

THE
INDIAN JOURNAL
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Volume 59, Issue 4, October 1998

Special Issue
GENDER AWARE SOCIAL WORK

Tata Institute of Social Sciences

THE
INDIAN JOURNAL
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Volume 59, Issue 4, October, 1998

ARTICLES

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------|
| Feminist Social Work: An Expression of Universal Human Rights | Lena Dominelli | 917 |
| Intervening for Gender Justice | Rainuka Dagar | 930 |
| Organising without Hierarchy: Case Study of a Women's Organisation in Goa | Shaila Desouza | 953 |
| Gender Awareness in Field Instruction | Kalindi S. Muzumdar | 969 |
| Gender Aware Social Work: From Theory to Field Instruction | Anjali Gandhi | 981 |
| Policy Approaches to Women and Poverty Eradication | Murli Desai | 998 |
| Reining Women's Sexuality through Law: Implications for Social Work Education | Geetanjali Gangoli and Gopika Solanki | 1011 |
| Marital Dynamics in Alcoholism: Implications for Gender Aware De-Addiction Management | Selwyn Stanley | 1019 |

FIELD ACTION PROJECTS

- | | | |
|--|----------------|------|
| Social Work Project with Women in a Rural Community | Surendra Singh | 1034 |
| The Special Cell for Women and Children of the Mumbai Police Commissionerate | | 1052 |

NEWS FROM PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Women's Interest News

1058

BOOK REVIEWS

Speaking Out: Women's Economic Empowerment in South Asia by M. Carr, M. Chen and R. Jhabwala (Eds.)

Maveen
Soares-Pereira

1062

Women and Kinship by Leela Dube

Suguna Pathy

1065

Assessing Women Battering in Mental Health Services by E.W. Gondolf

H.L. Kaila

1067

Organising Without Hierarchy: Case Study of a Women's Organisation in Goa¹

SHAILA DESOUSA

This paper endeavours to throw some light on the myths that surround decision-making and organisation structure, especially those that assume hierarchical processes as the only means compatible with efficiency and efficacy, as well as offer an analysis of some strategies of non-hierarchical functioning. This is attempted at, through the experiences of a women's collective² in organisational practice over more than a decade of working towards social change, particularly with reference to the women's position.

Ms. Shaila Desouza is a Research Officer with the Centre for Women's Studies, Goa University, Taleigao Plateau, Goa.

Formal organisational structures are often assumed to be efficient and effective (efficient in terms of management of people, time and productivity and effective in terms of meeting organisation goals, especially in the case of service organisations). They are presumed to function with coordinated and controlled activity. However, studies have proved this assumption to be but a myth (Meyer and Brian, 1977; Meyer and Scott, 1992) and that often, formal organisations ceremonially conform to institutionalised rules, conflicting therefore with efficiency and efficacy. The basis of this myth about formal structures lies in the belief that a rational theory can be applied to explain all situations, goals, policies, means and also the ends by which to achieve the organisational goals, overlooking of course important aspects such as the complexities of human behaviour. Scott (1981) discussed the rational system approach and defines an organisation as 'a collectivity oriented to the pursuit of relatively specific goals and exhibiting a relatively high formalised social structure'. Early sociologists had pessimistic views regarding democracy (Michaels, 1962) and theorists on social movements, too, had argued that without organised

leadership, struggles remain 'primitive', thus resulting in the disintegration of the movement (Hobsbawn, 1959).

The idea of participatory or collaborative management is not a new one (Argyris, 1957; Likert, 1961; McGregor,³ 1960), but there is much more written on hierarchy and domination as the system for efficient and effective management. In hierarchical organisations, the structure has clearly defined patterns of authority, rules and procedures, a centralised decision-making body, as well as a clear division of labour. This formalised process of communication and functioning often causes human needs to be ignored, thus resulting in a negative impact on employee involvement, satisfaction, motivation and overall performance. In non-hierarchical organisations, the structure is fused with the organisational processes. Communication styles and patterns, decision-making, involvement, availability of information, acceptance of decisions, coordination of activities, inter-group relations, conflict and cooperation are joint responsibilities of the members of the group and attention is given to human needs, skills and capabilities in maximising productivity.

The biggest management challenge is managing the performance of a diverse workforce. It is not uncommon, that persons in power are often under threat from those who are being dominated upon, as there is no dearth of examples from liberation struggles, trade unions, worker uprisings and revolts against authoritarianism to support this fact. Organisation development, human resource development, personnel management and so on, are fairly recent methods that are being incorporated by hierarchical organisations to combat this problem. Today, there is a visible move towards the introduction of flatter and more horizontal systems of organising from the earlier, formal, hierarchical ones (Luthans, 1995). Strategies are being adopted to increase individual motivation, commitment, development and fulfilment, to increase productivity and to better the achievement of organisation goals. Even organisation culture is given importance as its role in overall performance has been acknowledged. However, in actual practice most human resource management activities are chiefly oriented towards remedying an existing problem rather than anticipating and therefore planning for the prevention of problems (Bernardin and Russel, 1993).

According to literature on organisation development (French and Bell Jr., 1989), people need to interact cooperatively with at least one small group as there is an inherent desire to feel accepted, and informal

interactions that take place in work groups, significantly affect feelings of satisfaction and competence. Group effectiveness is said to be maximised when group members assist each other with effective leadership and cooperative behaviour, as no single leader can perform, as well as manage all functions, in all circumstances and at all times. Free communication within the group is said to enhance job satisfaction and personal growth. The key words are interpersonal trust, support and cooperation. The contingency models of leadership too, talk of how the organisation structure should adjust to fit in with the organisation environment, both internal and external (Luthans, 1995).

Most social activist groups and women's organisations function collectively with a firm commitment to egalitarian values and an articulated opposition to hierarchy, as well as other symbols of domination, probably due to influence by the leftist ideology. The contingency theory might explain that this mode of functioning is appropriate to such service and knowledge-based organisations, while mass production houses are better managed by hierarchy. Therefore, more research on the experiences of such non-hierarchical organisations would contribute greatly to this fairly recent, more human-centred organising trend, particularly of knowledge-based organisations.

In India, the women's liberation movement began in the 1970's and drew a lot of inspiration from the movement in the West. Literature on the women's movement in India (for example, Dietrich, 1992; Mathew and Nair, 1986) discusses the evolution of the movement, the different ideologies, issues of concern and so on, but a critique of the organisation methods and information on how the movement, consisting of various women's groups, function as collectives and how their objectives are achieved through this non-hierarchical method of organisation, is absent from the discourse.

This paper attempts to initiate an enquiry into the area of collective, non-hierarchical organising through a case study of a women's collective in Goa. The purpose here is not to evaluate the political effectiveness, but to highlight some of the processes of organisation.

Women in Goa have been involved in social action in the past and have played an important role in the liberation movement.⁴ However, until the 1980s, apart from branches of all-India organisations like the All India Women's Conference, and two small local organisations, the Women Writers Organisation (WWO) and the All Goa Muslim Women's Association (AGMWA), both of which have now ceased to exist, there were no organised women's activist groups or collectives in Goa.

The Collective

In July 1986, a few women, most of whom had been associated with the progressive student's union or with the civil liberties movement, got together to form an informal discussion group. Initially discussions were held around what they had read in women's journals and magazines such as *Manushi*⁵ and what were nationally considered as 'women's issues' like dowry, molestation, rape, exploitation at work, and so on. A few months later, that is on October 12, 1986, the group was named 'Bailancho Saad' meaning women's voice, which was derived from the Konkani (the local language) term *Combiancho Saad*, meaning a 'cock's crow'.

The Collective Goals

The goals of the collective (Bailancho Saad, 1986) are as follows:

- to collectively understand and analyse the status and oppression of women in general and Goa in particular;
- to raise the consciousness of people about women;
- to assist women in gaining confidence to develop their talents and to live their own lives;
- to take up issues relating to women; and
- to build up solidarity among women at the national and international levels.

Today, apart from being a discussion group, the collective is also involved in case handling, social action and change, demonstrations and morchas, publications and awareness campaigns through newsletters, pamphlets and booklets, organisation of seminars and also fund raising through the sale of products made by members of the group or other groups that the organisation has chosen to support.

In the early years the collective tried collaborating with other women's groups and even tried being a part of a federation of different women's organisations, as well as a larger forum against tourism. But the collective's values of non-hierarchy were not always respected by the other organisations who were collaborating. Today, Bailancho Saad values its autonomy and its own identity and has found that it works best as an independent organisation that functions as a collective with participation of all its members in the organisational decisions, while it networks with other organisations on issues of common interest.

The Collective 'Ethic'

The first printed handout of Bailancho Saad in 1986 stated the following as the collective ethic.

We are aware that women's issues should not be viewed in isolation... We, therefore, envisage a society that is just to both men and women. We have to fight for emancipation from patriarchal structures that reinforce and perpetuate male power; and other social structures that exploit and oppress us. We have to struggle for our equality, dignity and freedom to participate in the socio-cultural, economic and political processes that shape society.

Organising collectively is a powerful political strategy based on a value for equality. Right from the inception of the organisation, it was decided that the group would be a 'women's collective' and would not maintain a hierarchical structure. Several founder members of the organisation had had some previous involvement in male dominated or hierarchical organisations and opted out of that style of functioning. The non-hierarchical structure and the spirit of functioning as a collective are reflected in all the organisational processes and form the basis of the organisation culture. These unchangeable principles are upheld by all its members, including its new members. The common thread one finds between all participants⁶ of Bailancho Saad, that makes working as a collective possible and sustainable, is this common ideology of an 'opposition to hierarchy' and the desire to work for the betterment of the position of women. Specialists or coordinators do emerge, but that is only temporary and task specific.

Solidarity, Acceptance and Identity

Meetings are held every week on Saturday, at a fixed time (3.30p.m. to 6.00p.m.), at a fixed venue in the centre of the state capital, Panaji. The collective does not demand any fee from its participants and has an open membership to all women, where the only qualification is that of gender. Men are welcomed as supporters to the organisation. Participants to the organisation include women from all walks of life — professionals, students, women in the labour force, as well as housewives. There is no demand on attendance. Although the collective meets at a fixed time regularly every week, the members are free to attend and organise meetings whenever they wish to do so. There are some women who attend the Saturday meetings very regularly,

some who attend meetings only occasionally, some who only go to the meetings when they require help and assistance from the group. Yet, all the women are given equal importance and their contributions to discussions and decisions are taken seriously. This welcoming, democratic style of functioning, coupled with the fact that the aim of the organisation is to work for women, makes the organisation not personally intimidating to women who approach the collective giving, therefore, an almost immediate feeling of acceptance.

At the weekly meetings, new participants are made aware of the matters and issues that are being discussed. It is explained in the language most easily understood. That is, if the majority of participants on a particular day are more comfortable with English, discussions might be in English but every so often one of the members translates the discussions in Konkani for the benefit of those who do not know English and vice versa. This encourages participation and involvement, strengthens the feeling of group solidarity and commitment and results in shared responsibilities for the collective's decisions.

One of the important ingredients for the success of such a collective is the fact that the members share basic values of equality and cooperation, on which the organisation has been founded. The collective had experienced having members who did not share these values; however, these members have either stopped being regular members or have left the group, having become aware of the difference in values. This demonstrates the strength of the collective group's commitment to equality that outdoes individual desires to dominate.

In the organisation's history we see that variations in individual capabilities have not affected the pursuit of equality, as the group has been functioning as a non-hierarchical collective, for more than a decade. This has been possible because of the acceptance of individual differences in skills and capabilities and the belief that everyone has something to offer. There is a conscious attempt to reduce these inequalities or neutralise these differences to the extent possible, through the dissemination of information, sharing of tasks, learning of skills and so on.

Although Bailancho Saad lays no demand on individual members to contribute, there is an underlying belief that everyone can learn new skills and at the same time acknowledges that there are certain jobs that some persons just cannot do. The legal handling of cases for example, are solely looked after by one of the members who is a trained lawyer. However, there are some members who might help out with

other aspects of the case, like in home visits, support and protection. There are yet others who do not feel fit to get involved with cases but may be great moral support to the person concerned. Everyone, however, has some role to play and something to offer, which is defined by her own capabilities. This gives the members a feeling of identity within the group.

Decisions by Consensus

Decisions within the organisation are made through a process of consensus, which is seen as a conscious step toward equality and, therefore, an integral part of the organisation's functioning. Participants present at the meetings are informed about the important issues to be discussed, as well as the opposing views on those issues. Only after detailed discussions, a consensus is attempted to be arrived at. Decisions taken by consensus, do not imply 'compromise' or 'voting' but, means that all members of the organisation present when the decision is taken, have had the opportunity to discuss the issues concerned, until a decision that is acceptable to everyone is arrived at. This process does not discourage dissent. If no consensus is reached, the organisation does not take a stand on that particular issue for which there is no resolved consensus. Bennis and Shepard (1965) describe a 'mature group' as one in which there is consensus decision-making which encourages dissent and also the acceptance of individual difference.

The process of consensus through discussions has some disadvantages too. It slows down the process of decision-making, and often prevents the collective from being involved in important issues that may be related to the organisation's larger objectives. An example is the case of the 1994 Miss India Pageant that was being organised and subsequently held in Goa. There was opposition raised by some of the women's groups in Goa. Bailancho Saad, however, was divided in its views about the pageant and the implications for women. Therefore, the organisation stayed out of the debate and did not oppose the pageant in the state. It was the same with the state debate over the Konkan Railway. No consensus was reached and the organisation opted out of the then controversial issue. There is, therefore, a constant negotiation between egalitarian values and social action and there is a recurring need to bring about an equilibrium between the internal organisational processes of the group and task accomplishment.

The delayed decisions affect certain organisation activities more than others. In handling cases of rape for example, the practice of

decisions by consensus at the weekly meetings posed a serious problem, as decisions needed to be taken immediately due to the nature of the case. However, a solution was worked out as it was subsequently decided that for case handling, the individual or group of individuals handling each case would take decisions independent of the larger group as they were entrusted with that responsibility. They would however, be expected to keep the group regularly informed about the progress of that case. This was the start of temporary specialists for particular activities and 'modified consensus', where 'critical decisions are reserved for the entire membership, while routine decisions are delegated horizontally' (Iannello, 1992: 95). 'Modified consensus' is a term used by Iannello to mean a method of decision-making and a form of organisation. The specialist is selected based on the specialised skills that the person/persons possess, which are seen to be a requirement for that task. This position is temporary, volunteered and acknowledged by the group. This volunteered responsibility, resulting from a sense of commitment, leads to personal accountability for the task undertaken.

In organisation development literature, this method of participatory decision-making has been explained as the 'ideal intervention for practice' (Argyris, 1970). This collective value of equality through participatory decision making, disseminating information, promoting free and informed choice has resulted in promoting the member's personal commitment to the organisation decisions. As we found from interviews, a unanimous stand on certain issues that had been discussed, like for example, the members were all vehemently opposed to golf courses and were less opposed to the sale of alcohol in the state although the problem of alcoholism was very much on their agenda. The collective's stand was against new bar licences being issued, as well as in favour of the judicious location of bars. They were opposed to bars near schools, for example.

Empowerment

Leadership within Bailancho Saad does not mean a hierarchical domination, rather it is motivated by a need to initiate, influence and empower. Dissemination of information, sharing of tasks and acquisition of new skills are tactics used to empower group members, which then results in individual autonomy of the members. For example, one of the participants, a former housewife, because of her involvement with the organisation attended a National Women's Conference in

1994, where she not only got the exposure to women's groups from all over India but got to attend discussions on issues of national concern. On her return, she shared her experiences in the organisation's newsletter where she also wrote of issues she had just learnt of, such as health and population, communalism and politics of identity, the new economic policy, violence, and so on. She started her narration with 'imagine the freedom to be out of station sans family after fourteen years of marital bondage of unpaid and unrecognised housework'.

Given the numerous and various tasks undertaken by the group, such as casework and counselling, printing of the newsletter and other publications, and given the limited number of members, work obviously gets done through a shared effort. Through this sharing of tasks, members learn new skills. Bailancho Saad is committed to minimising differences through this system of empowerment, and at the same time acknowledges and accepts individual limitations. The collective's conscious opposition to hierarchy and all symbols of patriarchy, enables the minimisation of power within the collective. Power in the form of authority, decision-making, skills, knowledge and so on is reduced through the discussions, training, shared responsibilities and tasks as well as collective decision-making through 'modified consensus'.

This method of empowerment of members within the collective has wider implications, as it also affects the women's individual status in the larger society, as well as the collective's political power. The skills and the support individual members receive from the association with the collective, has in many cases, enabled women to be self-supporting, take personal risks like walking out of a marriage where she has been a victim of violence and oppose oppressive traditions and customs that are felt to be discriminatory to women.

Flexibility, Adaptability and Innovation

The organisation's open membership, enables the involvement of women from a cross-section of society. This makes the organisation richer in terms of the variety of knowledge, skills and talents within the group. Members of the collective are agricultural labourers, lawyers, artists, social workers, teachers, journalists, housewives and so on. This contributes to the democratic and participatory structure of the collective, creative responses to issues and innovation and ability to undertake a variety of tasks. The organisation is, therefore, fluid and

open to change. The only things the collective is rigid and inflexible about is the value for equality, the non-hierarchical process, decisions by consensus and the goal to better the status of women.

Leadership and direction in the form of temporary specialists constantly change hands, resulting in multiple, diverse, as well as adaptive responses to the same issues. For example, the collective, from almost the time of its inception, has been involved with the issue of violence against women. It has been active in its demand for a special cell to deal with crimes against women, had demonstrations in this regard, as well as peaceful representations to concerned persons in authority in the government, poster exhibitions, workshops on violence, training in gender sensitivity, street plays and *tiatrs* (local theatre in Konkani) have been held around the city. The issue has been discussed in the organisation's newsletter as well.

Bailancho Saad is not static and has changed with the times. From the oral account of the history of the organisation that was obtained from interviews with some of the members and from information gathered from the press and the organisation's publications, it was observed that the organisation has evolved from a small discussion group to what it is today, a large all Goa women's organisation involved politically with issues related to women's rights, not only in the state of Goa but at national and international levels too. It is open to different views and to change, even in terms of the organisation's perspectives on important issues.

An example is made evident through the language of the organisation's critique of tourism. In some of the earlier press releases, that is around 1986 or 1987, the organisation was opposed to the celebration of the carnival supported and part sponsored by the government on grounds that it was 'carried out in the most indecent and immoral manner, bringing down the dignity of women'. The group protested against the promotion of tourism which they said was 'at the cost of the dignity of women, the local culture and the social health of the territory'. They said in the same press release that 'the carnival parades, use women as sex objects in advertising the products of sponsors'. They described the festival of the carnival as a 'commercialised silly colonial *tamasha*'. Differences can be seen in the language of its later 'Critique of the Commercialisation the Carnival in Goa' titled 'Culture Vultures', brought out as a priced publication in 1993, in which they enumerated their objections to the commercialisation of the carnival and also gave explanations for their objections.

Our objections began initially as a reaction to the harassment we ourselves were facing from tourists who assume that women in Goa are available for the asking, mainly because of the images conveyed through the commercial Carnival parades and the advertisements about them. As we probed deeper, we realised how commercialisation of carnival robs us as a people of our spontaneity and distorts our culture. The link between the commercialisation of carnival and promotion of modern tourism also became a lot clearer.

The publication consisted of a list of questions and answers, rationalising the collective's views. This is a marked change from the earlier, emotion filled protest and request to women to boycott the festival.

Commitment and Responsibility

Shared values of equality and a genuine commitment to a common cause, which is, to better the status of women in society, seem to positively impact on the extent of voluntary efforts, participation and the shouldering of responsibility within the organisation. Since all members have been involved in the decision-making process and planning, individual commitment to group decisions is increased. However, often 'limits of commitment may be collectively recognised and collectively managed so that a level of commitment appropriate to the particular context is negotiated by the members' (Brown, 1992: 23). Individual members volunteer to take on responsibilities, but since most of the members work full-time on other jobs and have domestic duties to tend to, the scarcity of time makes it difficult to keep to commitments. Recognising the limits of volunteerism, the collective is presently considering a full-time or part-time, paid worker for the organisation, but it is still only in the idea stage that has not yet been implemented, as the organisation perceives certain problems will be brought on with this introduction, such as a divide within the organisation between the paid and the voluntary, non-paid staff, resulting in a sort of hierarchy. The organisation also anticipates that money might become the motivation factor for women joining the organisation which would have a negative impact on commitment and organisation pulse. It would be interesting to see how this dilemma is resolved. One method might be the introduction of paid help for specific assignments only, like temporary specialists.

One of the possible reasons for the collective considering paid workers may be the realisation and acknowledgement of the various

levels of commitment that the organisation has to grapple with. Some members, particularly the older members, believe in working towards social action and change and have been very consistent with their commitment to the cause. Some members have approached and joined the organisation for support, as they might be victims of oppression and violence, or in need of some kind of help and might discontinue being part of the collective as soon as they have managed to solve their problems. Some who have come to the organisation for help might continue assisting the organisation. For example, the women from Zuarvada, Tivrem, a village in North Goa, in early 1992, had approached the group for help as they were opposed to the setting up of a bar in their village. They were supported by the collective in their struggle and after a long battle, which included visits to government offices, long hours away from home, long distances travelled, demonstrations and morchas, they managed to get the licence of the bar revoked, as well as an assurance from the Chief Minister that permission would never be given for a bar in that village (*Herald News Service*, 1992). The women from Tivrem, chiefly agricultural labourers, then began supporting the collective in its other activities such as Women's Day celebrations and also during the campaign against crimes against women. In fact, the women of Tivrem, even today, are very much considered part of the collective and not just a support group to the collective.

Bailancho Saad is aware of the different levels of commitment. Although as a rule, it does not discriminate on grounds of commitment, the level of commitment determines the involvement of the member in execution of work and to some extent determines the agenda of the organisation.

Society's Response

The 'new' ideology of gender equality caused some unrest in the Goan society and the larger community needed time to accept this new culture, where women were demanding equal opportunity and status, as it was perceived as a threat not only to the man's role but also to the structure of the family. Initially, society regarded Bailancho Saad as a man hating group of unmarried, fairly unoccupied women, that would cause the destruction of harmonious relationships within families. Bailancho Saad was considered to be only a protest group that was at constant loggerheads with the government. Today, however, this response has changed. This may partly be due to the fact that the

organisation with its varied membership has stood the test of time and proved to be of assistance to a large number of women from different sections of the Goan populace. The organisation is also officially represented on government advisory boards and other state sponsored initiatives for women in Goa.⁸ Bailancho Saad, today, has become synonymous with women's collective action in the state. Since 1986, when Bailancho Saad was first established, several other women's groups and hierarchically organised women's organisations have come up. However, very often, even the media has reported the work of these groups as that of Bailancho Saad. In 1997, a well-known local theatre group, staged a play on women's rights and called it 'Bailancho Saad'. Even a rather 'high society', philharmonic group in 1996, held a Christmas concert and publicly lauded the organisation's work for women and donated the proceeds of the concert to the organisation.

Almost a reciprocal relationship exists between the image of the organisation in society and the organisation's membership. Earlier when the group received much opposition, the members were limited to a few. However, now that the organisation has been received with less resistance, the group is larger. All the same, a negative image for the organisation would hamper the achievement of the organisation's goals to raise the level of awareness among women and to provide support and improve the status of women in society. Due to this, the group is protective about its image and their identity is a concern.

Organisation Growth

Since 1986, the organisation has grown noticeably as we have seen earlier in this paper and this has been an almost incidental outcome of the organisation's processes rather than due to deliberate organisation efforts. However in the recent past, there has been a need for conscious and planned growth, which is more a planned response to the way the organisation seems to be headed. The organisation has decided to raise funds for an office and has included several, purely finance generating activities, like the sale of hand made products and the sponsoring of a *tiatr*. Office procedures like filing of letters have been made less tedious. Documentation and other information in the office have been made more accessible to women. The current debate on employing paid staff also illustrates the organisation's plans to cope with its increasing activities.

Conclusion

'Case material of women organising collectively provides an appropriate context through which to explore the dimensions of non-hierarchical organisation and to develop a theoretical understanding of the processes which characterise organising activity in situations where there is a commitment to egalitarian values' (Brown, 1992: 29). The criteria for the success of non-hierarchical functioning is the value for equality, commonality of goal, and adequate training to empower individuals with skills to achieve that goal/s. It is particularly applicable to service or knowledge based organisations where delayed decision-making will not hamper the achievement of organisational goals but in fact be profitable by avoiding hasty decisions. It would be interesting to study the possibilities of this organising method being used for larger women's organisations, for example all India organisations at the national level.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on an ongoing study, that is a joint effort with A. Sreekumar, Department of Management Studies, Goa University.
2. The collective was founded on a firm ideological stand against all forms and symbols of patriarchy and, therefore, hierarchical processes are seen as contradictions to the organisation's values. The collective, which began as a small discussion group, evolved into a large, all Goa women's organisation, very involved politically with issues related to women's rights, not only in the state of Goa, but also at national and international levels, though it continues to be a non-registered body of women from different sections of the society.
3. According to McGregor (1960), an effective, well functioning group is one in which:
 - the atmosphere tends to be relaxed, comfortable and informal;
 - the group's task is well understood and accepted by the member;
 - the members listen well to each other and there is a lot of task-relevant discussion in which most members participate;
 - people express both their feelings and ideas;
 - conflict and disagreement are present but are centred around ideas and methods and not personalities and people;
 - the group is self-conscious about its own operation;
 - decisions are usually based on consensus, not majority vote; and
 - when actions are decided upon, clear assignments are made and accepted by the members.
4. The contribution of women in Goa's freedom struggle has rarely been acknowledged, but women's active participation was evident from the narrated experiences of those involved at the 'Tribute to Women Freedom Fighters' conference organised by the Centre for Women's Studies, Goa University, on the March 8, 1993.
5. *Manushi*: A Journal about Women and Society is printed, published and edited by Madhu Kishwar on behalf of the Manushi Trust, C/202 Lajpat Nagar-1, New Delhi.

6. For more comfortable reading, the words, 'member/s' and 'participant/s' are used synonymously.
7. The words 'collective', 'organisation' and 'group' are used interchangeably throughout the discussion on Bailancho Saad.
8. Bailancho Saad is part of the coordinating team of the women's cell that was set up through the government of deal with women victims of crime and provide services such as counselling, legal aid and guidance, referral and support. A member of Bailancho Saad was selected by the state government to represent the state at the NGO meeting at the world conference in Beijing in August, 1995. One of the members was appointed on the Drafting Committee for the State Women's Police and the Drafting Committee for the State Women's Commission Bill. Another member was also appointed on the Goa State Women's Commission in 1997.

REFERENCES

- Argyris, C. : *Personality and Organisation*, New York.: Harper and Row.
1957
- 1970 : *Intervention, Theory and Method : A Behavioral Science View*, Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- Bennis, W. G. and : *A Theory of Group Development*, *Human Relations*, (9),
Shepard, H.S. 415-457.
1965
- Bernardin, J.H. and : *Human Resource Management: An Experiential Ap-
Russel, J.E.A. proach*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
1993
- Brown, H. : *Women Organising*, London: Routledge.
1992
- Coote, A. and : *Sweet Freedom: The Struggle for Women's Liberation*,
Campbell, B. Second Edition, London: Pan Books.
1987
- Dietrich, G. : *Reflections on the Women's Movement in India: Religion,
1992 Ecology, Development*, New Delhi: Horizon India Books.
- French, W.L. and : *Organisation Development: Behavioral Science Inter-
Bell Jr., C.H. ventions for Organisation Improvement*, Third Edition, New
1989 Delhi: Prentice Hall (India).
- Hobsbawn, E.J. : *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social
1959 Movements in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Manchester:
Manchester United Press.
- Iannello, K.P. : *Decisions Without Hierarchy : Feminist Interventions in
1992 Organisation Theory and Practice*, New York: Rout-
ledge.
- Likert, R. : *New Patterns of Management*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
1961
- Luthans, F. : *Organisational Behavior*, Seventh Edition, New York:
1995 McGraw-Hill.

- Mathew, P.M. and Nair, M.S. 1986 : *Women's Organisations and Women's Interests*, New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House.
- McGregor, D.M. 1960 : *The Human Side of Enterprise*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Meyer, J.W. and Brian, R. 1977 : Institutionalized Organizations : Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony, *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340-363.
- Meyer, J.W. and Scott, R.W. 1992 : *Organisational Environments : Ritual and Rationality*, London: Sage Publications.
- Michaels, R. 1962 : *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, New York: Collier Books.
- Scott, R.W. 1981 : *Organisations*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.