should be more severe” (Central NGO representative).

Several respondents suggest that attitudes towards this issue differ within the society. Often, the victims themselves do not want the violators to be punished because of the social mentality.

“Society prefers pity to [the perpetrator’s] arrest. [They prefer] to try to solve the problem differently” (Central NGO representative).

Several respondents did not discuss legal action. They associate the word “punishment” with family members’ reproach.

“If he is guilty, he must be punished. However, he must not be sent to prison but should be punished at home...For example, if I were angry, I would not talk to him” (Regional NGO representative).

One male interviewee’s response concerning a perpetrator’s punishment is worth mentioning. He opposes any form of punishment.

“I do not approve of any kind of punishment for anybody. A person must acknowledge his or her behavior and make a choice of what to do” (Central NGO representative).

Another interesting topic is the possibility of divorce in the case of domestic violence. The interviewees forwarded different ideas. On the one hand, several respondents believe that this question must be decided by the victim herself, as there is not a uniform answer to it.

“I cannot say for sure...This is a very private matter and has to be decided by the couple...taking into consideration a number of different factors...What I know is that it is better to leave, if it is possible, of course, depending on the individual case...All families have difficult periods; perhaps families without problems do not exist at all. This is a very individual case; they have to decide for themselves” (State organization representative).

On the other hand, most of the respondents consider divorce to be a negative and unadvisable outcome. In spite of this, they believe that the couple should divorce if the situation becomes intolerable.

“Domestic violence is a repetitive action, and certainly, the reaction depends on the kind of violence, the person, etc. The situation should also be considered. If there is constant beating and constant negative compulsions, it is better to divorce, but this does not usually happen in Georgia” (Central NGO representative).

“If it has happened only once, I am against divorce; but if the violence happens constantly and becomes pathology, then divorce is not only desirable but necessary” (Regional NGO representative).

According to most of the respondents, everything should be done to preserve the family; only in extreme cases is divorce a solution. However, there are respondents who believe that a couple should divorce immediately. It is also worth mentioning that when the respondents discuss divorce in the case of violence, they discuss only physical violence. There is only one interviewee who discusses divorce in the case of psychological violence.

“State politics should be directed at saving the family; that is why I stress the importance of psychological treatment...But if psychological violence is systematic and the problem cannot be solved, then divorce is the best way out” (State organization representative).

Another important topic concerns the causes of domestic violence as perceived by those who work to combat it. Most of the respondents consider economic and social problems, especially unemployment, to be the main reasons for domestic violence. They believe that if the problem of unemployment is resolved, the rate of domestic violence will decrease. Alcoholism and drugs, sexual incompatibility, and psychological features are also identified as causes of domestic violence.

“There is sexual incompatibility, social and psychological problems, and the spouses’ different characters and different levels of education. It is an individual case; there are as many different causes of violence as there are people” (Regional NGO representative).

Some respondents suggested that the most important cause of domestic violence is the need for power and control and that other factors work in addition to this cause.

“The main causes of domestic violence are [the need for] power and control. Other social and economic factors, alcohol or addiction to other substances are just provocative elements” (State organization representative).

Several respondents identify upbringing and mentality (and consequently, gender inequality) as the reasons for domestic violence.

“The cause of domestic violence in Georgia, as well as in other countries, is gender inequality; men are dominant over women, and domestic violence is one of the representations of this dominance” (Central NGO Representative).

“In our society, children’s upbringing is based on violence. In our traditions, there are many violent things...They include gender inequality, and that is one of the most serious reasons for domestic violence. Raising children amidst violence, plus the influence of the totalitarian regime—the whole society, one generation followed by another, is a victim” (Central NGO Representative).

The interviewees typically offered statistical data when they discussed the victims of domestic violence. According to them, primarily women and children are the victims. However, they noted that men may also be victims.

The above results demonstrate that the organizations working on domestic violence issues have different attitudes towards the problem. There was no particular idea that was common among the respondents that would indicate that the organizations’ strategies coincide with one another’s.

The respondents’ ideas differed even on such fundamental issues as whether domestic violence is a crime or how one should approach the perpetrator. Thus, their strategies to combat domestic violence may also be different.

The results indicate that the respondents find the causes of domestic violence in superficial social problems: unemployment, alcoholism, etc. Only three respondents emphasize that the problem lies deeper in the society’s psyche and parenting practices. What one perceives as a cause of domestic violence shapes his/her strategy in combating it.

The Role of the Church, Mass Media, and Local Community in Combating Domestic Violence

Representatives of both governmental and non-governmental organizations criticize the mass media for not adequately addressing the issue of domestic violence. However, some respondents hold positive attitudes towards the media because they have recently become more active in highlighting this problem. Respondents’ opinions diverge regarding the church’s stance on domestic violence: some believe that the church is traditional and male-dominated, while others

hold more benign views. Moreover, regional NGO representatives acknowledge that local community attitudes can be obstacles to supporting the victims of DV.

Respondents differ in their assessment of the church's attitude towards divorce. Most of the respondents believe that the church is against domestic violence as well as divorce. However, in severe cases, the church grants a couple permission to divorce.

"The Church tries to teach a couple what family life is and what divorce is. Certainly, the church is against divorce. I am not sure, but as far as I know, there are some cases when the church supports divorce. So it depends on the case. Generally, I agree with [the church]" (Regional NGO Representative).

Contrary to this view, some respondents do not agree with church dogma. Moreover, some believe that the church even supports domestic violence.

"According to the church, a couple should not divorce, and I am against this [teaching]. What documents can one bring to the priest? 'He's beaten me so many times,' and then [the priest] has to give you permission to divorce: 'You'd better divorce.' It must be your choice if you do not to want to live in such conditions any longer" (Central NGO Representative).

"I do not know the teachings of the church very well. I think they support [domestic violence], although the church could be a very strong institution for combating it. [The church] can do a lot" (Central NGO Representative).

Some said that the church's attitude often differs from particular priests' attitudes:

"The church became the protector of male interests in our country, which is very unfortunate because the principles of Christianity are different" (Central NGO representative).

"The church is not against divorce. It just tries to keep the family [intact] and to solve the problem...But particular priests' attitudes are a different case. They usually give inadequate advice to the parish because of their education" (Central NGO Representative).

The interviewees indicate that the media have recently become active in reporting cases of domestic violence. They discuss several reasons for the change.

"They [media] have become more active. [This change occurred] first, because the TV channels have more money and capability and second, because the law was adopted and the media are one of the best means for its implementation" (Regional NGO Representative).

"The reason [for the change] is that the society was closed. [Information regarding domestic violence] was not spread, nor was there any interest on the part of the media. Then this tragedy occurred with a child in the Mtskheta region, [the child died as a result of domestic violence from parents] in one of the villages, and after that the case became more real....Perhaps people in society have decided that they need to start talking about such

issues. I think this is also one of the reasons that the media have become interested in finding out how often such things happen and have begun searching for cases” (Central NGO Representative).

However, the respondents complain that the media are not highlighting the ethical aspects of the issue. They seek scandalous information and in some cases breach confidentiality. The respondents assessed these facts negatively.

“The media do not discuss the problem on a regular basis...They highlight a few concrete examples...There is a media component to our new action plan requiring the media to televise problems related to domestic violence with a certain regularity. Also, a report or TV show must not surround a single scandal but must generally cover the problem...The TV channel itself will decide what kind of format to give the show, but the subject, of course, must be domestic violence, and the aim must be to increase society’s awareness” (State organization representative).

“I find several shows’ concepts to be incorrect. One must not create a show based on these people’s problems. I would never take part in it” (Central NGO representative).

“The journalists might not disclose people’s names and surnames, but if they provide information about the school and village and describe all of the circumstances so that a victim can be identified, it does not matter whether the name is provided or not...Professionally, the print media are especially weak” (State organization representative).

Several respondents believe that the media do not frequently report on domestic violence issues because of their conservative mentality.

“[The media] try to avoid discussing issues like domestic violence. I think that the media still have a somewhat conservative attitude” (Regional NGO representative).

Some respondents are satisfied by the media’s work. They believe that the increased competition between the media helps to improve the quality of writing to such a degree that even students have become more informed. In addition, they note that the topic of domestic violence has become so widely discussed recently that “even the popular talk shows, such as the ‘Former Wives’ Club,’ have begun to address a very important issue without realizing it” (Central NGO Representative).

All of the respondents agree that the media play a crucial role in combating domestic violence; therefore, they should cover the topic adequately and use their platform to raise public awareness about the problem. Respondents emphasize the role of NGOs in conducting trainings for journalists in which they provide information about the issues surrounding domestic violence as well as about how to follow ethical norms, preserve people’s confidentiality, and protect people’s rights. Some of the respondents recommended making the media’s impact more positive by drafting legislation

to support publicizing the law itself rather than instances of violence, which may have a negative emotional effect on viewers.

Organizations typically use the media to inform society about their activities. They use local newspapers, TV channels, press conferences, and so forth. Respondents also mentioned that they advertise their activities in a limited number of places for two reasons: the lack of finances and the limited services available. For example, those who run the shelters noted the number of beds is limited, thus they do not wish to increase the demand to more than the amount that they are able to supply.

Respondents report that the role of society is a factor that significantly influences their activities. Local communities' problems prompt the organizations to initiate certain programs. However, the community may be a hindrance to solving the problems. In some cases, an organization's assistance to a victim is negatively viewed by the perpetrator, his family, and even the community.

"We depend on society, and our organization is always ready to respond to the demands of society. Thus, we feel dependent upon the society, but we maintain independence at the decision-making level." (Central NGO representative).

The representatives of regional NGOs complain that they are constrained by public opinion. While assisting a victim, to avoid public disapproval, they often must request for the central office or the police to intervene, as they fear they might become targets of the community's aggression. Respondents recall numerous cases in which they have been threatened, including physically, and only after the central office and the police became involved did the situation become less tense.

Consequently, some of the respondents believe that the donors should provide more support to NGOs to raise community awareness.

"This issue is a high priority; public awareness is low and patriarchal norms are very strong in this society. We live in the Caucasus region, so we have much work to do to eliminate such discriminatory practices. Unfortunately, there is a lack of support and interest from the state. Nowadays, the situation has improved and some progress has been made, but we still wish to raise more interest. I think that there is insufficient support from the donor organizations...Unfortunately, despite the fact that we have already worked in this field for 12 years and try to do our best, there is no women's movement, or it is simply too weak. It should be more political and more focused" (Central NGO representative).

Cooperation within and between the Organizations

The state and non-governmental organizations understand their own roles differently, resulting in a lack of cooperation between them. However, both sides acknowledge the need for one another in effectively combating domestic violence. Presumably, joint efforts to articulate strategies and

develop action plans may achieve better results in combating domestic violence. The existing cooperation is sustainable but involves only a few organizations and a limited number of activities. Although 12 organizations claim to have performed a coordinating role, they refer solely to organizing conferences or cultural activities in which various organizations participate.

According to the representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations, the entities cooperated in adopting and implementing the anti-domestic violence law. Currently, cooperation primarily relates either to NGOs' police trainings or to cases in which victims apply for counsel or shelter. In these situations, one organization is incapable of managing the whole process and approaches others for support. Frequently, organizations approach the Georgian Young Lawyers Association (GYLA) or the Anti-Violence Network of Georgia (AVNG) for legal advice, "Sakhli" and AVNG for psychological assistance, and the organizations that run shelters for victims. Although not always successful, this type of cooperation can be regarded as an achievement. However, there is apparently a lack of cooperation in terms of the strategic approach, and some do not even know that a strategy has been developed at all.

"There should be some space for cooperation...In the case of victims, [these organizations] address each other and cooperate, but they do not [coordinate] strategically...The state fund could take responsibility for this function" (Central NGO representative).

"There might be some state strategy, but I am not familiar with it" (Regional NGO representative).

"Yes, the Interagency Council helps us...It would be good to have an organization that is responsible for coordination, and all of the information should be compiled in one place to coordinate all [of our activities]" (regional NGO representative).

Strategic planning, data collection, and analysis are tasks belonging to any of the state organizations. However, according to its decree, the Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence is responsible for presenting proposals to the president of Georgia on "the ways to eradicate the causes of domestic violence in the country" (Regulation of the Interagency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence, 2009, p.3). Currently, no agency is responsible for coordinating and monitoring the law's implementation. Some respondents believe that the law and the National Action Plan represent the state strategy and follow it.

"The National Action Plan might be a strategy that is followed by the Fund, although to what extent, I do not know. The state should be more involved in it. It is involved at a level '3' on a 10-point scale, while it should be involved with at least at a level '8'" (Central NGO representative).

“The action plan that was adopted by presidential order mandates activities for two years, including what to do and when... We follow it” (State organization representative).

“We have a strategy, we have a concept, we have the law and thousands of normative acts... So, the state has already claimed its position... The state recognized domestic violence as a problem... and started taking certain steps in this direction” (State organization representative).

The interviews indicate that the Fund cooperates with a very limited circle of NGOs that are considered to be “elite” by other NGOs. These NGOs wish to be a part of the process but apparently are not:

“Some NGOs are very close to the government [agencies]. There are also NGOs that consider themselves to be distant from state agencies and even opponents of the NGOs that are close to state agencies” (Central NGO representative).

“The state applies to certain organizations for psychological support, while there are better psychologists in other organizations” (Central NGO representative).

“The same kinds of organizations cooperate closely with the state agencies; I can name three of them” (Regional NGO representative).

These three or four NGOs are considered “elite” because they closely cooperate with the government, are easy to work with, and do not criticize or object to the government’s proposals or activities. Correspondingly, they enjoy favorable working conditions and are able to sell their services to the government (e.g., legal counsel and psychological support for the victims).

Additionally, some respondents criticize NGOs for being irresponsible and for assuming tasks that require professionals. For example, some of the organizations do not have a professional psychologist but have assumed counseling responsibilities.

In addition, there is competition within the NGO sector, and in some cases NGOs do not provide information to others. If not for the donors’ requirements, there would likely be more cases like the one described below.

“...There are some organizations that do not cooperate [with others]... For some reason, there is competition within the sector... There is no need for competition; there is enough space for everybody, and we could accomplish much more with united forces... It is strange, but this organization does not call that one, and that one does not inform this one, and suddenly, this one was not informed... There are problems with the exchange of information” (Central NGO representative).

“We compete for grants, so some organizations conceal information” (Regional NGO representative).

NGOs do not possess information about each other’s activities, achievements, interests and capacities.

“[We do not know] who is doing what [or] how we have developed during these years...It would be good to organize a meeting or a workshop for us to share our experiences with each other” (Central NGO representative).

Unlike among the NGOs, no competition apparently exists within the state sector. This lack of competition is likely due to the small number of state organizations: the Ministries of Healthcare, Internal Affairs and Education, the Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence (consisting of representatives from these ministries, among others), and the State Fund for the Protection and Assistance of (Statutory) Victims of Human Trafficking. In addition, the Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Ministry of Healthcare are very passive and do not need to compete for scarce resources. As noted above, state organizations initiate projects only after they have been approved by the government and donor organizations.

Moreover, no competition exists between the state and non-governmental organizations. The representatives of state organizations express positive views of the NGOs. They believe that NGOs help them to fill gaps in services; for example, there are no state-run crisis centers but only those centers operated by NGOs. On a 10-point scale, the state agencies assess their cooperation with the NGO sector with an average score of 8.7. However, the state agencies often refer to international and transnational donor organizations, such as the UN, USAID and others when discussing NGOs, as all of these organizations are registered as NGOs under the Georgian law.

“The NGOs and donors help us a lot. They help us with organizational issues and also in developing approaches to the problem...” (State organization representative).

“State agencies have their own resources to undertake activities, but in order to have high-quality activities, we cooperate with NGOs” (State organization representative).

In some cases, the state agencies criticize NGOs, stating that the NGO sector has weakened (a finding of nearly every study conducted in Georgia since 2003). They claim that the NGO sector is primarily focused on criticizing state efforts instead of trying to support and cooperate with them. They provide suggestions for further cooperation between the two sectors.

“The standards for shelters should be unified...There are cases in which victims cannot leave shelters in due time [note: there is a defined period of time that a victim may stay, usually three months] because the threat still exists, so they move from one shelter to another...and they encounter different conditions. I think the shelters and services should all have the same standards; otherwise, the victims do not understand the situation” (State organization representative).

However, NGOs note certain challenges in cooperating with the state agencies. First, as we have seen, state agencies predominantly cooperate with the limited number of “elite” NGOs, which explains why many NGOs described a lack of cooperation with the state. Second, NGOs expect financial support from the state, which they do not receive either because the state has different priorities or because it does not have sufficient funds. On a 10-point scale, NGOs assess their cooperation with the state sector with a score of 7.2.

“The state should be more interested in cooperation with the non-governmental sector” (Central NGO representative).

Moreover, representatives of NGOs would like to have more joint meetings with state organizations and establish additional task forces. They believe that in many cases, the government does not recognize their expertise and experience. They believe that bureaucracy hinders cooperation and that NGOs are often ignorant of the government’s activities because there is no exchange of information.

“We [NGOs] have been working on this issue even before they started to think about it...so why reinvent the wheel? Use our expertise...Let's have more joint projects and joint activities to which we can all contribute” (Central NGO representative).

“[The ministries] should have a special officer responsible for gender issues. When we apply to a ministry, we write letters to a minister, and then he sends it to a deputy minister, who in turn sends it to somebody else. We take a lot of time to find out where the letter is and who is going to answer” (Regional NGO representative).

The representatives of both state and non-governmental organizations express a desire to cooperate but cannot name concrete steps that are being taken towards that goal. They all have difficulties in naming the models of cooperation; apparently, they have not considered these issues. Even after providing our respondents with information regarding the existing models of cooperation, respondents experienced difficulties in assessing these models.

The representatives of state agencies believe that they are the most significant force in combating domestic violence and that the NGOs play a supporting role. The NGOs, however, believe that they are the main force and that the state provides assistance.

“The state plays the most important role...Although [domestic violence] is the whole society’s problem, it is the state’s responsibility and task to shape the society’s attitudes. ...The state takes all of these measures to punish the perpetrators and to prevent [domestic violence]....” (State organization representative).

“The NGO sector plays the most serious role with its shelters, preventive measures, and awareness-raising...We have a strategy and certain priorities” (central NGO representative).

Conclusions

The data collected enabled us to answer the project’s main research questions:

- What factors contribute to the Georgian governmental and non-governmental organizations’ successes, or lack thereof, in combating DV?
- To what extent are the agendas of non-governmental and governmental organizations in Georgia shaped by Western donors?
- How effective is the networking between Georgian governmental and non-governmental organizations in combating gender-based violence?

With few exceptions, the organizations combating domestic violence in Georgia are not well developed. Their weakness can be attributed to a lack of finances and expertise as well as to a lack of support from state and international donors, the local community, the media, and the church.

Representatives of the organizations in this study tend to hold traditional understandings of the causes of domestic violence as well as the ways in which to combat it. The organizations’ publications reflect an understanding of domestic violence within the “de-gendered domestic violence frame.” That is, women are not directly mentioned as the victims of DV and anyone, especially children, can be considered DV victims. In the best case, organizations operate within a “women-centered frame.” Still, despite the fact that women are understood to be the primary victims of domestic violence, no attempt has been made to seek out DV’s roots in structural gender inequality at the societal level (Krizsan & Popa, 2010). Such an approach to domestic violence contributes to the organizations’ lack of success in combating it. Despite the fact that the respondents positively assess their attempts and contributions to combating domestic violence, they do not consider the outcome of their attempts to be sufficient. Some representatives even criticize the efforts to date and believe that systematic, focused, and specific approaches are lacking.

Western donors have played a crucial role in establishing and funding the operations of non-governmental and governmental organizations in Georgia. Both types of organizations acknowledge that the donors’ influence is significant, although there is a difference in attitude between the two in this respect. While the state organizations are content with the donor support, NGOs are more critical and believe that the donors often have their own agenda that does not necessarily reflect local needs. NGOs also complain about the paucity of the donors’ financial support.

The extent of networking between Georgian governmental and non-governmental organizations is currently insufficient. The two sectors have different understandings of their respective roles in the process of combating DV: both regard themselves as the most significant actor in the process while perceiving the other as playing a supporting role. There is more cooperation within than between the sectors, although the NGOs consider even this cooperation to be insufficient. In addition, there is competition among the NGOs due to scarce resources. As a result, the united efforts of Georgian governmental and non-governmental organizations in combating gender based violence cannot be considered effective.

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List of Organizations Combating Domestic Violence in Georgia:

Governmental Organizations

1. Inter-Agency Executive Council on the Prevention of Domestic Violence – Lali Papiashvili; Ketevan Khutsishvili
2. Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia – Maka Peradze
3. Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia – Tamar Aleksidze; Anna Kebabze
4. State Fund for the Protection and Assistance of Victims of Human Trafficking – Mari Meskhji; Irma Aladashvili
5. Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Affairs of Georgia*

Non-Governmental Organizations

1. GEA XXI – Cultural Education and Creative Association – Madonna Bulia; Ineza Badzaghua
2. Society of Dynamic Psychology for Development and Democracy – Nino Javakhishvili
3. Karaleti Women's Solidarity Center – Mariam Tedliashvili; Larissa Kevkhishvili
4. The Center for Constitutional Rights – Koba Bochorishvili
5. International Center on Conflict and Negotiation (ICCN) – Rusudan Gotsiridze; Nana Berekashvili
6. Cultural-Humanitarian Fund "Sokhumi" – Lela Jalaghonia; Pikria Klibadze
7. Association "Moselni" – Pati Bukhrikidze
8. Women of the Mountain Region – Irine Khvintelani
9. Samtskhe-Javakheti Democratic Women's Association – Marina Modebadze
10. Union "Saphari" – Nato Zazashvili; Tinano Javakhishvili
11. Georgian Young Lawyers' Association – Nino Chikhladze; Ketevan Kachlishvili
12. International Fund "Lea" – Marina Solomonashvili
13. Rural Women for Human Rights – Tamila Batsashvili
14. International Women's Advisory and Education Centre (IACEW) – Tamar Abramishvili; Maya Kuprava

15. Women's Political Resource Center – Lika Nadaraia; Ketevan Kurtskhalia
16. Women's Council of Dzevri – Nona Kvakhadze; Lali Janashia
17. Women's Information Center (WIC) – Eka Skhiladze; Mamuka Gachechiladze
18. Women's Center – Ia Verulashvili
19. Antiviolence Network of Georgia – Nato Shavlakhadze; Gia Gogiberidze
20. Antiviolence Network Adjara Regional Committee – Ia Rukhadze
21. Antiviolence Network Guria Regional Committee – Maya Beridze
22. Antiviolence Network Zemo Svaneti Regional Committee – Khatuna Bechvaia
23. Antiviolence Network Imereti Regional Committee – Maya Metskhvarishvili
24. Antiviolence Network Kakheti Regional Committee – Jilda Nibladze
25. Antiviolence Network Mtskheta-Mtianeti Regional Committee – Tamar Maisuradze
26. Antiviolence Network Racha Regional Committee – Nino Sokhadze
27. Antiviolence Network Samtskhe-Javakheti Regional Committee – Nino Akhalkatsi
28. Antiviolence Network Kartli Regional Committee – Zhana Aduashvili
29. Antiviolence Network Kvemo Kartli Regional Committee – Leila Suleimanova
30. Union "Sakhli" – Advice Centre for Women*

* We were not able to reach these organizations.