Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a wave of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Manipur today and it is not only a social employment but NGOs have become a path of career trajectory. NGOs attract students of various disciplines such as Management, Anthropology, Economics and Sociology. In Manipur, the quantum jump in the number of NGOs is mainly because of educated unemployment. In recent years, people especially educated youths aspire to join NGOs not only to avail employment and monetary benefits but also to serve the poor and bring about transformation in the society. It is also important to point out that there is a vacuum created by insurgency and ethnic conflicts in the State. In such a context, there is a space for NGOs to emerge in a powerful way in spite of the fact that there are also fake NGOs in Manipur. Hence, it is essential to examine the possibility of strengthening NGOs. I have concentrated to study those NGOs that genuinely work for the poor. This research focuses on the role of NGOs in Tamei sub-division of Tamenglong district. Basically, this study tries to analyze whether NGOs act as effective agents of change.

Here, it is essential to examine the concept of NGOs vis-à-vis voluntary organizations. In its broadest sense, the term Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) refers to organizations that are usually set up by a group of people out of their own initiative or partly influenced by external forces like the state, donor agencies. NGOs are also non-profit organizations and can be organized on a local, regional, national or international level. The term 'NGO' can also include private foundations, educational institutions, religious organizations, missions, trade unions, professional organizations, business and commercial associations, cooperatives, cultural groups, pressure groups and peasant organizations.
Understanding the role of the NGOs is related to how it is defined. It is obvious that the parameters within which NGOs operate is defined by the regime in power.

NGOs may perform several activities but are usually associated with humanitarian works. The main activities of NGOs are creation of community awareness, training, consultancy, counseling, research, surveys, evaluation studies, income generation and creation of community assets. They also highlight individuals' concerns to governments, evaluate as well as monitor policies and encourage political participation at the community level. Some are organized around specific issues such as gender equality, human rights, education, environment or health-care. According to Riley (2002:70)

The term non-governmental organization is almost ubiquitously employed to categorize a vast array of associations that perform a large number of diverse purposes. It is not surprising that the complexities and variety of attributes of such institutions do not easily reflect such a reductionist designation. Even within the field of Third World socio-economic development, in which the term is used to describe a group of organizations whose stated purpose is to provide development assistance, there exists a wide variety of institutions—from the minuscule, locally based, loosely established voluntary organization operating in one or two villages in a developing country to the large transnational organizations headquartered in the North, with offices worldwide and paid staff of hundreds—and a panoply of mixed types in between which vary in a number of important ways. This diversity is characteristic of Indian NGOs.

In short, NGOs can be defined as non-profit agencies, adopting a professional managerial approach to promote development or render services to the marginalized groups and weaker sections of societies so that their voice is heard and they get empowered to assert their democratic rights. Kuriakose (1989:16) says that under this definition, anything that is not part of the governmental process becomes an NGO. The acronym NGO continues to be most widely used, almost as if it is
going to remain forever. Narasaiah (2004:4) states that NGOs are seen as the ‘miracle weapon’ in the battle against increasing poverty in large parts of the world.

Deb (2002) affirms that NGOs function within the boundaries set by the state and are governed by various laws and regulations. For him, recent tendencies reveal that some NGOs function as for-profit bodies and the traditional distinction between non-profit and for-profit may get blurred in the wake of market oriented economic reforms and ever increasing collaboration between NGOs and international agencies. He endorses that globally NGOs have come to occupy a distinct space in civil society. And, the term NGO for the first time used in the U.N. forum in 1949 has also acquired magical legitimacy based upon certain claim maintained by its protagonists which however may or may not hold true in countries where constraints to social and human development obviously nullify the very idea of alternative development. He asserts that the idea of NGO participation and input as a means of ensuring transformation of the civil society in certain socially desirable fields, the space between the state and its citizens continues to gain ground holding out hopes, however little it may be to the disillusioned poor, remote and marginalized communities.

Since the past few years, the concept and subject of NGOs have attracted an international limelight more than the Voluntary Organizations (VOs). One of the main reasons for the popular image of NGOs is due to its response as an active agent of development to an unsatisfactory or pathetic condition of the people. Rana Kranti (ibid: 270) mentions that

Under the big umbrella of voluntary action today, we find dozens of acronyms, such as GROs (Grassroots Organizations), GRSOs (Grassroots Support Organizations), IVPOs (Indigenous Private Voluntary Organizations), PVOs (Private Voluntary Organizations), VOs (Voluntary Organizations), VDOs (Voluntary Development
Organizations), NGOs (Government Sponsored Non-Governmental Organizations), CBOs (Community Based Organizations), etc. These acronyms notwithstanding the term ‘NGO’ better describes their status. In addition, there is now a virtual explosion in the number of NGOs in the country. Initially the number expanded due to state support, now it is due to international funding.

The World Bank’s definition of an NGO gives the broadest view. World Bank definition of an NGO is as follows:

> A non-profit making, voluntary, service-oriented/development oriented organization, either for the benefit of members (a grassroots organization) or of other members of the population (an agency).

> It is an organization of private individuals who believe in certain basic social principles and who structure their activities to bring about development to communities that they are servicing.

> Social development organization assisting in empowering of people.

> An organization or group of people working independent of any external control with specific objectives and aims to fulfill tasks that are oriented to bring about desirable change in a given community or area or situation.

> An organization not affiliated to political parties, generally engaged in working for aid, development and welfare of the people.

> Organization committed to the root causes of the problems trying to better the quality of life especially for the poor, the oppressed, the marginalized in urban and rural areas.

> Organizations established by and for the community without or with little intervention from the government; they are not only a charity organization, but work on socio-economic-cultural activities.

> An organization that is flexible and democratic in its organization and attempts to serve the people without profit for itself.
Further, World Bank emphasized that,

The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-user societies, women’s groups and pastoral associations. Citizen Groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs.

Regarding the charity type of NGOs, Daniel W. Crowell (2003:185) mentions that charity means the necessity for more charity from the same or other donors later on, just as charity also means only temporary relief for the recipients. However, he argues that this cycle is unnecessary, since most among the poor have the ability and desire to lift themselves out of their condition without the repetitious crutch of charity.

Mohanty (1996:4) states that NGOs are found in different sizes, forms and are called by different names in contemporary society. They are sometimes referred to as private voluntary organizations, voluntary development organizations, social work agencies, social action groups, community development organizations and charitable trusts. At another level, they are called church groups, professional societies, national consortia, village committees, women’s groups and cooperatives. Based on activities, they are known as relief, welfare, service, research and advocacy organizations, credit unions, local literacy clubs, environmental NGOs, philanthropic or emergency aid organizations. The term Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) is most commonly used in America, India and other South
Asian countries. Similarly, they are also called Non-Governmental Development Organizations (NGDOs) in South America and Voluntary Development Organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa. In India, the term Voluntary Organization is widely used. He asserts that the term NGO is not accepted by many organizations in India, including Voluntary Action Network India (VANI).

NGOs are not based on local voluntarism because the poor and the marginalized are too weak or too scared and repressed to combine voluntarily whereas, a voluntary organization mainly depends on people who choose to combine to tackle an issue or to promote a cause. Voluntary organizations are present in social structures that allow freedom of choice on the one hand while on the other, there are multiple choices of strategies, ideologies and the like that are available.

Voluntary Organizations (VOs) indicate that people themselves volunteer to form an organization to set right some social problems or to promote some programmes. Many NGOs are not based on voluntarism of local people. Voluntary Organizations are also known by different names. They are also referred to as Volags (Voluntary Agencies), AGs (Action Group) and SHGs (Self Help Group), (Bhatia 2000:20).

Charities Aid India Foundation (CAF’s Validated Database 2000:16) analyzed the difference between Voluntary Organizations (VOs) and NGOs as,

A general misconception is that any activity outside the pale of government is ‘voluntary’. One needs to differentiate between organizations in the ‘general’ non-governmental sector and VOs. Cooperatives, trade unions or Panchayati Raj Institutions are all non-governmental but are not voluntary organizations.
Here, it is essential to mention that the workers of voluntary organizations may be paid or unpaid, depending upon the circumstances. David Sills, a sociologist, cited in Lawani's book (1999:19-20) entitled “NGOs in Development,” defines the term “voluntary association” which differ widely but that they generally contain three elements: A voluntary association is an organized group of persons:

- That is formed in order to further some common interest of its members;
- in which membership is voluntary in the sense that it is neither mandatory nor acquired through birth; and
- that exists independently of the state.

David Sills defines voluntary organization as “a group of persons organized on the basis of voluntary membership without state control, for the furtherance of some common interests of its members”. Sills excluded three types of similar associations:

- making a living association (like business firms, trade associations, etc);
- religious organizations and
- political parties.

Michael Banton assumes that voluntary associations become more common and significant as societies advance in technological complexity. They have many features similar to those of villages, but they differ in that, they serve only as substitutes for the traditional institutions with which the migrant has lost touch (Cit in Lawani, 1999).

ORIGIN OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS:

A historical understanding of the growth of voluntary organizations in this country can be traced back to the period of the socio-religious reform movement from 1800 to 1857 that basically challenged the feudal system. The next stage
started with the emergence of a Nationalist Movement and Gandhiji’s zeal for voluntary action from 1857 to the 1920s, which attracted a huge number of committed people to come forward as voluntary workers.

It can be assumed that with voluntarism as a basic foundation, voluntary organizations gradually emerge in our contemporary society. Lawani (1999:30) asserts that,

The term voluntarism is derived from the Latin word ‘voluntas’ which means ‘will.’ The will assumes various forms of impulses, passions, appetites or desires. It is prior to or superior to the intellect or reason. All theories of voluntarism, whether psychological, theological or metaphysical which interpret various aspects of experience and nature in the light of the concept of the will, subscribes to this thesis. The concept of voluntarism is based on humanism. It is based on the philosophy of treating the whole world as the ‘Family of Man.’ It has no room for difference of caste, creed, colour, race, region, religion. Rather, it is based on principles of peaceful co-existence in spite of these disparities and difference.

Panalekar (2004:33) also pointed out that voluntary organizations in India have a long historical legacy, as voluntary action has been an integral part of our national life and character. Anandharajakumar (1985:14) considers that the work carried out by Rabindranath Tagore at Silaida in 1908 and at Sriniketan around 1921, by Spencer Hatch in and around Marthandum in the South under the auspices of Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1928, by Mahatma Gandhi at Sevagram around 1931 and by Jugatram Dave at Swarajya Ashram at Vedchhi from 1922 onwards are some instances of exemplary services rendered by the individuals.

Few scholars have put forward theories regarding voluntary organizations. Dantwala, Sethi and Visaria (1998:48) speak of the contract failure theory - an
economic theory that explains why particular kinds of goods are produced by voluntary organizations rather than by the private sector. According to them,

This theory argues that when consumers feel unable to evaluate accurately the adequacy or quality of the goods, they choose voluntary organizations as suppliers rather than profit-making firms. Consumers distrust for-profit firms for such goods because the manager of a for-profit firm may supply inferior quality goods and pocket the additional earnings thus made. The opportunity to do so does not exist for managers of non-profit concerns as they are forbidden by law from garnering the extra profit. An enlightened consumer thus protects his interests by sponsoring voluntary associations.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a new stream of NGOs that were faith-based organizations such as Ramakrishna Mission and Christian Mission organizations grew in numbers mainly in response to natural calamities like floods, famines, droughts etc. Panalekar (ibid) also writes that the number of NGOs have increased, especially since the 1960s. However, their nature is essentially different from those in the pre-independence era, as the voluntary organizations were either motivated by sheer philanthropic, or charity goals or as an appendage to the mainstream political movement, spearheaded by Gandhi and the Congress party.

Saroj Pachauri (1994:15) affirms that as NGOs have grown and proliferated, there has also been a growing body of literature on the NGO sector in India. However, much more systematic analysis is needed to understand the complex and dynamic nature of these organizations and to examine their changing relationship with other institutions, including the government.

During the 1970s, there was an explosion in the number of NGOs in India. NGOs became a phenomenon in development as their enormous growth in numbers managed to fill the vacuum in the society that the government had neglected. One of the amazing facts is that, hundreds of youths got attracted to work in voluntary organizations during the early 1970s. In 1973, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan mobilized
a total revolution (Sampurna Kranti) against Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her government. He managed to gain the support of voluntary organizations although they had a bitter encounter with the government and had to face harsh consequences. The government became repressive and voluntary organizations had to suffer a great deal for joining hands with Jayaprakash Narayan in the agitation.

Moreover, in 1975, the government of the Congress party led by the late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi imposed ‘Emergency’ in the country. It was also a time that was ridden with the problem of mass poverty and unemployment. Interestingly, the administrative power was captured by one person, which raised discontentment, strikes and deaths. Mrs. Indira Gandhi wanted to cling on to power after an adverse Allahabad High Court judgment against her for ‘electoral malpractices.’ Gradually, people began to lose their trust and confidence in the government. This scenario created by the suspension of the democratic process is identified as the ‘darkest period’ in the history of Independent India.

In fact, the process of confrontation, resistance to Emergency and subsequent victory of the Janata Party in 1977 marked a new beginning for the voluntary organizations. Their relationship with the government took a fresh turn. H.R.Chaturvedi (1987:541) asserts that

With the Janata government coming into power, a new climate was created for voluntary action. The Janata government visualized specific role for voluntary organizations in various development and welfare programmes launched for the rural poor, such as adult education, integrated rural development, block-level planning and training of lower-level functionaries. With this initiative and support, voluntary organizations found a climate for reviewing their relationship with the government and forming a new partnership.

The return of Congress party to power in the election of 1980 had defined another dimension of NGOs as the government became skeptical of their
performance. During this period, the government established the Kudal Commission to investigate the nature, strategies and approaches of the NGOs. The government regarded the NGOs with suspicion and resentment because of their involvement in the anti-government agitation.

However, there was a crucial change in government policy towards NGOs during Rajiv Gandhi's tenure as a Prime Minister. In the mid 1980s, he recognized the importance of NGOs in implementing development projects because of the flexibility in their approaches and techniques. And, both the government and the NGOs collaborated side by side as partners in development since then. They have been building a matrix of relationship on co-existence and networking to minimize the possibility for hostility, conflict and confrontation. Thus, there is a growing qualitative change in their attitudes towards each other. Increasingly, NGOs are involved in sensitizing the government in policy making at the macro-level and thus strive to achieve their goals, visions and social commitment.

The relation of the government and the NGOs can be seen in terms of alignment, debate, negotiation and partnership. Both actors influence the behaviour of each other. Sometimes, the activities of NGOs act as substitutes for state welfare programmes which ultimately minimizes state control over services and resources. However, the government and NGO relations often gets affected when nepotism and corruption prevails in the society in a rampant way.

Analyzing the effects of the linkage between the government and the NGOs M. N. Panini (1987) mentions the positive outlook of the government in regard to voluntary organizations. According to him, the Seventh Plan Working Group Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs on Scheduled Castes regard voluntary agencies as flexible and innovative low cost techniques of development,
supplementing the government in its efforts to reach the poor, provide reliable feedback from the people to the planners, mobilize people and financial resources and work for the removal of caste and cultural inequalities. At the same time, such dependence can also be dangerous. Hence, he mentions that the government is now regulating the voluntary agencies by monitoring the inflow of foreign aid and by offering funds only to those agencies, which are not affiliated with any political parties.

Panini is also aware of the fact that governmental help may also be the kiss of death to the spirit of voluntarism. He asserts that it could rob voluntary agencies of the spirit of independence and they may become mere extensions of the government, because they have to conform to the governmental stipulations once they start accepting finances from government agencies. In his view, this does not imply that all voluntary agencies become dependent on the government. There have been some voluntary organizations, which have proved, exceptionally effective and innovative despite accepting governmental help.

Panini (ibid) further states that these agencies have adopted a no-nonsense professional approach to rural development and are politically neutral. However, he maintains that despite this neutral posture, they have often come into confrontation with local vested interests because committed rural development efforts and work for the upliftment of the poor would sooner or later undermine the position of the local dominant interests. According to him, several voluntary organizations that have faced such political opposition have gone down because the state government did not show any interest in protecting them. At the same time, those that have survived have enjoyed much political patronage.
The development policies initiated by the government and the NGOs reflect a return to community action and people's participation. The meanings associated with development conveyed the message that the poor have to escape from a vulnerable condition at any cost to bring about an end to poverty. Development is also affiliated to a life experience of liberation, freedom and dignity. With the technological revolution, the idea of progress and development should not remain as a myth but a reality in our day-to-day lives.

The significance of NGOs lies in their ability to bridge the gap between formal and non-formal activities (Glaeser 1995:35). Bhatt (1989) argues that those who look for development through independent small organizations instead of development through government alone, feel that these voluntary efforts though small and backed by greater commitment and concern for the poor and deprived, they are more effective in bringing about development. The major emphasis is laid on the participation of the marginalized people in developmental activities, which will raise their skills, confidence and self-esteem and will eventually lead to self-reliance so that they are able to manage their own development.

The Planning Commission of India issued a Compendium of partnerships between government and voluntary sector at the All India Conference in New Delhi (Planning Commission 20th April, 2002) in which it says,

Development for an ordinary Indian implies increasing freedom of choice, availability of opportunities and increasing capacity to fulfill these choices. A viable development strategy aims to stimulate people's initiative, not substitute it. Development with dignity connotes participation of people in the development process so as to bring the desired change in the quality of an individual's life and also social cohesion in the society where they live. It should be sustainable development not a one time change enforced by external agencies.

Moreover, the Planning Commission emphasized that,
Such initiative from an individual or a community cannot be expected to come as most of the target groups are illiterate, poor, socially deprived, unorganized, extremely weak to organize themselves and do not have the skills and expertise to articulate their needs into demands. It is necessary to organize them through a process of awareness creation, about their needs, goals and rights. This could be accomplished through information sharing and dissemination of knowledge. Voluntary organizations are in an ideal position to undertake these tasks.

The Former Prime Minister, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee while concluding his speech at the meeting of the Planning Commission said that the ambitious targets set by the Tenth Plan can only be achieved when “we are able to make development a people’s movement, and the Plan, a people’s Plan.” Only time will tell if it is a mere slogan or “the people’s Plan” (Kulshrestha 2002:4).

In the words of Chandra (1997:166), the voluntary approach helps in amplifying the social and community energies. Their actions being people centered and people oriented, attracts voluntary action which in turn are motivated by philosophical, religious or moral values. The NGOs have the basic will to help people and the society, which gives them a multi-faceted strength in their role as developmental workers. They can reach the remotest of the remote and the poorest of the poor. Studying the emerging trends of NGOs and social movements across the world, Ananta K.Giri (ibid: 326) alleges that

Voluntary organizations are now being looked upon as bearers of new promises and possibilities. With the demise of state socialism and the crisis of welfare state and liberal democracy, voluntary organizations have become our new rallying points of hope and aspirations. There is a growing realization on the part of many concerned to think that either state or society should do everything for the realization of human well-being is to prepare the ground for colossal human suffering and evasion of responsibility. The move towards voluntary organization is part of the shift from a clinical dependence on state and recognition of the creativity of civil society and other-directed communicative action of concerned
and sensitive individuals. This pinning of hope on voluntary organization is part of the refiguration of hope about new social movements in the advanced industrial societies and the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the developing world.

From the 1980s, the NGO sector gradually began to associate with certain professionalism after the emergence of Schools of Social Work in India. Since the 1990s till today, the notion of sophistication and extreme professionalism have been imbibed in the NGO sectors so that some of the students from the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and Schools of Management (MBAs) have also begun to join in the voluntary organizations.

The existence of schools of social work in various parts of the country has facilitated thousands of youth to be trained and promoted as professional social workers. Thus, producing professionally trained social workers has created new meanings and motives to voluntarism in contemporary India. The new type of professional and skilled social workers expect high salaries equivalent to their counterparts who works in Multi-National Companies (MNCs). And, they are usually equipped with high technological knowledge as well.

While explaining the scenario of NGOs in the new millennium, Rana Kranti (2001:272) writes as,

In these materialistic times, everything has a price and so are voluntary workers to receive rewards (monetary or otherwise) for the jobs done. Those who still think that voluntary workers should, live like hermits are indeed living in a world of unreality. The only immoral thing is to gobble up the grant money received from national or international source. Unfortunately, many new and upcoming NGOs certainly do that. The findings of the Kudal Commission testify the financial mismanagement and corruption in the Ghandian NGOs. Similarly, CAPART, a government initiated funding agency has blacklisted the NGOs, which were found to misappropriate their funds. In recent years, a big new class of so-called social activists has emerged who feel that
voluntary action is a big business, a lucrative activity and self-serving endeavor at best.

There is also a paradigm shift with the existence of liberalization; privatization and globalization (LPG) as the orientation of voluntary organizations have changed from focusing on the marginalized people to working with people per se on every burning issue in our contemporary society. These NGOs have shifted from the traditional charity type to the post-modern dynamic process that is accompanied by a popular slogan 'community participation' in the decision-making bodies.

It is important to trace the origin and stages of voluntary organizations in Manipur. In the context of the Nagas, voluntarism has existed in the Naga culture and tradition since time immemorial. By tracing the genesis of 'morung' (dormitory system), it can be argued that voluntarism was the pattern of functions in the morung that is closely associated with voluntary action. Girls were eligible to enter a morung from the age of puberty until one was married whereas men could continue to be members of the morung even after their marriage.

According to Husain (1994:73), anthropologists view the 'morung system' as an effective economic organization for purposes of food distribution or gathering, a useful seminary for training young men in their social duties and an institution for magico-religious observance calculated to bring success in hunting, to augment the procreative power of the youth etc. The dormitory system of the Nagas was also thus a socializing institution.

Naga girls received training in handicrafts such as basket making, woodcarving, pot making and preparation of other household goods. Naga folk songs and folk-tales were also imparted from one generation to another in the
‘morung.’ Basically, voluntarism implies that individuals are free to associate with each other. In other words, we can consider that morung is an expression of voluntarism. Hence, one can argue that voluntary work is not alien to the Nagas.

I shall divide the growth of voluntary organizations in the Naga society into four periods. They are as follows:

- **Pre-British Period:** Voluntary work in the Naga society focused originally on meeting immediate needs through direct action during this period. Voluntary action was generally carried out in their traditional ‘morung’ system. The main scope of such work was focused on individual, family and society as a whole. The spirit of voluntarism is aimed at needy families. There was a strong sense of community participation.

- **British Period:** It is important to note that the arrival of Christian missionaries in the early period of the 19th century brought about the gradual change in Naga society. The missionaries converted a significant number of Nagas to Christianity. The missionaries set up primary healthcare centres, schools and churches. They also provided vocational training to the local community. The efforts of the western missionaries brought about a tremendous increase in literacy and a substantial change in their lifestyle. The educated parents sent their kids to schools and discouraged them to go to the ‘morung’ restricting them from the practice associated with the ‘morung’. Gradually, the institution of ‘morung’ disappeared and instead schools and churches became important institutions. Here, it can be pointed out that the spirit of voluntarism that prevailed in the traditional society has been replaced by organizations like the Baptist Youth Fellowship, local youth clubs, women’s society, etc.
Post-Colonial Period: There were a few registered voluntary organizations in the Naga society till the late 1970s. However, voluntary works were carried out through the institutions like youth clubs, women’s associations and churches in rendering help to the poor and needy, including widows, orphans and marginalized groups. Many members of the community participated in welfare works that the church, youth club or women’s group had initiated.

Period from 1980s till today: From the early 1980s onwards, a new breed of both secular and faith-based (church) voluntary organizations emerged in Naga society to provide relief to people. The number of unregistered as well as registered voluntary organizations increased and there was no stopping this rise in numbers. Voluntary organizations in the Naga society did not orient toward any particular ideology per se but started acquiring a wider scope and worked in several areas for development. These organizations started adopting new strategies and approaches, not only towards short-term solutions but solutions that could solve problems at a structural level.

They stressed local self-reliance and sustainability. However, the activities were limited to a certain extent in the sense that voluntary organizations need to address the root problems of poverty rather than to just treat its symptoms and to promote development. Majority of the development work they carried out was with the orientation of welfare and through indigenous available human and natural resources. Today, only a few charitable organizations have been playing significant roles in bringing about social transformation in the Naga society.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF NGOs:
The objective of classifying various types of NGOs is to prove that each organization is unique in itself and that we become conscious of this situation when we deal with the relevance of NGOs in development. The categorization of NGOs cannot be exhaustive in nature as the list can go on. Lawani (ibid: 22) mentioned that generally voluntary agencies operate in seven distinct areas that are:

- Charity: Giving food, clothing, medicine, alms, in cash and in kind, land, building, etc.
- Welfare: providing facilities for education, health, drinking water, roads, communication, etc.
- Relief: Responding to call of duties during natural calamities like floods, drought, earthquakes and man-made calamities like refugee influx, ravages of war, etc.
- Rehabilitation: Continuing and follow up of the work in areas struck by calamities and starting activities that are durable in nature.
- Services: Building up infrastructure in depressed backward areas.
- Development of socio-economic environment around human beings.
- Development of Human beings: Conscious raising, awakening, raising conscience, organizing, recording of priorities to suit social justice; redeeming the post and opening doors for opportunities to the oppressed and the exploited.

As the above categorization indicates, NGOs have been classified into different types on a variety of bases. The main bases for the classification of NGOs depends on their pattern of functions, size or structure, area, traits of staff, linkages with the government, funding agencies and the beneficiaries. Besides, it is essential to examine the major traits of NGOs in our contemporary society.
It is interesting to observe the way Gerard Clarke (ibid: 13) endorses about the strategies of development oriented NGOs as analyzed by Korten. He wrote that Korten (1990) distinguishes between four ‘generations’ of NGOs, the first committed to relief and welfare activities, the second to small-scale local development projects, the third to community organization, mobilization and coalition building and the fourth to institutional and structural reform, both nationally and internationally.

Robin Lall (2004: 19-20) also affirms that perhaps the most well known analysis of the development of NGOs is that of Korten. Initially he suggested three stages of development, which has since been expanded to include a fourth stage. And, he calls it as People’s Movements wherein building capacity of the community is emphasized. Thus, Lall perceived that Korten’s classification relates to the strategies of an organization as related to its activities rather than its internal organizational development. It is to the range of such activities than we now turn.

On the other hand, the potentialities of NGOs to perform as agents of development vary so it is essential to classify them into specific categories. Some typologies distinguish them depending on the nature of their activities, for example whether it is welfare-oriented or focuses on providing education and development works to enhance the ability of those below the poverty line to secure resources. They are also classified according to the level at which they operate. NGOs are also divided according to the orientation of their work besides examining the different approaches or strategies they undertake. In contrast to Korten’s classification, NGOs can also be broadly classified into four types as follows;

> INTERNATIONAL NGOs:
Their activities vary from acting as donors to smaller NGOs, Research Institutions and involving in the implementation of projects independently. They play an important role in rendering help to third world NGOs. They are mostly based in the western countries and act as channels for sharing experiences. For example, Action-Aid, World Vision, Oxfam in England, CARE, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Charities Aid Foundation-UK, EZE-Germany, Save the Children, International Red Cross Society, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Missereor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Rotary International, World Assembly of Youth, etc. Some of them are faith-based organizations.

> NATIONAL NGOs:

Most of the National NGOs have branches across the cities as well as towns in different parts of the country to which they belong and they also assist local NGOs at the rural areas. Their role is almost the same as the government since they also provide funds and technical assistance. They are expected to work in tune with the aspirations of those beneficiaries with whom they are trying to help. For example, Aga Khan Foundation, Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, Indo-German Social Service Society, Caritas India, Missionaries of Charity, Churches Auxiliary for Social Action, World Vision of India, Foster Parents Plan International Inc, Sri Satya Sai Central Trust, Oxfam (India) Trust, Association for Sarva Sewa Farm, Charities Aid Foundation India, etc.

> REGIONAL NGOs:

They are mostly region-based organizations such as ethnic organizations, educational groups, associations of communities and entrepreneurships.

LOCAL NGOs:
The local-based NGOs may include women’s associations, youth clubs, religious organizations, educational organizations and community-based organizations. Most of these organizations are supported by both national and international funding agencies while few of them operate their programmes independently without any external financial aid.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NGOs:

One of the most essential characteristics of NGOs is their ability to develop close relationships with the local communities and share their everyday problems. They also participate in various activities along with the beneficiaries at the grass-root level. Another vital characteristic of NGOs is its diversity in scope, vision, mandate, philosophy, orientation, structure and functions.

Today, philanthropists and professionally trained social workers from schools of social work try to bring about change in the existing social order. NGOs respond much faster to new environments, circumstances and can experiment with creative approaches. They can easily identify issues and bring about solutions to the current problems. They frequently raise the voice of the target beneficiaries or groups to the government with whom they worked through their consultative and participatory approaches.

NGOs also play the role of an intermediation between the state, funding agencies or donors, civil society and communities. They may have limited technical capacities, minimum managerial skills and few resource bases but they would participate in agitation, hold dharna or demonstration through non-violent method and confrontation with the exploiters of the poor. Hence, they become spokespersons for the marginalized people and attempt to influence decision-making bodies on behalf of the poor.
Sometimes, NGOs would present significant views on the dynamics of the development process although they may have limited strategic perspectives and weak linkages with other actors in development. The matrix of relations between NGOs and government may involve political, ideological, legal and administrative constraints. Occasionally, some people may raise questions concerning the aims or goals, objectives and overall impact of NGOs. Mowli (1990:29) asserts that to what extent these organizations have been successful in fulfilling these ideals; the objectives and the aspirations expected of them, is a question that still remains an obscurity.

ACCOUNTABILITY, TRANSPARENCY AND CONSTRAINTS OF NGOs:

One of the most vital aspects of NGOs in providing basic services is their accountability. Today, the concept of accountability appears to be vague and complicated. Accountability is generally perceived as a process in which individuals specifically those working in the voluntary organization have to produce reports to the head of the concerned organization. Simultaneously, the organizations have to show annual reports, audited accounts and impact of the programmes to the funding agencies. In other words, NGOs tend to focus primarily on accountability to their donors than to their beneficiaries. The mechanisms for enforcing accountability between NGOs and donor agencies tend to be strong since donors have the power to cancel the grants and revoke an accreditations and collaborative agreements with NGOs. On the other hand, NGOs become ‘puppets’ in the hands of donors.

The issue of accountability is complex. It is complex not only because NGOs have to account for the ‘beneficiaries,’ ‘donors’ and their ‘employees’ but also because they feel compelled to maintain their ‘public image’ and uphold their
'ideology' even at the risk of exaggerating their effectiveness. Unlike donor agencies, beneficiaries do not possess much power since they don't provide funds in the true sense. But, they are capable of withdrawing their support and cooperation to the NGOs at the grass root level.

Basically, NGOs are accountable to the needs and aspirations of the ethnic community it is working with. Focusing on serving community interests is the main goal of much NGO activity in development. Indeed, NGOs are also accountable to their stated vision, mission, to their own employees, members, trustees, target groups, community, networking partners and the government.

There is no doubt that NGOs are perceived as effective vehicles for the delivery of welfare services to the needy people. They are found to be often involved in lobbying, advocacy and expressing the voices of the downtrodden people. Accountability and performance were seen as important factors in understanding the work ethics of NGOs. Robin Lall (ibid: 195) argues that

Effective accountability requires a statement of goals (whether in adherence to certain rules or achievement of identified performance levels), transparency of decision-making and relationships, honest reporting of what resources have been used and what has been achieved, an appraisal process for the overseeing authority (ies) to judge whether results are satisfactory and concrete mechanisms for holding to account (i.e., rewarding or penalizing) those responsible for performance. NGO accountability may be formal (for example, an evaluation of whether agreed objectives in a programme have been met) or informal (for example, ongoing discussions between partners). It may emphasize the honesty and efficiency with which resources are used, or the impact and effectiveness of the work.

The discourse of accountability has become contentious as some of the NGOs appear hostile to public scrutiny. In some cases, monitors or evaluators are
bribed by the authorities of NGOs so that a good report would be communicated to the donor agencies. Harsh Sethi (1998) states that Bunker Roy (Consultant to the Planning commission on voluntary agencies) had proposed for a Draft Code of Conduct for voluntary agencies in 1985. But, a huge majority of NGOs decried this move as sinister, as an effort by the government to tighten control over a sector and agencies widely believed to be at the cutting edge of developmental and social action. Eventually, the move to apply a Code of Conduct for voluntary organizations did not get implemented.

It has been perceived that NGOs are accountable to many factors and they have been operating even without full cooperation of the public in certain cases. In many organizations, there is a lack of transparency especially in terms of financial statements. In the words of Bhose (2003:179)

It is unfortunate to state that for many NGOs, money is the prime mover for their interventions. NGOs are in certain cases used as moneymaking platforms. There are few intermediaries and brokers who get project proposals approved on commission basis. NGOs may work for social justice and equality to the poor. But within the organizations, such things are missing. They tend to take much advantage of its autonomous system. Any producer depends upon the customers from whom he has to collect back his investments. The products are checked and tested by him. So, he carefully produces, and promptly supplies. But that is not the case with the NGOs. They are not directly answerable to the beneficiaries (to whom they ought to be) because money comes from the other end i.e., donors. Hence, in the context of charity, welfare, relief or development or empowerment, there is every possibility to take advantage of financial and other resources. Accountability and Transparency are found very less among NGOs.

One of the constraints of NGOs is the lack of cooperation and unity between them even when they are working in the specific project in the same area. When different NGOs are found to operate similar projects in the same area, it usually creates animosity and hostility towards one another because of intense competition.
and threats. Eventually, some NGOs may lose their innovative quality and it may cause damage to the local community.

Sometimes, there arises a conflict of interests, jealousy and suspicion that ultimately led to frustration and weakens their collective strength. On the one hand, we have been observing that a few NGOs act as vehicles for politicians to carry out their agenda. Thus, a handful of NGOs are seen as 'vote-banks' of the local politicians. One of the important criticisms of NGOs is directed towards the fact that, evaluations are not conducted on regular basis in both the internal and external levels. After acquiring the funds from the donor agencies, a few NGOs would not perform the kind of work that they are intended to do although they appear to be pro-poor in their proposals. Besides, some of those NGOs who actually implement the programmes are unable to totally eradicate the increasing prevalence of inequalities and injustices specifically among the poor. To quote Andre Beteille:

The great paradox of the modern world is that everywhere men attach themselves to the principle of equality and everywhere, in their own lives as well as in the lives of others, they encounter the presence of inequality. The more strongly they attach themselves to the principle or the ideology of equality the more oppressive the reality becomes. Their attachment even makes it difficult for them to consider dispassionately and objectively whether the inequalities, which surround them, are increasing or decreasing. Every statement that inequalities are decreasing in some spheres of social life seems to call forward a counter-statement that they are increasing in others.

The impact of NGOs have been limited and scattered around the space in which they have worked. Besides, many of the NGOs have financial insecurity, inadequate management and technical inputs. However, the central attention of NGOs is to tirelessly work on influencing the policies to be made in favour of the poor and the marginalized.
It is time for the NGOs to perform excellent tasks in removing the unwanted factors such as the widening gap between the ‘haves and have-nots’ that have been in existence for several centuries. They should raise their standard of work ethics to lift up the oppressed and the exploited. They should be completely free from corruption by being accountable, transparent and to be constantly evaluated as well as monitored. Today, the challenge to handle different issues is entirely in the hands of NGOs.

RELEVANCE AND ROLE OF NGOs IN DEVELOPMENT:

According to Riker V. James (1995), most of the development literature draws a distinction between Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations in the development process. He said that different roles, functions and objectives exist for these two types of development agents. For him, NGOs represent an alternative institutional approach to spurring rural development in developing countries. According to his views, increasing claims have been made that NGOs, both indigenous and foreign can contribute to promoting a more responsive and sustained approach to development activities, especially at local levels. At the same time, however, analysis of NGO development performance in India and Latin America have found that NGO projects are just as susceptible to failure as governmental initiatives, often bypassing the poor in favour of local elites. He suggests that we need to understand the limitations and potentials of NGOs in advancing the development process.

Globally, NGOs are perceived as a powerful force in the implementation of welfare projects by the government. A few studies have revealed the significance of NGOs in development in mobilizing human and natural resources in rural areas in India. The relevance of NGOs in development has come to occupy the focus of attention in social, economic and political spheres. However, the need to understand
the Central Government’s structuring of the development process in specific settings is important. Mohanty (1996:14) reiterates that the government has laid stress on greater involvement of voluntary agencies in various rural development programmes.

The Seventh Five Year Plan Document (1985-90) states that, “serious efforts would be made to involve voluntary agencies in various development programmes, particularly, in the planning and implementation of programmes of rural development.” The Eight Five Year Plan document (1992-97) also conforms to this policy as the government recognized the significance of 'human development' and 'participation of people' as the major focus of development. The government has been promoting and strengthening the efforts of the NGOs by endorsing their potentialities in several spheres of development programmes. And, the Tenth Plan endorsed the efforts given by the NGOs across the country and the government has great expectations from the voluntary organizations. Only time will tell us if the government’s expectations can be achieved by the NGOs. In Rajni Kothari’s (1988:79) words,

NGOs are increasingly preferred to governmental agencies so much so that even major new projects promoted by governments in dairy farming, dry and waste land development, afforestation, development of rural technologies and new energy sources as well as new explorations of sea beds and islands are being set up on the model of voluntary agencies with their own autonomous boards and with limited accountability to governments.

At present, NGOs have emerged as an alternative paradigm indicating a new hope in the much-expected metamorphosis of the notion of community participation. The importance of NGOs is increasing as a result of the shift in the centre of activity from the traditional approach to economic growth and to human
development. Rudolf C. Heredia (1988:25) asserts that we cannot but be naive if we expect voluntary organizations to be the sole vehicle of developmental change. Obviously, massive governmental action is a sine qua non for development.

There is no doubt that many NGOs are involved in the integrated rural development especially of tribal areas. Mathivaanan (1991:64) mentions that development or change should be total. According to his understanding, the uniqueness of the NGOs is that various economic and social inputs are integrated for a comprehensive development. He asserts that such institutional, administrative programme and operational integration is necessary for optimum utilization of the various benefits by the beneficiaries.

Mohanty (ibid) states that Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Voluntary Agencies (VAs) have merged as a viable alternative strategy of development based on a participatory approach. According to his perception, NGOs achieved results where governments had failed, specifically where local participation and self-help schemes were needed. And, the search for alternative approaches to development is also the result of continuing global economic crisis. He argues that such crisis has put financial constraints on governments for pursuing developmental endeavour. On the other hand, he maintains that the governments are facing growing demands without sufficient resources. Basically, he asserts that the economic crisis calls for innovative, creativity, new opportunities and alternative approaches, which only NGOs and voluntary agencies are likely to provide. As a result there has been rapid evolution of NGOs, which are moving away from the periphery, and closer to the centre in the process of development.

In their activities, NGOs can experiment freely with creative strategies and build cordial relationship with the community. But, the background, aims,
motivation, ideology, legal status, dedication, level of operation, work programmes, personnel, funding sources and government control differ from one organization to another. NGOs also need technical assistance and support from the government, funding agencies or donors, Intellectuals and other experienced NGOs. There is no doubt about the role of NGOs in social welfare and development programmes but they exhibit marked differences in the extent, direction and quality of their involvement. The government should continue to assess an impact of NGOs in the community participatory work so that it will be made more effective. Dhillon & Hamsa (1995:10) remarked that

The role of NGOs in rural development has been recognized and considered vital because of the following reasons:

- Government alone cannot mobilize resources needed for meeting people’s needs.
- The quality and efficiency of government sponsored programme planning and implementation.
- Voluntary organizations complement very well the development efforts of government in terms of geographic and programme needs.
- They have first hand experience and knowledge of local needs, problems and resources at local level.
- They are closer to the minds and hearts of the people.
- Commitment and zeal of voluntary action.
- Voluntary sector is more responsive and can operate with greater flexibility.

The most important role of NGOs is to deliver basic services to the under-privileged people. NGOs can acquire land, construct housing for the poor, provide infrastructure such as drinking wells/pumps, foods, clothes, public toilets, medical package and collection of garbage services. Another significant role that NGOs undertake is advocacy. They have become increasingly effective as advocates at the local, regional, national and international levels. Their performance as advocates of the poor has been manifested by the activities of several NGOs. Kuriakose
(1989:16) mentions that in the context of participatory development, advocacy role of NGOs is of great importance.

NGOs are also involved in lobbying, keeping in constant touch with both print and electronic media. Apart from it, they disseminate information and involve in networking between the government, donors or funding agencies, civil society and beneficiaries or target groups. They influence the decision-making body of the government despite the fact that they are independent of its plans and programmes. NGOs also facilitate information to the government about the problems, difficulties, constraints, potentialities and aspirations of the people. They act as a mediator between the government and the community by networking with various other NGOs.

Many NGOs are involved in training employees and social workers at all levels. Sometimes NGOs are being invited by the government to assist as partners in the development of training programmes on social concerns. They are able to assist several government departments in bringing about changes that will have to be put in place to ensure a healthy approach to social issues. For instance, we have the National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development (NIPCID), which facilitate training programmes to government official and several smaller NGOs across the country.

NGOs act as agents for social transformation. They can also act as catalysts by encouraging different government departments to become involved with emerging issues. NGOs can identify burning issues and through their participatory approach can raise beneficiary’s views, which, otherwise might not be heard. They often can respond faster to new conditions and can experiment with innovative and
creative approaches. They have the potentialities to establish close linkages with communities.

However, this will be more effective if different types of NGOs join hands together in order to pursue a common demand. All NGOs have different constituencies, for instance, in addition to NGOs catering to health issue, there are also NGOs focusing only on women’s empowerment that concentrate on activities to improve the status of women, NGOs that aims specifically on child development and other NGOs that focus on holistic developmental issues. Farrington (1993:341) states that

NGOs as highly diverse in size, access to funds and philosophy, and so in the range of activities they pursue. For the future, much will depend on the broad characteristics of governments that come to power within the region. The building up of mutual trust and confidence, often over several years, is generally a precondition to more formal types of collaboration, and is unlikely to occur where wider relations between NGOs and the state are hostile. Many NGOs will undoubtedly continue doing the things that they already do well: working with farmers face to face, forming groups, developing participatory technologies, lobbying governments, networking between governments and other NGOs, and identifying sections of the population which have been marginalized by official efforts.

When NGOs grow, they encounter all kinds of limitations such as lack of accountability, transparency, responsibility and oppressiveness. They suffer from limited self-sustainability, managerial and technical capacity. But, in a dynamic environment, NGOs can take up pilot projects for larger government projects by virtue of their capacity to act quickly as compared to the government sector. They can be engaged in conducting meaningful research, monitoring and evaluation. Nowadays, NGOs are expected to take on a greater role in development at the global level.
NGOs AS THIRD SECTOR AND GOVERNANCE:

NGOs have emerged as a ‘third sector’ within the society since the past few years. The rise of NGOs as a third sector relies upon their capacity to establish integration across caste, tribe and class, ethnic, geographical and territorial boundaries. It also depends on their willingness to monitor and evaluate their objectives, visions, accountability and success. Sometimes, the third sector contributes to the effective functioning of a democratic political system by representing the views of the downtrodden people to policy makers and also by their direct participation in the political system.

In describing the role of third sectors in the democratic set up of the United States of America, the French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville asserts that these organizations do not participate directly in politics but underpin politics by being the basic foundational schools of democracy. The third sectors became the meeting point where members of various communities learn few arts of mobilizing, protests and organizing. Moreover, they also learn to communicate their views, thoughts, anxieties, fear and to participate in the wider political system.

While analyzing the NGOs as a third sector, Robin Lall (2004) claims that the new relationships between public and private sectors around the world are resulting from a range of political, economic, social transitions and forces. Governmental bodies are experiencing both a decline in fiscal support and in public credibility. Further, he opines that market institutions are gaining greater latitude and confidence with both ideological support and resource advantages. Thus, he locates NGOs as a third sector in such a situation.
Basically, he tried to argue by stating that the above characterization of NGOs as third sector is misleading. For him, the real third sector is located somewhere between the public and the private sectors in institutional space and it belongs not to NGOs but rather to people’s associations. These differ from institutions in the public and private sectors in that they undertake voluntary collective action and self-help. Such a distinction assigns NGOs to the private sector rather than to any other sector. Although the importance of NGOs is widely acknowledged, their effectiveness and sustainability depends on governance to a certain extent. In this context, there is a need to draw the attention of the third sectors on the significance of good governance. B.S.Baviskar (2001:7-8) asserts that

Good governance is believed now to consist of two functions: facilitating the free play of market forces, and enabling decentralized institutions of ‘participatory management’ to be formed. Participatory management is the new mantra for the provision of services through local municipalities and panchayats, as well as in the sphere of natural resource management. State structures are criticized as being rigidly bureaucratic and corrupt, and thus unsuited for performing either welfare or resource management functions, whereas NGOs are seen as ‘civil society’ actors that are more accountable, responsive and committed to bringing about social change. The state is seen as consisting of entrenched interests and styles of functioning that make it unwilling and unable to work with people, a role that NGOs are supposed to be good at.

Alan Hudson (2003:96-96) argues that discussions of effectiveness, legitimacy, accountability and governance (and evaluation) ought to recognize explicitly the values that make an NGO what it is. Effectiveness is relative to the values or objectives of the organization. Legitimacy comes, or doesn’t come, depending on the processes through which values are developed. Multiple accountabilities are balanced on the basis of values. Governance structures, in effect, institutionalize values.
Kuldip Nayar (2002) writes that governance is not merely maintaining law and order; it is taking into account the basic needs of human beings and protecting their constitutional and other rights. The governance of third sector refers to the maintenance of relationship between the board members, staff, volunteers and the target groups. It also deals with connecting the organization to the local community, funding agencies, government and the civil society. Besides, it provides an affirmation that the organization is attached to its purpose, aims and vision. The governance of third sector has received a great deal of concern in India today amongst the intelligentsia, social workers and decision-makers. Jeffrey D. Sachs (ibid: 312)

Governance and higher incomes go hand in hand not only because good governance raises incomes, but also, and perhaps even more important, because higher income leads to improved governance. He argues that as a country’s income rises, governance improves for two major reasons. First, a more literate and affluent society is better able to keep the government honest by playing a watchdog role over government processes. Newspapers, television, books, telephones, transport, and now the internet, all of which are vastly more available in rich countries, enhance this watchdog function and empower civil society. Second, a more affluent society can afford to invest in high-quality governance. When governments are backed by ample tax receipts, the civil service is better educated, extensive computerization improves information flows, and the public administration is professionally managed.

There is an urgent need to build awareness for improving governance. Training materials and appropriate advice to third sectors should be facilitated in order to enhance their governance. It is observed that the markets are too self-serving and it does not provide any hope for sustainable livelihoods of the poor and the needy. In such a scenario, the emergence of NGOs as a strong and powerful third sector will take the challenge in transforming the lives of the downtrodden people within the society.
IDEOLOGICAL CONNECTIONS:

While examining the connection between voluntary organizations and ideologies, Haribabu (1989) reiterates that the ideology that emerged in the colonial period is explicitly political and has been inspired by Marx. However, he asserts that contemporary radical ideology draws its inspiration not only from the ideas of Marx but also thinkers like Lenin and Mao. According to this ideology, socialist transformation alone can resolve the contradictions in the society and create an egalitarian society. But, a radical ideology can also be held by right wing radicals. Today, I think it is essential for the voluntary organizations to work consistently with the ideologies they profess, if they claim to have their own.

Vanita Viswanath (1991) asserts that ideologically, development oriented NGOs in India are a mixed bag, ranging from service-oriented groups to militant movements, usually of the left. She asserts that the service-oriented groups are incrementalist, non-violent and discourage party affiliations. For her, intermediary NGOs in India, i.e., organizations working for the poor as opposed to grassroots groups of the poor are generally of this type.

NGOs AND GLOBALIZATION:

Today, we live in the early 21st century, which is pregnant with amazing promises for the future although the world is deeply disturbed. We have seen some remarkable changes as a consequence of modern science and technology. And, our present age is also notable by the terrifying threat of biological, nuclear and chemical war. However, it is possible to shape our lives for the better by resisting those unwanted elements. It is not difficult to conceptualize a world that could have hope for a better future.
In our intensely competitive era, NGOs have become global. Uncountable numbers of NGOs were trying to work on various issues what government did earlier. NGOs are steadily growing as influential institutions and they are playing an important role globally. To cite an instance from India, Ms. Medha Patkar, Ms. Sunita Nair, Ms. Ela Bhatt and Mr. Anna Hazare have become icons of powerful NGOs who often challenge the power structure. At present, in America, we notice that networks of NGOs had waged anti-Bush protests against the war in Iraq and they also raised voices against terrorists who were responsible for the horrific scenes of September 11 attacks in 2001 at New York or the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in London, etc. However, the question remains whether the efforts of NGOs would ultimately bear fruit at the global scenario.

Another essential factor is to look at the way donor agencies such as International Monetary Funds (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), World Health Organization (WHO), World Bank (WB), United Nations Bodies like UNDP, UNICEF and FAO have been providing financial aid to NGOs at the local, national and international levels. Similarly, we need to examine an impact of the series of global ‘summit’ seminars on human rights, women and child rights, global warming, population explosion and terrorism.

Kranti Rana (2001) expressed doubts as to how a budding organization, like the WTO, will find ways to select and regulate the various NGOs. He felt that WTO will still need to go to governments to ensure that fly-by-night NGOs are ousted. Rana mentioned that one of the most celebrated NGOs in the sub-continent was and is the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, founded by Mr. Mohammed Yunus. This experience is a unique endeavour, applauded widely and even copied elsewhere. According to his view, the pattern of its funding has substantially been from external donors. And, that may also prove to be its Achille’s heel.
Rana asserts that an NGO to be duly successful may also have to have the discipline of not looking outward for support. He provided an illustration of Amul movement that is one of the most successful NGOs in India. However, he mentioned that this NGO drew some well-deserved initial support from the European Union in the form of supplies of milk powder, but it later became self-reliant due to the efforts of its founder Varghese Kurien. It is also essential to mention that in 2006, Varghese Kurien retired from the Amul movement.

The partial dependence of NGOs on state and global capitalists such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank undermines their potential to sustain themselves and regulate their own programmes. It is strenuous for NGOs to survive without any external funding either from the foreign donors or government. However, NGOs have been raising their concern to erase the debt of third World Nations from the global financial power houses.

According to Mander Jerry, Baker Debi and Korten David (2001), poverty and inequality are rapidly accelerating at the global level. A 1999 report by the United Nations Development Program found that inequalities between rich and poor within and among countries are quickly expanding, and that the global trading and finance system is one of the primary causes. They say that even the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) confirms the United Nations’ (UN) conclusions, agreeing that globalization brings massive inequalities. The benefits of globalization do not reach the poor, says the CIA, and the process inevitably brings increased global protest and chaos.

They perceive that there are isolated instances where some improvement has been achieved among Third World countries, over short periods. It is observed that
a rapid growth in information technology (IT) has been reshaping the working conditions of voluntary organizations. Gradually, some reputed NGOs in India, for example, Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), Lok Satta and Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) are emerging as effective agents in making the system in our society more transparent, accountable and responsible to people's needs. They also cater to the people's demand for justice, integrity and dignity.

Under globalization, state welfare has been given up and there is an increased number of NGOs which are perceived as dynamic actors albeit collaborators in anti-poverty programmes and grassroots participatory development efforts. John M. Alexander (2005:12) urges that

India's face may not be glowing, but it is certainly changing and this, rather rapidly in the past decade. Spurred on by economic reforms since 1991, a vibrant middle class populated mostly in towns and cities has emerged. A brand new generation of executives, businessmen, and industrialists has begun to compete in the global market. Call Centres, information and communication technology (ICT) companies, business process outsourcing (BPO) firms, and premier educational institutions have not only begun to offer world-class services, but have also boosted up high rates of service exports. Not surprisingly, then, the World Bank, in its July 2005 report, has ranked India's economy as the world's tenth largest; the prospects of 6-8 per cent growth in the coming years look brighter.

He further argues that in the fight against poverty, science and technology need not be seen as superfluous or as a villain — as some politicians and policy maker caricature. Besides, the obvious benefits of more jobs and revenues that modern technologies can generate, they can be innovatively used to improve the quality of life of the disadvantaged, even in remote rural areas. He opines that perhaps computers and the Internet might not be the most useful things if you cannot read and have more pressing problems of food, clean water, sanitation, medicine, and safety. But he asserts that mobile phones, for instance, are useful to empower the poor and to ignite bottom-up advancement.
We do not, however, have to always make a definitive choice about one technology over the other. Provided the ends and the commitment to improve people’s quality of life are in place, the appropriate technological means can suitably follow. Probably, now and in the near future, a mixture of modern and traditional technologies is what might be effective to disseminate information and facilitate public action.

Edwards, Hulme and Wallace (2003) urged the NGOs to be leaders in cultivating a global moral order that finds poverty and violence unacceptable. They reiterate that NGOs must be exemplars of the societies they want to create and work much harder to mainstream civic values into the arenas of economic, social and political power. For, they believe it to be clearly an agenda for radical change. Besides, they argue that the fundamental question facing all NGOs is how to move from their current position-as unhappy agents of a foreign-aid system in decline – to being vehicles for international cooperation in the emerging global arena. Global trends challenge all NGOs to rethink their mandate, mission and strategies; this requires major organizational changes and a degree of self-sacrifice in the short term, but it will be a force for liberation in the longer term.

Indeed, NGOs in all over the world have a crucial role in helping and encouraging their respective governments into taking the actions to which they have given endorsement at the global level. Today, NGOs are increasingly manifesting their power and influence in pushing around even the biggest governments in the world namely, the USA. As mentioned by the UN Secretary-General in 1995:

Non-governmental organizations are a basic element in the representation of the modern world. And their participation in
international organizations is in a way a guarantee of the latter’s political legitimacy. On all continents non-governmental organizations are today continually increasing in number. And this development is inseparable from the aspiration to freedom and democracy which today animates international society... From the standpoint of global democratization, we need the participation of international public opinion and the mobilizing powers of non-governmental organizations.

It is a great challenge for NGOs to mobilize and organize themselves to work in more global and strategic ways in the future. Shivani Dharmaranjan (2001) mentions that thousands of NGOs accredited to the World Summit on social development and the Fourth world Conference of women at Beijing in 1994 brought to the international negotiating process the voices of the citizens and communities that the world leaders were already hearing from at home.

Dharmaranjan also asserts that, for many decades NGOs have been active in implementing development projects in their own countries and their own communities. The 1993 UNDP Human development Report estimates that NGOs manage to reach 250 million of the poorest people. In 2006, the figures may have increased considerably. According to the World Bank, NGOs in India spend US $520 million a year, a figure representing a full quarter of the foreign aid India receives annually.

Globally, it is essential for NGOs to promote creativity at grassroots level in order to connect with the forces that influence patterns of poverty, discrimination and violence. Several NGOs across the world are already integrating micro and macro-level action in their projects and advocacy activities. In fact, the changing global context challenges the NGOs to make this as a natural way of working.
In the dynamic atmosphere NGOs need to find approaches of working together through strategic partnerships that connect local, national and international processes. And, NGOs can generate more capacity to influence others where it genuinely matters because of the multiple impacts, which comes from activating a needy society to work for the fundamental change in a wider range of settings. There are instances of NGOs having become powerful enough to challenge governments.

Increasingly, the social activists of the human rights, consumer rights, women’s rights, child rights and economic development have manifested convincing illustrations of the power of voluntary action to change society. However, in some cases, lack of finance and the small size of most NGOs make them unlikely challengers of economic and political systems sustained by the interests of powerful government and rich business enterprises.

This seeming paradox can be elaborated by the fact that the power of voluntary action emerges not from the size and resources of a single NGO, but rather from the potentiality of the voluntary sector to coalesce the actions of thousands of people through huge canvass, partnerships and advocacy that embrace several complex and conflicting tendencies, but at the same time act as if in concert to make a vibrant political and institutional reality. These partnerships are able to pervade the resources of opposing forces.

They reach across sectors to decision-makers, intelligentsia, media and the communities. Once organized they can quickly mobilize important political forces even at an international level through information technology. Thus, in this globalized world, NGOs have emerged prominently and have been in the limelight in international arena, working towards eradication of poverty and facilitating
democratization. They have gradually become one of the most important actors in the global political economy.

It is observed that certain NGOs are constantly mobilizing people to oppose globalization, economic liberalization and destructive development policies of the government although different political parties at the Centre try to pursue economic reforms. For instance, NGOs organized protest rallies against the policies of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2006, held in Hyderabad. NGOs have emerged as strong pressure groups which critically questions the political system, thereby inducing the state and political party system to labelled NGOs as threats. Incidentally, United Nations bodies have now legitimized NGOs and seek their help in monitoring and implementing projects.

Thus, in today's globalized society, the gap between the rich and the poor is wider than ever before. And, most of the NGOs focus on a fight against poverty and hunger, and it strives towards elimination of gender inequality, ill health, scarcity of water, shortage of medicines, lack of education and environmental degradation. The cynics would continue to point their fingers that the goals and agendas of the NGOs are built on utopian dreams, which will never be accomplished. The critics are throwing up an enormous challenge for the achievement of NGOs. However, the optimists can silent their doubt by joining hands together and working towards the goals in solidarity. It is definitely a difficult task for the NGOs but there is a hope for achieving it and for making this earth a better place to live in. There is an urgent need for networking and international collaboration both through various governments and the powerful people's voluntary action. At the moment, there is only 'hope' that triggers in the minds of the poor. Time will tell us if it can be translated into a reality and make their 'hope' delivered at the doorstep.
DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTION BOTH BY THE STATE AND NGOs:

With regard to the concept of development, Wolfang Sachs (1997) asserts that the American President Harry S. Truman launched the idea of development in 1947 in order to present a comforting vision of a world order where the US would naturally rank first. An intense debate on the studies of development took place in the 1990s after the end of Cold War. Hilhorst Dorothea (2003:8-9) argues that,

Due to the influential work of Foucault, discourse has come to be seen as closely interweaving knowledge and power. The effect of discourse is that certain ways of understanding society, including its organization and the distribution of power, become excluded, whereas others attain authority. She further argues that these works on development discourse explain the rise of NGOs (or at least explain why so many organizations take on the label), but tell us little about their practical workings. By claiming that they are the outcome of a hegemonic development discourse, it is implied that NGOs operate according to a single discursive framework. This leaves no room to take into account that development organizations may be inspired by alternative ideological or religious frameworks, let alone that their practices reveal how these different frameworks intertwine. The changes that local responses make to development interventions are ignored. Local actors are not merely overcome by development: they interpret, bend and negotiate it. Hence, these works provide no clues as to how discourse works in everyday development situations in communities.

Misra (1985:6) opines that development is much more than mere increase in the income and earning capacities of people. It means transformation of people into human beings. It is essential to think clearly about the domain of situations, dilemmas and possibilities subsumed in the uses of the term 'development'. Development studies emerged as a distinct area of research in the post-war period, and were associated with the growing concern for the political and economic world. Development is a dynamic concept in all its dimensions (Seth 1997:77).

Pandey (1985) opines that the sociological concept of development is a wider concept referring to the development of the whole socio-cultural matrix and
all it stands for, including economic development. The development and underdevelopment are historical processes; its understanding needs historical perspective. The socio-cultural aspects of society are intricately linked with reality. According to Andre Gunder Frank (1969:33-34),

Economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin. Both are the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of internal contradictions in the world capitalist system. Economic development and underdevelopment are not just relative and quantitative, in that one represents more economic development than the other; economic development and underdevelopment are relational and qualitative, in that each is structurally different from, yet caused by its relation with, the other. Yet development and underdevelopment are the same in that they are the product of a single, but dialectically contradictory, economic structure and process of capitalism. Thus, they cannot be viewed as the products of supposedly different economic of structures or systems, or of supposed differences in stages of economic growth achieved within the same system. One and the same historical process of the expansion and development of capitalism throughout the world has simultaneously generated and continues to generate both economic development and structural underdevelopment.

Today, development is perceived as a comprehensive process embodying economic, social, cultural and political systems. Development per se focuses on the improvement of the well-being of the entire community. Development is not possible without economic growth that can ensure that the average income can go up. Controversies over development begin when some people think that economic growth is not sufficient. They presumed that there should be reduction of inequalities, unemployment and removal of poverty. But, the latter objectives become difficult to attain if economic growth is ignored. Hence, some say that development requires a strong state or strong NGOs whereas others think market is all that is required. It is a fact that, the objectives of development cannot be achieved unless people are encouraged to participate, suitable conditions for self-reliance are provided, and the proper programmes are given priority.
Pandey (ibid) remarked that the two dominant ideologies of development are Marxist and Non-Marxist theories. He asserts that during the period following the Second World War, massive political changes took place and there was a cold-war between the Non-Marxist or Anti-Marxist (the United States and Western European capitalist) and Marxist (the Soviet Union, China and other communist) centres of power. He affirms that the United States—which emerged from the Second World War at the apex of its industrial and military strength, conjoined to west European allies, took the lead of the so-called 'forces of freedom'. It involved not only in international affairs but penetrated deep into the domestic affairs of a large number of nations with the prime motive of saving the world from the growing menace of communism—the forces of evil, and establishing its foothold elsewhere to secure a stable order on terms congenial to its own political and economic interest. He argues that some social scientists tried to write a non-communist manifesto to counteract the Marxist ideology. The aftermath was the emergence of a large number of non-Marxist and Anti-Marxist universal theories in Sociology's development literature.

In the context of development, Frank (1971) asserts that the diffusion of development is perceived to spread from the metropolis of the developed countries out to the national capitals of the underdeveloped ones, and from these in turn out to the provincial capitals and finally to the peripheral hinterland. For him, the 'diffusionist approach' of development is understood as occurring through the diffusion of cultural elements from the developed to the developing countries. This process involves acculturation to these elements on the part of the underdeveloped countries. He emphasized that since development consists of and is promoted by diffusion and acculturation, underdevelopment remains because of obstacles or resistance to this diffusion. He affirms that underdevelopment is taken to be the
original ‘traditional’ state. He states that there is even less inquiry into the causes and nature of underdevelopment. In his view, the diffusionists do not suggest to the peoples of the underdeveloped world that they inquire into and remove the causes of underdevelopment; instead they advice them to wait and welcome the diffusion of development and from the outside. Gustavo Esteva (1997:14) writes in the edited works of Wolfang Sachs that

Development cannot delink itself from the words with which it was formed - growth, evolution, and maturation. The word development always implies a favourable change, a step from the simple to the complex, from the inferior to the superior, from worse to better. The word indicates that one is doing well because one is advancing in the sense of a necessary, ineluctable, universal law and toward a desirable goal. The word retains to this day the meaning given to it a century ago by the creator of ecology, Haeckal: 'development is, from this moment on, the magic word with which we will solve all the mysteries that surround us or, at least, that which will guide us toward their solution.

The notion of development as a purely economic concept has evolved into a process that refers to human development indicators (such as infant mortality, literacy, sex ratio, nutritional intake, etc) to the discourse on social justice, empowerment, human rights, culture rights, gay & lesbian rights, child rights, farmers rights and workers rights. It is a fact that development has become a splendoured issue offering multiple meanings in multiplying local contexts.

Development and poverty have been studied by Amartya Sen who opines that being poor is not just about low income, low consumption and low calorie intake, the criteria that decision makers often use to count the poor. Rather, it is a lack of access to basic amenities such as education, healthcare, economic advantage, social respect and security. Majumdar (1989:119) argues that usually development of a country or a community is measured on economic terms - growth of per capita income, degree of industrialization, growth of favourable balance of
trade, so on and so forth. But such estimation gives a very partial and distorted view. And, Nongbri (1990:1-2) points out that true development needs to reach the lower most ranges of the society concerned. The basic needs at least have to be satisfied through an individual's self-reliance. A society cannot be economically self-reliant without self-involvement.

It is also essential to examine the significance of sustainable development. With regard to NGOs, sustainable development deals with lasting improvement in the quality of life. David C. Korten, who was a staff member of the Ford Foundation and an advisor to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) argues that there are conventional and alternative models of sustainable development. He asserts that conventional sustainable development is about achieving sustained economic growth needed to meet human needs, improve living standards, and provide the financial resources that make environmental protection possible. In the context of an alternative sustainable development, he asserts that little of the growth of the past twenty years has improved the quality of human life. Most of the benefit has gone to the very wealthy and the remainder has been offset by the costs of resource depletion, social stress, and environmental health and other problems caused by growth (http://dieoff.org/page86.htm). For Korten, sustainable development is about creating:

> Sustainable economies that equitably meet human needs without extracting resource inputs or expelling wastes in excess of the environment's regenerative capacity, and
> Sustainable human institutions that assure both security and opportunity for social, intellectual, and spiritual growth.
It is important to examine the strategic nature of development carried out by the state and NGOs. According to Kothari (1988:1), the idea of development has sunk deep in people's minds, as have the concepts of democracy, socialism and secularism while the project of development has produced a growing divide between the elites and the people. It is a divide that had affected the intellectual community as well and there has developed a raging debate on what should constitute the agenda of development.

Since Independence, the people of India have raised their expectations on the national leaders to play an important role in bringing about complete transformation of the society. The government established the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953 to assist and facilitate the NGOs. Hence, the government launched various welfare, relief and development programmes to boost the hopes and aspirations of the people.

The policies of the government are directed towards strengthening of voluntary organizations through general acceptance of their potentialities. And, new avenues of co-ordination between several departments or Ministries of the government and the NGOs gradually grew. The state has been providing financial assistance to the NGOs for projects to extricate the poor from the poverty trap that ensnares them.

With regard to the relationship between NGOs and bureaucracy, Aubrey (1997:24) says that bureaucrats from the lower rung to the top-level managerial staff become involved in development cooperation by providing technical and/or financial assistance to NGOs. They do this at the will of heads of governments, who may create environments ranging from cooperation to conflict with NGOs.
Examining the role of government in the intervention of development, John M. Riley (2002:35) quoted Rudolph and Rudolph in his book as

At the time of independence, the debate over the direction of Indian society and the economy centered on three visions of the country's future: a Gandhian view of a return to a largely rural, self-sufficient and decentralized polity and economic system based on India's villages; a socialist ideal, promoted by Nehru, in which the government would take a leading hand in planning and controlling the creation of a centralized, industrial state that would bring India into the modern world; and a liberal, capitalist vision favored by Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The policy that was eventually adopted by the GOI was based largely on Nehru's vision (although concessions were made to the proponents of the other schools of thought in the name of national consensus-building) and focused mainly on the modernization of India through industrial growth and urbanization. Until the years following Nehru's death in 1964, relatively less attention was given to the rural poor who, altogether, account for over 70 percent of the labor force and 80 percent of India's population.

In the words of Khilnani (1997:81), "it is also essential to mention that, in the 1950s, Nehru entrusted economic development to a small group over a decade, the membership of the planning commission was drawn from a pool of only around twenty men and only about half those members were consistently prominent." Basically, Nehru made commitments to central planning and looked for a path of self-sufficiency as a solution to problems of economic development. The best example of Nehru's planning vision is the second five-year plan, which was developed on the basis of a plan framed prepared by P.C. Mahalanobis in a planning commission of which Nehru was the chairman. It is well known that this framework was influenced by the Soviet planning experience. The important logic of the plan was to increase the rate of investment and to invest primarily in the core sector, in machines to make machines, which would make available the essential equipment necessary for the production of consumer goods at a later stage. The public sector was to be established through the creation of new enterprises and was
meant to occupy the commanding heights of the economy. The private sector was also assigned an important role in industrialization process.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri firstly introduced the high yielding varieties of crops in India. And, in the late 1960s and 1970s, under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the government introduced the Green Revolution in which, farmers used the new high yield crop varieties. And, it enhanced the per capita income, especially in Punjab, where irrigation products facilitated in economic growth of the country. Jeffrey D. Sachs (2005:260) affirms that, “as a result of its Green Revolution, India went from eleven million metric tons of wheat production in 1960 to twenty four million tons in 1970, thirty-six million tons in 1980, and fifty-five million tons in 1990, far outstripping the increase in population.”

The role of the state in development has its own rich history tracing from the first Five Year Plan. The state has the legitimate power to promote the welfare of its citizens and at the same time, use coercive power for compelling obedience to its will. Society is perceived as having various activities that are broader in scope than the state. The state is undoubtedly sovereign but no state or nation is self-sufficient, as it needs to collaborate with other state or nations for promoting peaceful and harmonious international relations and holistic development of its citizens. Thinkers like Karl Marx had perceived a stage at which the state will wither away. But, it is futile to visualize a stage where the state will just disappear in which internal affairs of law and order would also sink to the ground. However, an important question arises whether the state will eventually wither away in the future, with the growth of alternatives such as voluntary organizations. In order to survive, the state has to perform its functions effectively. And, it is essential to formulate strategies to strengthen the state.
Various authorities have opined on what the nature of the state should be. Gerard Clarke (1998:9) writes

Within political and sociological theory, the state is normally defined in terms of two key characteristics. First, it is an institution that regulates society, primarily through its control of a coercive apparatus. Thus, as defined by Max Weber, ‘the state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory.’ Second, however, the state has a class character that derives from the predominant mode of production and the need to redistribute appropriated surpluses. In capitalist societies, the state is, ‘an ensemble of social relations that establishes the bourgeoisie as the dominant class (defined by O’Donnell) while in socialist societies the dominant class is largely political in character. Critically, however, the state is not an independent realm but is closely related to the society from which it emerges.

Further, Clarke quoted the words of Karl Marx: “the first act in which the (capitalist) state comes forward as the representative of society as a whole – the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society – is at the same time its last independent act as a state.” Thus, he argues that, state and society are mutually interconnected, with society constraining the capacity of the state.

Anand Kumar (1989:21) maintains that state has an organizational structure in a geographically delineated segment of human beings united by common obedience to a single sovereign. It grows out of particular historical process in response to the issue of legitimation of power and integration of power arrangement. According to Ashis Nandy (1997:352), the growing interest in the nature of state represents the revival of a major intellectual concern of the 1950s and 1960s: state-and- nation-building in the old societies turned new nations.

The state in popular imagination is what Neera Chandhoke (The Hindu, 6th April, 2004) refers to as the state that is central to individual and collective life, despite all the changes that have been effected through the practices of governance.
She raises an important question as to why citizens continue to have high expectations of the state despite the fact that the government has begun to delegate more and more of its responsibility to civil society organizations. Simultaneously, she brings out an answer by asserting that perhaps the image of the ‘Nehruvian’ state as the repository of public interest is still embedded in the popular consciousness despite all changes in the nature of the state. Chandhoke reiterates that the general consensus today is that the state is the problem. Instead of trying to make the state deliver what it has promised through constitution, law and rhetorical flourishes, policy makers would rather establish a parallel system, which can substitute for the state in areas of service delivery.

The state remains an important actor of legitimizing the existing economic and social conditions in society, which serves the aspirations as well as visions of its citizens. The legitimizing procedure involves a dialogue as representing the voices of the people in which, each citizen express his or her views. This argument is endorsed by Jean Jacques Rousseau in Gerard Clarke’s (1998:12) work as he indicates, “it is therefore essential that there should be no partial society in the state and that each citizen should express only his own opinion.”

Looking at the present scenario of development in India and globally, Ananta K.Giri (2005:340) remarked that

The discourse and practice of development is at a critical juncture now. The idea of development in its present interventionist mode had originated at the end of the Second World War as a new vision of hope against the backdrop of the devastating experiences of the war and the rising process of decolonization. At this juncture, the idea of development shaped new forms of political responsibility on a global scale. It gave rise to many applications. We are facing a crisis, not knowing how to move on in a meaningful way. We now face a crisis in a foundational way and in terms of major transformations at the macro level as well as in our daily routines in the world of development. This crisis is manifest in many fields – in the declining commitment to human
development on the part of state and international donor agencies, destruction of public space and institutions without parallel efforts to reconstitute them, a growing militarization of state and society, and the growing cynicism among all concerned.

Despite all the theories of the state as monopolizing power and forms of violence, in the North Eastern states particularly in Manipur, the authority of the Indian state was questioned right from the beginning. The rise of insurgency in the initial post-colonial decades diverted attention from development. The state had to slowly establish its legitimacy through democratic institutions and through earmarking funds for development that used to get siphoned off by vested interests leading to corruption.

In the meanwhile, the insurgents who were continuously on the run could not ensure social welfare and development of the region. The politics of insurgency created its own financial demands which in turn alienated the local people by taxing them. It is in this context that voluntary organizations such as Naga Women Union and Naga Mothers’ Association led mostly by women came up to mediate between the government and the insurgent groups. These NGOs filled the institutional vacuum created by insurgency and its challenge to the state structures.

It is possible to assert that in the North Eastern states, the NGOs have indeed helped in legitimizing the role of the state. This being the case theories about state and civil society advanced by political scientists need revision. In this context, it is essential to examine Gramsci’s (1971:263) idea of the state as he defines it as ‘political society plus civil society; in other words hegemony protected by the armor of coercion.’ His interpretation of the state and civil society implies that both are inseparable entities, which seems almost identical with one another. He prophesied that when the hegemonic coercive power grows with an expansion of
civil society, the political society (state) would be inducted again into civil society and gradually disappears. Further, in Gramsci's (ibid:83) words

What we can do for the moment is fix two major super structural 'levels': the one that can be called 'civil society', that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private' and that of 'political society' or 'the state'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony', which the dominant group exercises through out society, and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or rule exercised through the state and the juridical government.

Clarke (ibid:11) mentioned that civil society to Gramsci is the hegemonic apparatus of the ruling group, which embraces not only economic relations, but the whole of intellectual and spiritual life embodied in ideological and cultural relations. Civil society is thus, the political and cultural hegemony, which a social group exercises over the whole of society.

Here, it is important to mention that in the 1980s, the failure of Nehruvian-Socialist model of development on the one hand and the models of development propagated by the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) enhanced the importance of civil society and NGOs in development projects compelling even the Indian government to recognize NGOs as important in promoting grass roots development.

As the NGOs became prominent, the meaning of development changed. Development had to include environmental concerns and the rhetoric of sustainable development gained salience. Along with sustainable development, the human development approach initiated by Mahboob ul Hag of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) brought non-economic concerns into the development agenda leading ultimately to the adoption of Millenium Development Goals (MDGs).
More recently, the impact of contemporary globalization has in turn triggered off an anti-globalization movement coordinated by a worldwide network of NGOs that question the strategy of liberal market based development (which they call neo-liberal strategy) because it has been, according to them, the cause of large scale displacement of the poor which in turn has threatened their livelihoods. These issues have become 'real' issues in states such as Andhra Pradesh because they have been exposed to global trends but the experience of the North Eastern states like Manipur shows that lack of development and lack of exposure to the market also have social costs in terms of low human development indicators. It is in this overall context that I locate my study of NGOs in Manipur.

**CHOICE OF TOPIC:**

The idea of working on the topic ‘NGOs and Development’ emerged out of my keen interest in the subject matter and personal experiences with a couple of NGOs for almost a decade. In the present work, I try to reflect on the micro and macro dimensions of NGOs in development. The focus of my research is the various socio-economic, cultural, political and development activities of the NGOs as a means to facilitate the living standards of the Liangmai Nagas in general and women in particular at Tamei sub-division, Tamenglong district, Manipur.

The presence of 8 (eight) registered NGOs has been strongly felt in the study area, out of which two have been registered under the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA) in the Ministry of Home Affairs. The preliminary task was to identify and select NGOs for the purpose of the present study. After a gap of five years, I re-visited the place that I belonged to in December 2004 and stayed on till March 2005, to look at the activities of the NGOs before picking up a few NGOs for the case study. For about four months at the preliminary stage, I had constantly engaged in interacting with the community to get their perception about NGOs.

Finally, I selected five NGOs for the study and in this task; I sought the help as well as opinion of the local leaders and social activists. The study is an
explorative and descriptive attempt to examine the role of the NGOs in facilitating development programmes and thereby to assess the magnitude of social work that has taken place in Tamei sub-division. It also attempts to critically understand the organizations and their employees who are striving to make a new world possible for the people of Tamenglong district.

PURPOSE OF CONDUCTING THIS STUDY:

One of the main purposes of undertaking this research is to provide scholars as well as practitioners of social action with some evidence about the activities of NGOs in improving the conditions of the rural poor in Tamei sub-division, Tamenglong district. It is also an attempt to provide some concrete responses to the NGOs who shared with them their experiences and difficulties in implementing their programmes in several villages.

Besides, it seeks solutions to overcome those hindrances and difficulties. A study such as this has to be undertaken, as it will add to the stock of sociological knowledge of NGOs and of the contemporary situation of tribes in India. It is an endeavour to provide some of the attributes required for the NGOs to enter into effective relationships with other actors in the area of social concerns.

STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTERS:

The structure of the study is divided into seven Chapters altogether. The second chapter discusses the research design. It will highlight the scope and unit of study, methods of data collection, selection of respondents as well as samples. It will also deal with the methodology of data analysis and field work experience at Tamei sub-division of Tamenglong district.

Chapter three provides a broad portrayal of NGOs in Manipur. It highlights the importance of community development and examines the ethnic conflict between the Kukis and Nagas. It also deals with issues of health-care apart from examining the relationship between the state and NGOs, networking and politics of NGOs, people's participation, strength and weaknesses of NGOs.
Chapter four describes the geographical location and the economic status of the Zeliangrong Naga people in Tamenglong district of Manipur wherein fieldwork was conducted for this study. It discusses how local community got deprived of basic amenities in life due to the negligence of the State government and they continued to rely upon their traditional practices like shifting cultivation for survival. The descriptions in this chapter focussed on the origin of the Liangmai Naga tribe inhabiting the Tamei sub-division and also highlighted the potentiality of tourism in the area. The picture of how the local community confronts the harsh reality in this hilly district has been analysed in detail.

In the fifth chapter, the profiles of five selected NGOs based in Tamei sub-division is dealt with elaborately. It reveals the different types of NGOs that exists from the early 1980s onwards. The cultural and religious backgrounds of the local community are also discussed in this section. Besides, a question was raised as to why NGOs are formed in this area. The development projects of NGOs facilitated the community to be more assertive.

The next chapter analyses the performance of the selected five NGOs at Tamei sub-division and stresses how the activities of NGOs have brought about fundamental changes in the Liangmai Naga society. This sixth chapter is written like a storyline with evolving activities and a little sketch of actors that produces the considerable portion of my analysis. It is observed that an acceptance of NGOs by the people and their growth as a strong institution is not a myth but a reality. Analysis in this chapter testifies that the contemporary society cannot survive without the existence of NGOs as it has become a part and parcel of their everyday life. The efforts of NGOs in alleviating poverty cannot be ignored anymore. Analysis also shows the vibrant relations of the NGOs with their beneficiaries in particular. The networking and matrix of relationships of NGOs with the target groups and State are also studied.
The last chapter attempts to highlight the research findings of what occurred in the establishment of the relationships between the NGOs, State, donor agencies and target groups in a comprehensive manner. It acknowledges the transformation of society due to the efforts of NGOs. This concluding essay proposes that an amalgamation of different dialogues on NGOs and development is needed to produce beneficial results. Here, it is mentioned that if networking is to become a truly meaningful force in ameliorating poverty, then attributes of the NGOs and State must be identified and implied.

In this concluding chapter, criticism about NGOs have raised some questions that have worried social activists but I expect that pondering upon such remarks would definitely bring forth vitality, dynamism and quality of work. The summary in this final discussion brings out the accounts of daily practices and dilemmas of NGOs that ultimately affect the beneficiaries in a positive way. It is essential to have a better understanding of the everyday dynamics of NGOs as it tries to achieve the goals, visions and objectives in ameliorating extreme poverty in a substantial manner.