CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter provides a background to the present research. It delineates the role of organisations in society and the need to know them closely. The chapter introduces the world of NGOs and their significant to development. It also hints at the objective of the study undertaken.

The chapter moves on to explain the context of the study. The various sections of the chapter put the study in the context of the larger development canvas of the country and the role that Development NGOs have played therein. The national and regional scenario depicted is far from desirable, however the positive efforts and outcomes are recognised by various actors in development process.

The next section of the chapter deals with the locale and rationale of the study undertaken. The process of identifying the organisations to be included in the study is mentioned. It is explained why these organisations were chosen.

The subsequent section deals with the research design, methodology and techniques the scholar has adopted. Questionnaire, interviews and secondary data and observations are included as techniques.

The chapter then dwells upon the statement of the research topic and objectives of the study. The scholar suggests that he would like to examine the organisational factors which influence the effectiveness of the organisations chosen. The larger purpose of the study is to contribute to the body of knowledge of practitioners and theoreticians interested in NGOs involved in development.

The following section of the chapter dwells on the expected contribution the study would make to the NGO world and the field of sociology. The chapter concludes with working definitions of various concepts used in the course of the present research.
Chapter 1: Introduction

A study of Organisational Factors Influencing the Effectiveness of NGOs and Grassroots Organisations in Gujarat

1.1 Introduction - Background:

Organisations are an important part of any society and so they are of Indian society. Not only do they fulfil individual needs but they also function as agents through which nation-states and societies translate their aspirations (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 1995). It is said, "Human societies have been transformed into organisational entities". American sociologist Amitai Etzioni had said, "Our society is an organisational society" (Haralmbos and Heald 1981:278), so much so that the formal structures of organisations dominate human lives from the cradle to the grave (De, 1984). No wonder it is said that "what happens in our society happens in the context of organisations" (Mintzberg, 2000:338). On the other hand "organisations are singled out" in the words of W. R. Scott "as the source of many of the ills besetting contemporary society" (Pfeffer, 1997:4). Organisations, though integral parts of our society, are therefore seen as a blessing and a curse at the same time. In short, organisations in modern society have been perceived as threats to individual liberty and undermining democracy (such as World Bank, Multinational Corporations). At the same time they have also been seen as essential requirements in a democratic society as a means for the protection of individual freedoms (Haralmbos and Heald 1998).

However important they may be the study of organisations has a relatively short history within sociology. Weber approached the study of organizations from the point of view of power and authority relationships in political structures and public bureaucracies. Prior to the work of Robert Merton and his students in the late 1940s, organisations were not typically acknowledged as distinctive social phenomena requiring study (Tolbert and Zucker, 1995). Some of the earlier studies have focused on public organisations as bureaucracies and have examined them in that light - a case of Bihar (Prasad, 1974). However, of late, organisations have become a focus for academic analysis (Thompson and McHugh, 1995) more so in the context of organisation management. Management can be viewed as a technical process in all forms of
organisations varying in its complexity (Rastogi, 2000). Collective service and production necessitate organisations and their management and thus the study of organisation becomes important for a management student, "No organisation - whether economic, political, social or even religious - can survive without management (Rastogi, 2000:15). It must be noted here that establishment of the All-India Council of Technical Education (AICTE) in 1953 gave a tremendous boost to management education and studies. The earlier studies treated organisations as social inequality, intercommunity relations and social deviance but not as organisations per se. Study of organisations, and that too of the NGO and Voluntary Organisations, in India is relatively new or for that matter in other parts of the world as well, partly because "the nonprofit sector, as we know it today, is a construct of the recent past" (Morris, 2000:41).

However it should be noted that "given the critical role of organisations in shaping every facet of a society directly or indirectly involves an examination of its organisations" (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi; 1995:4). It is suggested that organisation theory has borrowed copiously from other sciences and there has been critical contributions to Organization Theory from Economics, Mathematics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy, and Anthropology (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 1995). In fact, the very concept 'organisation' has often differed depending on the perspective from which it was viewed.

The present study deals with organisations which, as stated elsewhere, fall in the realm of non-governmental sector or called NGOs. These organisations must be viewed in the context of actors who come forward to meet certain needs of society which are often neglected or are expensive.

This body of organisations are often referred to as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) or Voluntary Sector (VO), Non-profit organisation (NPO) or as 'Third Sector' organisations (Hudson, 1995). The NGO/VO sector receives a sizeable sum from the public and agencies, both local and foreign, and yet "the sector has received very limited attention from

90% of NGO funding in India comes from foreign donation and grants. Bunker Roy has pointed out that in India NGOs receive about Rs.20000 million every year from foreign sources (Sarkar and Mukherjee, 2000).
academic researchers and social analysts" (Sheth and Sethi, 1991:51, also see Dwivedi, 2002).

The available literature about the Sector and organisations within it is limited in its scope and range. What is written falls mainly into two categories - accounts of scores of organisations (Pandey, 1991, also see Earrington, 1993) and portraits of a handful of organisations (Patel, 1998, also see Kamta, 2000). Patel (1998) argues that the dominant thrust of the literature on voluntary agencies is evaluative; they are either praised or maligned. This study is an attempt to look at the Sector from a different angle and interest and also with the hope of adding to the scope and range of the body of knowledge on the 'sector'.

The present study is an attempt at examining the organisational factors influencing the functioning and effectiveness of NGOs and GOs in Gujarat with special reference to three organisations which the scholar has identified based on their accessibility and involvement in the field. The purpose of the study is to contribute to the body of knowledge of practitioners and theorists involved and interested in enhancing the effectiveness of the NGOs and Grassroots Organisations (GOs) working in Gujarat and elsewhere in India.

As seen above in the last few decades there has been a substantial increase in the number of NGOs and GOs in Gujarat and in India (see Kamta, 2000) as well other parts of the world (Kramer, 2000). Most of these organisations claim to be at the service of the oppressed and marginalised communities (Choudhary, 2000, Sheth, 1997, Reddy and Chandralekha, 1998). The form of services provided by these organisations varies a great deal. These organisations have played and continue to play an important role in responding to the needs of the poor and marginalised communities at various times and situations. Literature suggests that the function of these nonprofit organisations is to produce public, or collective type, good for society (Morris, 2000). There is a debate about the purpose of their existence, the role they play and their effectiveness in responding to the needs of the communities they work with or for. This study will examine the organisational factors which influence the effectiveness of three such organisations.
The findings of the study are envisaged to help NGO functionaries to deal with organisational change in the fast changing environment since organisational learning, development, and planned change cannot be understood without considering culture as a primary source of resistance to change (Schein, 1997).

1.2 The Context of the Study:

This study is an attempt to examine the organisational factors influencing the effectiveness of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Grassroots Organisations (GOs) in Gujarat, NGOs and GOs that are working in the field of development as “not many non-governmental organisations are working for the socio-economic upliftment of the people in the rural areas” (Chavhan, 2000:27). It is appropriate that we briefly glance at the national scenario of development for which some of these organisations exist and work. Our freedom struggle, although ostensibly political, was instrumental in bringing about a unique social transformation. It brought together people from all strata of life and society for a common cause. The movement was rooted in unity in diversity and an urge for social justice (Dantwala et al., 1998). The present scenario of our country does not reflect those values.

During the past few decades, there have been rapid changes, a glaring deterioration in the social and political ethos in the country. Its pervasive repercussions on public behaviour are evident in all walks of life. No effective solutions to these problems seem to be in sight. Government and others assume much NGO responsibility to protect society from the adverse effects that follow these changes (Thomas, 1994). Voluntary action seems to have considerable potential for effective social transformation and building an egalitarian and humane society (Dantwala et al., 1998, Kamta, 2000, Abha et al., 2000) and for empowerment of various groups and communities (Dabhi, 1999). The vision with which the journey of India began is well reflected in the words of Jawaharlal Nehru on the midnight of 14-15 August 1947:

"The future is not of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means that service of the millions who suffer. It means the
ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work may not be over” (see Dantwala et al., 1998:10).

After half a century of independence, the vision of post independence society, promises made by Nehru and the freedom enshrined in the Constitution formed by Dr. Ambedkar are chiding us. This is best illustrated by what the President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan, said on the midnight of 14 August 1997, with anguish, in the same Central Hall of Parliament, where Nehru had delivered his historic speech 50 years earlier. The President said, “I am painfully aware of the deterioration that has taken place in our country in recent times”. He added, “Sheer opportunism and valueless power politics have taken over the place of principle and idealism that had been the hallmark of our social and political life. Violence has increased in the relationship between people. Social evils [such as atrocities against] women and weaker sections . . . are on the increase.”

One cannot separate the social and political life of a people. “Since the ultimate aim of our political system is (or should be) the establishment of an egalitarian and humane society, separation of social and political change may not be a prudent strategy” (Dantwala et al., 1998:11). After all, the values which ought to govern the political and social systems are identical. In the absence of a sound base of social awareness and vigilant society, which values its freedom and shares certain ideals, the political system may become authoritarian and even oppressive. The violence and atrocities on Dalits, tribals, minorities and women, corruption at high levels, criminalisation of politics, the widening gap between the poor and rich with IMF (International Monitory Fund) dictated economic policies goes to show that the political system has become oppressive and authoritarian, hijacked by powerful interest groups. Sundaram, (1986:56) states, “Because of the failure of the officially sponsored institutions, the role of voluntary agencies has become doubly important in a way few imagined it a decade ago. Political institutions and government departments have exhibited a growing indifference to the felt needs to the poor and indulged in misappropriation, of various degrees, of
funds meant for the target groups”. It is rightly said “social suffering results from what political, economic, and institutional power does to the people and, reciprocally, from how these forms of power themselves influence responses to social problems” (Kleinman et al. 1998:ix)

There is an urgent need for a concerted effort to restore basic human values in public behaviour. This can best be achieved through vigilant and purposive voluntary as well judicial (many have genuine reasons to lose hope in it) action by the citizens of this country Voluntary action is defined as, “any action by an individual, an informal group, or a duly-constituted organisation, which is not prompted by external pressure or self-interest, can be termed voluntary action” (Dantwala, 1998:31) The common factor behind such action in the country according to the author is dissatisfaction and frustration with the present social order and an urge to improve it.

The scholar does not intend to paint the government as an inactive agent of development. The government can, and does, play a positive role in the process of economic development and to a considerable extent human development such as literacy and health (HDR 1997.102). Dilip Kumar Parida said, “the intention of the government is always noble, but what it lacks is the inefficiency to materialise” (Parida, 1997:212). The scholar fully agrees with Parida about the intention of the government as often it has to please the constituencies which fund its ascent to power One can debate about the intention of the government but when it comes to changing people’s attitudes or life-styles, it can do precious little. The government programmes and functionaries do not radiate the necessary values and attitudes for development. Dantwala (1998) suggests that often government policies themselves are responsible for encouraging attitudes and life-styles (e g conspicuous consumption) that hinder development.

Though government is the primary development agency in any country, the apathy of the state administration (Bava, 1997) and Indian government machinery at the grassroots level rather than its incompetence is the main hurdle in development “The successive central and state governments and their high-brow bureaucrats have done little over the past 50 years to reform the archaic procedures. Besides, the district and village-level civil servants have
no emotional commitment to social sector institutions to promote primary education, health care and family planning" (Dantwala, 1998:32).

The under-utilisation of government funds allocated for development indicate lack of commitment to welfare on the part of the political leadership and the bureaucracy, which in turn indicates a lack of commitment to pro-poor values. In the era of structural adjustment many countries including India have slashed expenditure on welfare measures often with the argument that the gap can be filled with community self-help. Human Development Report (1997:101) reported, "A poverty eradication strategy requires not a retreating, weak state but an active, strong one, and that strength should be used to enable the poor rather than disable them". Such a statement goes to point the reality that exists. In such a situation it is voluntary action that can fill the gap

Involvement of voluntary action groups is necessary for organising the people, both for constructive and combative action. The voluntary organisations/NGOs in a democratic country like India have a double role to play - to supplement government effort in fields where the government is unable to reach, and to fight against policies and actions which encourage wrong attitudes or thwart the vision of a humane society (Dantwala, 1998). In fact in the recent past in various fields of national life voluntary organisations have played a vital part in social progress. They are the means by which the nation has been able to make use of its human resources. These organisations have been able to secure the active participation of far more people than the government alone would ever do and shoulder tasks for which they are better fitted than statutory bodies (Kapoor and Singh, 1997, Gandhi, 2000).

Any civil society has a responsibility to meet the legitimate needs of its members. A welfare state cannot disown this responsibility, neither can it discourage individuals and organisations who wish to contribute towards this end. The emergence and existence of some of the NGOs and GOs in Gujarat and elsewhere in India may be viewed from this perspective. Sociologists and anthropologists view voluntary organisations as instruments to fulfil the needs of the members of a society (Patel, 1998, also see Chavhan, 2000). Though individuals and groups can do a great deal on their own to combat poverty and underdevelopment, much will depend on the environment created by
government attitude and action. However “the state has a central role to play and the call for people’s mobilisation must not be a justification for the state to abdicate its responsibilities” (HDR 1997:101).

It is in this context that many NGOs and GOs have emerged. It is not our purpose to examine the reasons for emergence of NGOs and GOs here; the scholar has examined the reasons elsewhere (Dabhi, 1995, also see Clark, 1991, Lewis, 2002, Tandon, 1989) As seen earlier, the studies done so far focus on their outcomes, their achievements and difficulties in general. The present study is an attempt to look within these organisations and examine the factors contributing to their achievement of goals. Therefore the scholar would like to look at one organisational factor and examine its influence on the effectiveness of these organisations. This factor will be the organisational culture in the organisation and various elements or sub-factors that are identified as part of organisational culture.

1.3 Locale and rationale of the study:  
The study is located in the state of Gujarat with the sample consisting of three organisations with their head offices in Ahmedabad. The three organisations were: (for the sake of confidentiality the names of the organisations have been concealed in the study)

i. Development Support Centre – Ahmedabad based - Community development through focusing on watershed development,

ii. SAATH – Ahmedabad based - community development with slum development and empowerment of urban poor,

iii. SEWA – Rural, Jhagadia based – Providing health related services to the rural poor in South Gujarat,

The criteria for selection of these organisations were.

1) These organisations fit the definition of NGO and Grassroots Organisation They enjoyed the status of NGOs in the NGO circle and they also work directly at the grassroots

2) These NGOs have been involved in the process of development and empowerment of the deprived communities of Gujarat directly at the grassroots either at the rural or urban level
3) They had paid staff of a reasonable size – approximately 20 and above.

4) There was a possibility of access to these organisations and of gaining information from them.

5) Three NGOs were of differing age – providing a difference of 8 to 25 years.

6) Three NGOs were selected because three organisations generate more data and hence greater scope for a comparative study enabling the culling out of similarities and differences.

The organisations identified enjoy the status of NGOs and Grassroots Organisations (as explained above) among the NGO circle and they also work directly with groups and communities at the grassroots. They are not merely service organisations providing just a few services such as training and technomanagerial assistance but have the responsibility of carrying through programmes/activities.

The scholar approached the executives of these three organisations. Two of the executives, after discussion, gave their consent to cooperate and gave the scholar the access to the NGOs for the purpose of the study. The third organisation was undergoing internal transition and therefore the executive declined access to the organisation for the purpose of the study. Finally after discussion with the research supervisor, another organisation was identified. It was an organisation which the scholar was closely associated with. The final sample was as below:

i. SAATH - community development with slum development and empowerment of urban poor.

ii. Development Support Centre (DSC) – Community development through focusing watershed development.

iii. Behavioural Science Centre (BSC) - Community development through creating people’s movement and organisations with special focus on Dalit and Tribal communities.

Henceforth to ensure confidentiality and safeguard their identity, these organisations will be referred to as Centre for Development Support (CDS), Centre for Urban Development (CUD) and Centre for Human Rights (CHR).
Sampling of respondents.

The attempt, as far as it was possible, was to include all the staff members and trustees of the 3 sample organisations. Questionnaires were sent to all staff members and trustees of the NGOs. However only 60% of the trustees and 75% of the staff members responded to the questionnaires and made themselves available for the interviews. The beneficiaries, since they are not directly involved in the internal functioning of the organisation, reflect a very small sample percentage. Beneficiaries who had knowledge of the organisation and were closely associated with it were given the questionnaires and were subsequently interviewed. On an average 20 beneficiaries from each organisation were asked to fill in the questionnaire and were then interviewed. The sample size of 20 for the beneficiaries is about 50% of the average of the total number of Staff and Trustees of all the three NGOs taken together. The beneficiaries were selected keeping the following criteria in mind.

a. Representative of the local community or groups with whom the NGO is working

b. Adequate knowledge of the respective NGO – familiar with NGO staff and organisational culture factors as suggested in the study

The following table provides details of the respondents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGOs</th>
<th>Staff</th>
<th>Trustees</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
<th>Total interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHR</td>
<td>21 (42.00)</td>
<td>07 (14.00)</td>
<td>22 (44.00)</td>
<td>50 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[26.92]</td>
<td>[43.75]</td>
<td>[36.07]</td>
<td>[32.26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDS</td>
<td>23 (48.94)</td>
<td>05 (10.64)</td>
<td>19 (40.42)</td>
<td>47 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[29.49]</td>
<td>[31.25]</td>
<td>[31.15]</td>
<td>[30.32]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUD</td>
<td>34 (58.63)</td>
<td>04 (6.89)</td>
<td>20 (34.48)</td>
<td>58 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[43.59]</td>
<td>[25.00]</td>
<td>[32.78]</td>
<td>[37.42]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78 (50.32)</td>
<td>16 (10.32)</td>
<td>61 (39.36)</td>
<td>155 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures without parenthesis indicate absolute numbers, figures in ( ) indicate percentages of the column total i.e., for each category and figures in [ ] indicate percentage of row total i.e., for each organisation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGO</th>
<th>Staff (N)</th>
<th>Trustees (N)</th>
<th>Beneficiaries (N)</th>
<th>Total interviewed (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHR</td>
<td>23 (43.39)</td>
<td>08 (15.10)</td>
<td>22 (41.51)</td>
<td>53 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[26 13]</td>
<td>[44.45]</td>
<td>[36 07]</td>
<td>[31 74]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDS</td>
<td>28 (52.83)</td>
<td>06 (11.32)</td>
<td>19 (35.85)</td>
<td>53 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[31.81]</td>
<td>[33.33]</td>
<td>[31.15]</td>
<td>[31 74]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUD</td>
<td>37 (60.65)</td>
<td>04 (6.56)</td>
<td>20 (32.79)</td>
<td>61 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[42.06]</td>
<td>[22.22]</td>
<td>[32.78]</td>
<td>[36 52]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>88 (52.69)</td>
<td>18 (10.78)</td>
<td>61 (36.53)</td>
<td>167 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
<td>[100]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures without parenthesis indicate absolute numbers, figures in ( ) indicate percentages of the column total i.e., for each category and figures in [ ] indicate percentage of row total i.e., for each organisation.

The pre-testing of questionnaires and interviews was done with all the three organisations and based on its results the questionnaire and interview schedule were modified.

1.4 The Methodology of the Study (Research Design):

Social science mainly deals with some aspects of human behaviour and research in these subjects is necessarily conceptual and ideological. In such a research empirical study is possible, but experiments are difficult to conduct, as it is not possible to have controlled conditions. The subject of research can be considered to be social science research topic when research is social and when it is scientific (Singleton et al, 1988). The more important aspect of research in social science is to collect data and draw inferences from them (Iserny, 1999).

It is suggested that science is often better defined and understood if it is considered in terms of method rather than subject matter (Frankfort and Nachmas, 1992, Mann, 1995). Secondly, science is very often a matter of degree rather than an absolute 'is scientific' or 'is not scientific' (Mann, 1995:17). Mann goes on to say, "The fact that one cannot make definite one-hundred-percent claims to causal links between factors does not in any way detract from claiming scientific status for the research" (1995:29). Mann cites Karl Pearson who said, "The man who classifies facts of any kind, who sees..."
their mutual relation and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science..." (1995:18).

There is no limit to the possibilities and combinations of the methods of analysis in social sciences. Qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis are used and in a sense qualitative and quantitative analyses are seen as a continuum, not as opposites or mutually exclusive models of analysis as suggested by Alasuutari (1995). The vast majority of organizational researchers believe that both traditions offer valuable and useful research designs and techniques that can help them to understand organizations better. Lee (1999), the scholar, adheres to this view and therefore has selected multiple techniques, with the hope of creating a set of complementary data-gathering and compensate for some of the weaknesses of an individual technique.

The study includes identification of the subject of study, an understanding of relevant theories and literature available on the subject and formulation of the main objectives of study. The main objectives then are further broken into sub-objectives and then into detailed questions under three main objectives. The questionnaire was administered to individuals. The questions are both descriptive as well objective. In designing the questionnaire the following suggestions were kept in mind (Israney, 1999).

a) Firstly, the questions are limited in scope to certain times, places, and conditions. A researchable question is usually a small fragment of a larger question. The assumption is that by piecing together small answers a large answer may be discovered.

b) The second property of a researchable question is that some observable, tangible, countable evidence or data can be gathered which is relevant to the question.

As explained earlier, one of the objectives of this study is to add to the scope of knowledge available on the voluntary sector organization. Thus the study will make use of quantitative as well as qualitative social research techniques where some data will be quantifiable but the analysis will be qualitative as suggested by some of the researchers and scholars (Israney, 1999, Pande, 1999). The methodology applied will also follow the method used in fundamental research (Israney, 1999:24) where the data collected has a
broad base of application and thus adds to the already existing organised body of scientific knowledge.

Research Techniques used:

Multiple techniques were used for data collection namely questionnaire, interview and observation. Besides this, secondary sources from the NGOs were used as well.

Written questionnaire:

Bilingual questionnaires were prepared to capture the perceptions of the identified constituencies on the basis of the objectives stated above. The questionnaires were different for the three respondent groups - the staff, the Trustees and the beneficiaries of the NGOs. The questionnaire was administered to individual respondents. The questionnaires were largely objective with a few descriptive questions.

Interview:

An effort was made to interview the entire staff and all the trustees of the NGOs. Questions were prepared for interviews for all the three groups mentioned above. The questions were bilingual and were given to the respondent at the time of the interview. Interviews were conducted on the premises of the NGO, its area of intervention and at a place of convenience to the trustees.

Observation:

The meetings of the staff, beneficiaries along with the staff were observed. Observations were made during field visits also. The focus of the observation was both on the content as well as the processes that took place during the discussion. The process observation was focused on issues of participation, decision-making and leadership.

Secondary data:

The available documents, such as annual reports, evaluation reports, brochures, published and unpublished articles, books and other material were examined.

Tabulation:

Tabulation of data emerging from interviews, observation and questionnaire were done separately and then integrated for the analysis.
research objectives have been the focal point around which data has been tabulated. The data from the questionnaire was tabulated using the computer programme Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Some of the qualitative data was also quantified.

Analysis and report writing:

Qualitative as well as quantitative analyses have been used. Mean, standard deviation and percentages have been used to analyse the data gathered. The analysis also includes comparison of organisation data thereby examining the commonality and differences among the 3 organisations.

Data was analysed under different objectives and elements of the organisation culture and, at the same time, constantly examining the issue of awareness and proactive role on the part of staff and trustees.

The scholar visited the geographical areas of interventions, 3 for one organisation, 2 for the rest.

1.5 Statement of research topic and objectives of the study:

It has already been suggested that in the last few decades there has been a substantial increase in the Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and Grassroots organisations (GOs) in Gujarat and elsewhere in India. These organisations have played and continue to play an important role in responding to the needs of the poor and marginalised communities at various times and situations (Bhattacharya, 1987). We also made a reference to the debate about the purpose of their existence, the role they play in society (see Bhambhri, 1987) and their effectiveness in responding to the needs of the communities they work with or work for. The scholar would like to examine the organisational factors (internal factors) which influence the effectiveness of these three organisations, instead of external factors.

The objective of this study was to examine the organisational factors influencing the effectiveness of NGOs and Grassroots Organisations in Gujarat with special reference to three particular organisations. One specific organisational factor identified for this study is that of organisational culture and the elements (sub-factors) within it as shown in the diagram below.
The hypothesis of this research is that *organisational culture influences organisational effectiveness if there is an awareness of organisation culture and when the NGO functionaries (Staff and Trustees) play a proactive role in creating it.*

The main objective is further divided into sub-objectives on the basis of various elements of organisational culture which have been identified and are shown below.

1) **Mission/goal** – do the NGOs have clarity regarding mission/goal and therefore about the kind of transformation/change they want to bring about?

2) **Beliefs and assumptions among NGOs** – What are the existing beliefs and assumptions about class, gender and caste in the NGOs and their relation to development (development perspective implied in their mission) and whether these are relevant and in keeping with recognised development discourses?

3) **The decision-making process** – is it participative?

4) **The use of organisational resources and facilities** – are there clear policies and norms for its use? Are they reflective of the values professed by the organisation?

5) **The perception of leadership style at various levels in the organisation** – is it dialogical, motivating, empowering, encouraging learning?
6) The values in the NGOs – is there equality, cooperation, collaboration, respect for differences, openness to different views-opinions, encouraging learning and growth (personal and professional)?

The study further includes three other objectives to examine people's perception of the following,

7) Effectiveness of the respective NGOs under various criteria identified,

8) The specific culture of the respective NGOs,

9) The agents responsible for influencing/shaping organisation culture of the respective NGO.

Research to a common person implies a subject for academicians and refers to a search for knowledge. It is said that "research is a process of refining human experience for being embodied in the stock of knowledge" (Pande, 1999-1). Quoting Redman and Mory, Israney (1999:5) suggests that research can be defined as "systematised effort to gain new knowledge". Israney further suggests that research is an endeavour to discover intellectual and practical answers to problems through application of scientific methods to the knowable universe. Yet another definition by Webster's New International Dictionary says that research consists of "careful or critical inquiry or examination in seeking facts or principles, diligent investigation in order to ascertain something." Research objectives are cited as gaining familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve insights into it – often called exploratory or formulative research (Kothari, 1985). The purpose of the search can also be seen as describing the state of affairs of a group as it exists – describe phenomenon without establishing association between factors (Luck and Rubin, 1998). It also appears, as Israney (1999) suggests, that research is a process, which is almost impossible to define, because it could cover a wide range of studies from simple description and investigation to the construction of sophisticated experience.

The above definitions reflect and help explain the objectives of the study. The purpose of this research is to add to the body of knowledge on Voluntary Sector, the world of NGOs and GOs. In concrete terms the objective of this study is to examine the organisational culture of these organisations and the
influence they have on organisations’ effectiveness. The scholar has identified three organisations in Gujarat involved in development. Choosing three organisations (one working with all communities, second working only with Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities and the third one working in the slums of Ahmedabad) will help to compare them as well as help to generate a more comprehensive perspective. This will not only generate data from each organisation but will provide an opportunity to compare and bring out similarities and differences.

Thus the purpose of the study is to contribute to the body of knowledge of practitioners and theoreticians involved and interested in enhancing the effectiveness of NGOs and Grassroots organisations (GOs) working in Gujarat and elsewhere in India.

1.6 Definition of concepts:

1.6.1 Organisation,

1.6.2 Non-governmental organisation

1.6.3 Grassroots organisations

1.6.4 Organisational culture

1.6.5 Organisational effectiveness

1.6.1 Organisation:

As seen earlier organisations are part of our lives, our human existence, they affect our daily lives and the world around us. We are born in (hospital), work for (employment), and depend upon them even at the time of our death (coffin box and/or cremation services). Our society depends on organisations to provide goods and services to its members. Organisations are important part of our society, our political, cultural and economic life. It is rightly said, “we tend to take organisations for granted because they affect everything we do, but this familiarity can lead to underestimation of their impact” (Buchanan and Huczynski, 1985:3). We often hate organisations especially public sector organisations for being bureaucratic and wasteful. We sometimes take them for granted as providers of employment, public welfare, charity and voluntary services (Thompson and McHugh, 1995). Organisations affect our daily lives...
and the world around us in two fundamental ways. Taking into account that organisations do not always promote democratic values, it is argued that organisations are important for the democratic governance of the community and they are spokespersons for, and representatives of, a multitude of interest groups, and are often used by these groups to exert power (Bengt, 1993). There are people, who see organisations, especially labour unions, as obstacles for a truly “free” economy. There is also the contrary view of organisations as one of the cornerstones of social and economic stability – stability (Bengt, 1993) which, in its turn, is a prerequisite for a continued existence of a well-functioning market without which a society cannot be sustained. It is also said that “the health of a nation, another societal entity is directly related to the effectiveness of its organisations and, hence, to the effectiveness of processes through which they change” (Huber and Glick, 1995:12). It is also suggested that organisations are not only important for the individual citizen but also function as agents through which nation states and societies meet their aspirations (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 1995).

Organisations have been the objects of study for some time. Organisations are considered a social unit residing somewhere between primary groups and the whole society and as such have increasingly become a distinct field of study (Cyert and MacCrimmon, 1975). Sociologists tend to approach organisations from the viewpoint of democracy, power and their impact (effectiveness) on society. The growth of such studies can legitimately be attributed to the pioneering work of Max Weber and his ideal type of ‘bureaucracy’. Weber looked at organisations as collectivities directed towards specific goals (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 1995). Economists generally seek to explain organisational phenomena in terms of the human striving for increased efficiency (Bengt, 1993). Social psychologists study organisations in terms of behaviour of individuals and groups within organisations and also the aggregate behaviour of organisations with respect to their environments (Cyert and MacCrimmon, 1968). Cyert and MacCrimmon suggest that organisational scholars seem to focus on three principals: organisational participants, organisational goals, and organisational roles. The organisation management students study them from the viewpoint of their internal process and systems...
to see how and why they perform as they do and what can be done to improve their performance, profitability, output, and impact. Political scientists will find reasons for studying organisations for their increasing political importance. Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi (1995) have rightly said that given the critical role of organisations in shaping every facet of society, an enquiry into any aspect of a society directly or indirectly involves an examination of its organisations. Therefore, one can find organisations viewed from varying perspectives and examined at different levels and in the course of its growth, Organisation Theory has borrowed copiously from other sciences. It is not surprising that the very concept of an organisation has often differed depending upon the perspective from which it was viewed.

Thus organisations have been and can be studied from various perspectives – why they exist, what role do they play in society, how are they formed, how are they managed, whom do they serve, how long do they last, how effective, efficient are they, what are they made up of? They are also studied and categorised on various criteria such as – kind of services/products they provide, people and areas they serve, people who make them up, the resources they mobilise and from where, their size and shape, their legal forms, their goals, objectives and motives to exist. It is said that “Organisations vary in purpose, in constitution, in the methods and technologies which they use to achieve their purpose, and in the scope, size and location of their operations and markets Furthermore, they exist in different economic, political and social environments, and in different cultures and subcultures” (Woolhouse, 1988:41).

Human history suggests that recurring accidents have given rise to various kinds of organisations but organisations do not arise by accident. Organisations are products of human act and human interactions. Thompson and McHugh (1995), suggest that organisations are consciously created instruments and their purpose can be defined in terms of goal-seeking. They suggest that this goal-seeking purpose provides the means for distinguishing organisations from social institutions like families and movements like feminism which do not manifest systematic structure and processes of controlling relations between means and ends. Various writers on organisations have
formulated various researches and studies over a period in some kinds of findings. Therefore an organisation is a structured process in which persons interact for objectives of an organisation as well as their own (Hicks and Gullet, 1976:22). Though technological inventions have been one of the causes as well as outcomes of organisations, they are not merely a product of a particular technology. They are designed and directed by individuals with different values, experiences and perceptions and are to some extent a reflection of the personality of those who direct and shape them. Each organisation is, in a sense, a social experiment which is constantly evolving and adapting in response to changes in the environment" (Woolhouse, 1988:41).

Argyris explained the existence of organisations by saying that they are usually formed to meet objectives "that can be best met collectively" (Hicks and Gullet, 1976:6).

Hicks and Gullet, (1976:22) suggests five factors that are common to all organisations. First, an organisation always includes persons; second, these persons are involved with one another in some way — i.e., they are interacting; third, these interactions can always be ordered or described by some sort of structure; fourth, all persons in the organisation have personal objectives, some of which are the reasons for their actions; finally each person expects that participation in the organisation will help to achieve personal objectives.

The scholar's own experience of working in and with many organisations bears with the above observation. The scholar would like to suggest some elements which are common and are present in all kinds of organisations. They are, a stated or unstated goal or mission of the organisation, people who work in these organisations, people and specified leadership among them, some kind of structure which determines the interaction of people within the organisation, other resources like material/equipment and finance, programmes and tasks. These elements may be defined and operationalised in varied degrees. The development of these elements and relations among them vary from organisation to organisation. It is argued that the match and the compatibility of these elements in an organisation influence the performance and effectiveness of the organisation.
The mission is the reason for which the organisation exists. In corporate sectors the organisations may appear to have one and the same mission or goal and that is to maximise profits. The public sector organisations may include in their mission public service. The NGO sector organisations may exhibit various kinds of mission including public service, public litigation, advocacy, empowerment, gender equality, human rights etc. Often the mission is well articulated but sometimes it can be vague too.

Organisations need competent and skilled human resources. People in the organisation are those who govern, also called the owners, the custodians, the Trustees, those who manage are termed the management, and those who operationalise the mission of the organisation are called functionaries or sometimes addressed as workforce. Leadership among these categories of people is in different areas and to different degrees. Organisations have various types of leaderships, formal and designated or informal and acquired.

Structure is an agreed upon and to an extent formal system of interacting and relating with various people and units within the organisation. The term organisation structure describes the organisation’s formal framework or system of communication and authority. It determines the kind of interaction and line of authority in the organisation. The structure can be loose or well defined. The structure has to do with roles, responsibilities and designated powers with the role holders.

To carry out the mission, the organisation must implement programmes and tasks. The programmes and tasks are reflected in concrete activities. Basic task are those which have a direct bearing on the mission and objectives of the organisation, while the inherent tasks are those which may not have a direct bearing on the objectives but are necessary for the fulfilment of the tasks.

An organisation needs human resources but it needs other non-human resources as well. To perform various tasks in the organisation one needs other resources beside people such as land, building, machines, materials and money.

The structure and style of any particular organisation are determined by several factors. Structure and style of an organisation at any given time in its history, are the products of a complex mixture of technology, culture,
environment and personal styles of the individuals within it. Therefore there is no single solution to the problem of what constitutes the best organisation in a given situation (Woolhouse, 1988).

The scholar would like to cite a few definitions. The following definition is based on five facts that are common to all organisations (Hicks and Gullet, 1976:22):

1) An organisation always includes persons.
2) These persons are involved with one another in some way, that is, they are interacting.
3) These interactions can always be ordered or described by some sort of structure.
4) All persons in the organisation have personal objectives, some of which are the reasons for their actions. Each person expects that participation in the organisation will help to achieve personal objectives.
5) Members of organisations work toward the organisation's objective in order to achieve their personal objectives.

Therefore an organisation is a structured process in which persons interact for an objective.

A formal organisation has a clear body of owners and management and staff and/or volunteers with specific roles, responsibilities, relationships and line of authority and accountability. By and large this group has a shared mission/goal and resources to achieve this goal. Buchanan and Huczynski (1985:6) argue that “organisations are social arrangements for the controlled performance of connective goals”. However “the preoccupation with performance and the need for control distinguish organisations from other forms of social arrangements”. For our purpose the definition of an organisation is an organised structure of people who are positioned in a kind of hierarchy with specific roles and responsibilities to achieve common agreed goals with a particular way of functioning and having clearly understood and accepted membership.

The study intends to look at the Organisational culture which is internal to the organisation and the impact it has on its effectiveness. However a note
on the effects of various external factors whether they are profit making, public, or not for profit organisations may be helpful at this juncture. The following model was developed by Smith and Meiskens and cited in (Thompson and McHugh, 1995:100).

- **Political economy**  
  (System effects)

- **National Institutions**  
  (Society effects)

- **Global forces**  
  (Dominance effects)

  Work Organisation

The model suggests that all societies and organisations within them have to operate within certain parameters set by systems **(political economy)** such as competitive relations between enterprises and the conflicting interests of capital and labour, and is referred to as system effects or effects on work organisation. The model, drawing from broader institutional perspectives in sociology, also suggests that organisation patterns differ markedly due to nationally specific institution logics that produce stable organisational and employment patterns. In the Indian context the principle can be applied to various States. Dominance effects suggest that some nation-states (in India some States) provide stronger and more distinctive institutional environment than others. In the international and global markets the 'best practices' around the world concerning management, labour, and marketing affects work organisation. It must be noted that dominance does not indicate automatic or uncontested adaptation (Thompson and McHugh, 1995).

### 1.6.2 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs):

A word on NGOs before we define them. The description of voluntary organisations as non-governmental organisations is inappropriate and unduly restrictive. It is said, "The term NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) seems to be deceptively simple" (Jha and Mishra, 2000:13). The rationale and legitimacy of voluntary organisations are not derived from their being non-
governmental - at best, being non-governmental is one of its characteristics (Dantwala, 1998). The concerned voluntary organisations must be confident of their own vision of the new society they want to work towards, their mission to lead them, ethical integrity of ends and means and must consider that their cause is more important than the cost of collaboration with the government.

Non-governmental Organisation in the context of this research needs to be specified. Any organisation which is not governmental can be called non-governmental organisation and as such the term may include profit-making organisations, foundations, educational institutions, churches and other religious orders and missions, medical organisations and hospitals, unions and professional organisations, business and commercial associations, co-operatives and cultural groups as well as voluntary agencies (OCED 1988) and even organisations that receive government grants. Mike Hudson (1995) distinguishes these organisations as 'third sector organisations' except the ones that are profit-making NGOs. "The term non-governmental development organisation (NGDO) sometimes singles out development-oriented NGOs from other types of NGOs which deal mostly with foreign funds as either donors or recipients" (Pandey, 1991:46). This definition is not helpful as it only emphasises the financial aspect and does not recognise the different roles these organisations play in development.

A term very close to NGOs (and often used synonymously) is 'voluntary agencies', referring to grassroots level organisations. The use of the term is objected to on grounds that it gives an impression of being an agent of, acting on someone's behalf (Pandey, 1991). In the European context 'voluntary agencies' would refer to voluntary organisations which have employed paid staff to undertake their operational activities (Billis, 1989). This definition will throw some light on our understanding of NGOs as the organisations under study employ paid staff. Recently two more terms have been used in the Indian context viz. Non-Party Political Formation (NPPF) and Action Groups (AG) which are then further classified. These terms add very little to the meaning except providing some classifications and thus do not help much.

It is difficult to arrive at a definition which is perfect and having practical conceptuality which could include a wide range of non-governmental
organisations (Pandey, 1991). Sarkar and Mukherjee, (2000-125) endorse this view, “NGOs are difficult to define since NGOs are not a homogenous category”. Fisher includes the Grassroots Support Organisations (GRSOs) in her definition of NGOs. "GRSOs are nationally or regionally based development assistance organisations, usually staffed by professionals, that channel international funds to grassroots organisations (GROs) and help communities other than their own develop” (1993:5).

Korten (1991) suggests that the term NGO embraces a variety of organisations: Voluntary Organisations (VOs) having a social mission and are committed to shared values, organisations which function as market oriented nonprofit business serving public purposes. The others are People' organisations (like the self-help groups in UK) having member-accountable leadership, and they represent members' interest. Then you have organisations which are created by the government and referred to as Governmental Non-governmental Organisations and they act as an instrument of the government (CAPART, IRDP, DWACRA in India can come under this category). The definition of development NGOs that include voluntary organisations, which go beyond their memberships, is helpful to understand the NGOs.

The definition of non-governmental organisations further depends upon the particular situation within a given country. But for our purpose we would adhere to the term NGO as - "all non-statutory, non-profit-making organisations that are concerned in some way with relief and development in the Third World" (Billis and MacKeith, 1993).

The term ‘NGO’ has acquired wide acceptance internationally. All the same, we must note that development organisations in the developing countries seem, however, "to be moving consciously away from the term ‘NGO’ with the terms ‘non-governmental development organisations’ used in South America, and ‘voluntary development organisations’ used by African NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa in recent years" (OECD, 1988:14). There are some who equate voluntary development organisations with NGOs, as is the case in this study.

The definition of voluntary organisation suggested by Sundaram (1986) is helpful. He said that properly speaking it is an organisation which, whether its
workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control. The NGOs having Trust and Society form are governed by Trustees, often referred to as Governing Body members who are volunteers and do not draw any salary or remuneration.

It is helpful to think of Indian NGOs as involved in the process of empowerment of the marginalised which would include activities like elimination of poverty, social and economic injustice, caste, gender and religious discriminations and protection of environment. Therefore the term NGO can include various kinds of organisations. For our purpose NGO can be defined as an organisation established (under Trust or/and Society Act of India) and governed by a group of private citizens for a stated philanthropic purpose (not for their own benefit).

The Not-for-Profit Organisations (NFPOs) also called Not Profit Organisations (NPOs) may differ from other organisations in terms of their mission, service users/clientele, and other characteristics but they share the elements described above. The NFPOs vary widely in structure and in purpose, which makes it difficult to formulate a definition that embraces them all (Smith et al in Connors T. D. 1988). They have evolved over the years and have become blurred as they take on elements from other kinds of organisations from other sectors.

"The essential element of an NPO is voluntary action. Voluntary action is what one is neither paid to do nor made to do. In their broadest sense, NPOs are simply the collective forms of individual action. Smith suggests that "NPOs are the vehicles by means of which people pursue together goals that are not primarily remunerative and they are not forced to pursue" (Connors, 1988:16-1.15) This definition may not adequately explain the Indian scenario of voluntary organisations, where the voluntary organisations have the Trustees who are not paid for their services on the Governing Board, the organisation hires staff who are paid for the work done.

Our main concern in this study is organisations which are involved in development of communities either in rural or urban areas. We call them Development Non-Governmental Organisation (DNGOs). Dale, (2000:48) in his book ‘Organisation and Development’, defines development organisation as
"any organised entity of society that contributes to development of society without aiming at generating profit for owners of the organisation from the work that it does". The NGOs or VOs in India exist for very many reasons (see Dabhi, 1995) and one of them is development. These DNGOs can be included in the classification for NFPOs since monetary profit or gain for the organisation personnel in not the objective of these organisations. The involvement of NGOs in development is as recent as three decades or so. The early involvement has been in the form of social reforms or welfare programmes. The NGOs' engagement in development has been gradual and evolutionary in India. Ditchter Thomas in Fisher (1993) comments that "Development as a field of deliberate endeavour has not been around for very long, forty years at best." Some NGOs have moved out from social reform or welfare approach to development and some have come into existence for the very purpose of development. Since the early 1970s, more than a hundred thousand non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been founded in Asia, Africa and Latin America by peasant women and professors, students, fisherfolk and unemployed intellectuals (Fisher, 1993).

A brief note on development may not be out of place here. Mahbub ul Haq, the economist from Pakistan said that development is "a process of enlarging people's choices" (Staudt, 1991:28). Sen and Grown commenting on development had this to say, "we want a world were inequalities based on class, gender, and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among countries ...where basic needs become rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated ...where massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home...where all institutions are open to participatory democratic process, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions" (Staudt, 1991:28).

Dudley Seers, in his article 'The Meaning of Development' poses a few questions (Thomas and Potter, 1992:12). "The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to
inequality? If all three of these have become less severe, then without doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development'...”. These three questions can be further extended to a list of eight criteria to gauge development (Thomas and Potter, 1992.123):

1. low levels of material poverty,
2. low level of unemployment,
3. relative equality,
4. democratisation of political life,
5. ‘true’ national independence,
6. good literacy and educational levels,
7. relatively equal status for women and participation by women,
8. sustainable ability to meet future needs

The debates over the environment have given rise to the concept of ‘sustainable development’ (Uberoi, 1999). There is also the consideration for gender perspective while considering development (Dabhi, 1999) People like Worsley (1984) would include culture in studies of development. We must therefore acknowledge that Development is intrinsically interdisciplinary and a multi-faceted process with political, socio-cultural, economic as well as ecological dimensions to it.

The recognised NGOs in various parts of India would claim and sincerely work towards development which is sustainable, not at the cost of the well-being of human communities. Sustainable development can be defined as meeting the needs of the present without destroying resources that will be needed in the future (Fisher, 1993). I would like to suggest that it is not just a matter of destroying but sustainability has to do with healthy survival, modification, extension and innovation in the use of resources which will be helpful, supporting the future of humanity. Sustainability means countering poverty, population, environment and value degradation wherever human communities reside and interact with one another.

The June 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro affirmed that - The NGOs founded in the
'Two-Thirds' World in recent years are already implementing sustainable development and are increasingly challenging and sometimes changing governmental policy.

The developmental NGOs may be distinguished for our purpose from those which are territorial, grassroots or people's organisations DNGOs and these organisations may share the same legal status but their long term goals and areas of operation are often different. A brief note on the grassroots organisations may help. PRIA (1990) has distinguished Grassroots Organisations (GOs) as those NGOs engaged in the promotion of development initiatives work at the grassroots level. They work directly with the poor, marginalised sections of the population – the women, the children, the tribals, the landless, the slum-dwellers. Their work entails a range of services – education, health, drinking water, and irrigation. It is not easy to distinguish DNGOs from the GOs described here as for our purpose they would fall under the category of DNGO.

The arena of development in many of the Third World countries began to get more complex in the late 70s and 80s and new types of voluntary organisations began to emerge. These have come to be known as Support Organisations which do not necessarily work at the grassroots level alone, directly with the poor and marginalised. These organisations support other grassroots NGOs in a variety of ways through research, training, documentation, advocacy, networking, and so on. The NGOs and GOs are categorised in various ways as cited in Iyengar (2000:3231). Shah and Chaturvedi talk about techno-managerial, reformist and radical, while Indira Hirway talks about welfare-oriented, development-oriented and empowering NGOs (also see Dabhi, 1995). Dale (2000) has categorised them in terms of their mission (purpose) – relief work, provisions of welfare services, provision of production-related services, promotion of local self-reliant development, building national and sub-national institutions and advocacy. A voluntary organisation, properly speaking, is an organisation which, whether its workers are paid or unpaid, is initiated and governed by its own members without external control (Sundaram, 1986:57).
1.6.3 Grassroots Organisations (GOs):

Grassroots Organisations are those which work in a particular geographical area and with a particular community or communities. These organisations may have membership from within the community which they cater to or from outside. These organisations by and large cater to the needs and problems of a particular area and issue and may not respond or intervene in other communities or issues.

Fisher Julie (1993) defines the Grassroots Organisations as locally based groups that work to improve and develop their own communities through community wide or more specific membership, such as women or farmers.

Pandey (1991), talking about grassroots organisations, refers to the Indian scenario. Four decades after independence India succeeded in increasing her foodgrain production, improving technological capabilities, and maintaining formal democracy. However, during the same four decades poverty, inequality, landlessness, and unemployment increased. During these forty years, the basic resource-base essential for the survival of a large number of disadvantaged people was eroded, and organised communal and caste violence increased.

Beginning in the mid-1960s, some people, disillusioned with the ineffective state planned programmes, frustrated by the inadequate efforts of the political parties and unions and humbled by the fact that a large part of India was constantly suffering from natural calamities such as floods, famines, cyclones, and droughts, began to address themselves to these problems.

Working outside the purview of either government or political party, these nationalistic and idealistic youth went out to the rural areas and set up voluntary organisations. In the 1970s these people disillusioned by the 'passive voluntarism' of the 1960s, turned to more constructive people oriented activism. They thought that their efforts to organise and mobilise the rural poor would bring about a new consciousness leading to a transformation in the rural areas.

Along with this change in emphasis of voluntary sector (from social service to democratic struggle), both international donor agencies and government organisations increased their support for development activities. The positive effect was that it increased the scope of voluntary groups. These organised
groups working at the rural area in close proximity of people may be called *grassroots organisations*.

Some (PRIA 1990) have defined Grassroots Organisations as those NGOs that are engaged in the promotion of development initiatives at the grassroots. They work directly with the poor, marginalised sections of the population - women, children, tribals, the landless and the slum-dwellers. Some of these grassroots organisations are also involved in empowerment and advocacy.

They can be understood as organisations which are working at the grassroots directly whether in rural or urban areas. Grassroots organisations are subdivided into Grassroots support organisation, as defined by Fisher (1993). She defines them as organisations working with grassroots organisations in communities other than their own and are usually staffed by paid professionals. The grassroots organisation as understood for the present study falls within this category and these grassroots organisations are not for profit organisations.

A note on the role of these organisations (NGOs and GOs) in development is praiseworthy, valued – Nonprofit organisations are valued because they are not subject to the imperatives of the State or market and thus depend on the voluntary participation of citizens (Bacman and Smith, 2000). Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) pursue different purposes such as relief work, provision of welfare services, provision of production related services (trials of crops or cultivation techniques), promotion of locally self-reliant development, building national and sub-national institutions, and advocacy (Dale, 2000). Some NGDOs are involved in multiple purposes which are strategically interrelated.

The organisations identified for the study fall within the definition of NGOs and Grassroots organisations. These organisations therefore qualify to be both NGOs as well as grassroots organisations as they are directly involved with the communities and employ professional paid staff. Henceforth the organisations undertaken for this study will be referred to as NGOs and for the purpose of the study they represent both the stated categories, i.e. NGOs and Grassroots Organisations.
1.6.4 Organisation Culture:

The word culture has many meanings and connotations. Haralmbos and Heald (1981) suggest that culture is learned and that it is shared. To a large extent it determines how members of a society think and feel; it directs their actions and defines their outlook to life. Culture encompasses everything from dos and don'ts, beliefs, values, myths, folk tales, rituals, institutions, customs and religion (Garg and Parikh, 1995). When we apply it to groups and organisations we are almost certain to have conceptual and semantic confusion because groups and organisations are also difficult to define unambiguously. Often people agree that it exists and that it is important in its effects but that people have completely different ideas of what it is (Schein, 1997). The debate about the definition is healthy but it creates difficulties for both the scholar and the practitioner if definitions are fussy, and uses, inconsistent. Sadler has rightly said, "Culture is notoriously difficult to define" (Sadler, 1998:14).

Culture of a group can be defined as "A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to these problems" (Schein, 1997:12). There is a tendency to use organisational culture and climate interchangeably. They are related concepts in that both are concerned with awareness of organisational context. However, some authors suggest that organisational culture has to go beyond individual awareness of organisational events and ambience. Organisational culture focuses on shared meanings of the organisational contexts by its members, rather than individual perceptions (Lawson and Shen, 1998). In short, climate is an individual's awareness, while culture embraces shared awareness by members, coupled with shared meanings or interpretations of organisational events, practices, and actions.

We must keep in mind that not every collection of people develops a culture, in fact, we tend to use the term 'group' rather than 'crowd' or 'collection of people' only when there has been enough of a shared history so that some degree of culture formation has taken place.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Schein (1997) argues that culture and leadership are two sides of the same coin in that leaders first create cultures when they create groups and organisations. Once cultures exist, they determine the criteria for leadership and thus determine who will or will not be a leader. But if cultures become dysfunctional, it is the unique function of leadership to perceive the functional and dysfunctional elements of the existing culture and to manage cultural evolution and change in such a way that the group can survive the changing environment (Schein 1997). Experience shows that selection of leaders, executives and team leaders in the case of NGOs or voluntary organisations reflects the culture of the organisations. An NGO with a more professional and formal culture may opt for recruitment of such leaders by formal means of advertisement, interviews and scrutiny while organisations with informal, 'family set-up' cultures may adopt informal procedures to recruit leaders – friends, relatives or well wishers may be approached to find such leaders/executives.

If the concept of culture is to have any utility, however, it should draw our attention to those things that are the product of our human need for stability, consistency, and meaning. Culture formation, therefore, is always, by definition, a striving toward patterning and integration, even though the actual history of experiences of many groups prevents them from ever achieving a clear-cut paradigm (Schein, 1997:12). It can be argued that a group's culture is the group's accumulated learning derived from within the organisation and experience gained from interactions with the outside environment. Organisation culture thus can be looked at from two distinguished sets of problems which any group must deal with – a) survival, growth and adaptation in their environment, and, b) internal integration that permits daily functioning and ability to adapt (Schein, 1997).

Leadership being one of the important components of culture it might be worthwhile to dwell on the concept briefly. Definitions of leadership are multitudinous. In the diversity we must look for common elements. Dawson (1986:216) offers a working definition, “Leader exists when someone (the leader) exercises influence over others (the followers) in their group or organisation. Their influence may be wide ranging or narrowly focused but
within formal organisations particular emphasis is given to influence over: values which are espoused, directions in which future developments are guided and the manner in which everyday tasks are accomplished. The critical aspects of this definition is the stress on the relationship between the group and the leader and not the individual characteristics of the leader. It implies that there can be more than one leader in one social organisation, leading different aspects. It implies that leadership does not have to be synonymous with position in formal managerial hierarchies, although often it may be the case. “This means one can be a leader without being a manager, however it can be argued that you cannot be a good manager without developing leadership in respect of some aspects of organisational activity. This is because essentially managers are accountable for the results of the performance of other people, hence influencing people to perform appropriately to the highest standards is a central part of managerial activity” (Dawson, 1986:216)

“Leadership now is the ability to step outside the culture that created the leader and to start evolutionary change processes that are more adaptive. This ability to perceive the limitations of one’s own culture and to develop the culture adaptively is the essence and ultimate challenge of leadership” (Schein, 1997:2).

A leader is interested in aligning the beliefs and values of people with the overall goals and vision of the organisation. Tompkins and Lawley (1995) argue that leaders ask themselves “For what purpose?” and “What are the consequences for the system as a whole?” A leader is focused on results rather than methods, systems and procedures.

It might be appropriate to mention the leadership styles talked about in organisation and management studies. “There is nothing in the realm of human behaviour that does not in some way impinge on the subject of leadership and followership” (Warren Bennis quoted in Kennedy, 1994-98) Bryman (1996) speaks of four approaches people have pursued in the study of leadership and these approaches are associated with a particular time period in history. First of these is the Trait approach, which focuses on personal qualities and characteristics of a leader (dominated the scene up to the late 1940s) The belief underpinning this approach is that leaders are born rather than made
The second is *Style approach* in which the focus is shifted from personal characteristics to their behaviour as leaders (until the late 1960s). The third is the *Contingency approach* which places situational factors (the environment in which the organisation functions) at the centre of any understanding of leadership - "it all depends" (1960s to 1980s) Finally he speaks of *New leadership approach* where the depiction of a leader is that of a manager of meaning rather than in terms of an influence process and has been one of the major influences on leadership research since in the early 1980s.

The above distinction in approach is helpful in understanding leadership but in practice the observation indicates that people while defining leadership reflect all the above. Today, in the complex reality of an organisation, whether in the public sector, profit sector or Not-for-Profit sector leadership is seen and desired as a complex combination and integration of various approaches. The present insistence on vision, mission and value orientation in organisations emphasises the new leadership approach but they do not deny the elements cited in the other approaches.

Among the earliest studies of leadership styles and definition is that of Lippitt and White in the early 1940s as mentioned in Gibb (1975:258). Apart from 'laissez-faire', about which there is considerable doubt, the terms 'autocratic' and 'democratic' have continued to be most commonly used to show the opposite poles of a leadership style continuum (Gibb, 1975). Citing a work done by Selvin among the Army trainees in USA and taking a lead from it, Gibb derived four types of leadership climates — *paternal, persuasive, arbitrary and weak.* "Since Selvin's data provided only one example of paternal leadership, he concentrated on the other three, which he equated with democratic, autocratic, and laissez-faire respectively" (Gibb, 1975:260). It is suggested that authoritarian leader, more so the authoritarian head makes her/himself the focus of the group's attention and emphasises the members' obedience focused particularly on her/himself (Gibb, 1975). Gibb cites Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962) and suggests that an authoritarian leader maintains segregation within the group and keeps intergroup communication at a minimum except insofar as it is through her/him and focused upon him/her.

On the other hand it is further suggested that a democratic leader encourages
maximum engagement and participation of every member in the group activities and in deciding the objectives. Such a leader seeks to spread responsibility rather than concentrate it, encourages and strengthens interpersonal contacts and relations throughout the group structure. It is also suggested that such a leader avoids hierarchical group structure in which special privileges and status differentials predominate (Gibb, 1975).

Following the work done by Likert (1961) and Selvin (1960) it is argued that a leader who is considerate of her followers/subordinates without compromising on the performance of duty and a leader who organises and defines the relation between herself and her followers/subordinates in terms of her attitude, expected standard of performance, allocation of tasks, is more likely to characterise the democratic rather than the authoritarian leadership style (Gibb, 1975).

For the purpose of the study we would consider the chief executive or senior managers (team heads) as leaders whether these heads of group are at the headquarters or placed at the field. The assumption made by Dawson (1986) is important for our study viz. that one can be a leader without being a manager but you cannot be a good manager without developing leadership in respect to some aspects of organisational activity.

1.6.5 Organisational Effectiveness:

The early (1950s) approach to organisational effectiveness was simple and it defined effectiveness as the degree to which an organisation realised its goal. That definition is still valid today. Richard Daft (1995) suggests that the organisational effectiveness is the extent to which the organisation realises its defined goals. K. K. Chopra applying the Vedas to management states that “Whatever work is done with vidya (knowledge) through sradhā (faith) and backed by upanishad (meditation) that alone becomes most effective” (Chopra, 1998:16), yet it is a pious thought and remains difficult to gauge in concrete terms.

However there are others who argue that the success of an organisation is determined by the ways in which skills and energies are properly utilised to achieve the corporate goals and objectives (Kapur, 1999). Kapur goes on to
argue that it is the integration of two – the person and the role, that makes the person's effectiveness a possibility.

Both the above definitions indicate that organisational effectiveness has two aspects to it. We can look at it in terms of the ends and means viz. the goal for which the organisation exists and the means that the organisation uses to achieve the goal.

As said earlier organisational effectiveness is not easy to define (Sadler, 1998) or measure. A question can be asked: what makes an organisation effective? The answer that might come up may include a proper organisation structure – the way we put people and jobs together and define their roles and relationships – as an important determinant in whether an organisation is successful. So it is not only the achievement of the goal but the means adopted by the organisation to achieve these goals that determines organisational effectiveness (Robbins, 1998, Hersey and Blanchard, 1995). Organisational effectiveness, is, therefore, multi-faceted (Sadler, 1998).

In 'Search of Excellence' by Tom Peters and Robert Waterman (1982) studied 42 companies in USA that were highly effective or excellent and identified 8 characteristics common to these organisations.

a) They had a bias for action and things accomplished,
b) They stayed close to their customers in order to fully understand their customers' needs,
c) They allowed an employee a high degree of autonomy and fostered the entrepreneurial spirit,
d) They sought to increase productivity through employee participation,
e) Their employees knew what the company stood for, and their managers were actively involved in problems at all levels,
f) They stayed close to the business they knew and understood,
g) They had organisation structures that were elegantly simple, with a minimal number of people in staff support activities,
h) They blended tight, centralised controls for protecting the company's core values with loose controls in other areas to encourage risk-taking and innovation.
Goal attainment is probably the most widely used criterion of effectiveness. The goal-attainment approach states that an organisation's effectiveness must be appraised in terms of its accomplishment of ends rather than means utilised to attain them. It is the bottom line that counts. The underlying assumptions are that organisations are deliberate, rational, goal-seeking entities and as such goal accomplishment becomes an appropriate measure of effectiveness. The problem can be: whose goals? Top management's? Are the actual and stated goals the same?

In the system approach end goals are not ignored; it is only one element in a more complex set of criteria. Systems model emphasises criteria that will increase the long-term survival of the organisation such as the organisation's ability to acquire resources, maintain itself internally as a social organism, and interact successfully with its external environment. So the systems approach focuses not so much on specific ends as on the means needed for the achievement of those ends. The assumption is that organisations are made up of interrelated subparts. If any one of these subparts performs poorly, it will negatively affect the performance of the whole system.

Peter Drucker, the founding father of management theory, says "Effectiveness is the foundation of success – efficiency is a minimum condition for survival after success has been achieved" (Hersey and Blanchard, 1995). The term effectiveness in the context of the present study would be measured through the perception of the stakeholders viz. Staff, Trustees and Beneficiaries. The organisational effectiveness of the NGOs will be seen in terms of: a) achievement of objectives, b) credibility of the NGO, c) attracting competent human resources to the organisation, and, d) resource acquisition.

With regards to effectiveness of NGOs there are varied perceptions and "little general agreement on whether or not NGOs are 'effective' at what they do" (Lewis, 2002 522). It is difficult to judge how effective NGOs have been since there has been very little analysis by the NGOs themselves or by independent organisations (Sawhney, 2000) and therefore any assessment of the impact of NGOs can thus only be based on partial evidence.

Applying the above discussion to Not-for-Profit organisations it can be argued that organisational effectiveness of NFPOs have to be viewed from the...
point of goal achievement and internal processes. Some have even argued that organisational effectiveness is a social construct and as such it does not exist in reality. Herman and Renz (1999) have counter argued that rather than being an independent or abstract notion effectiveness is socially created by the actions and interactions of stakeholders and is important to the stakeholders. It is suggested that "an institutional view of effectiveness holds that there is no effectiveness until someone calls it so" (Herman and Renz, 1999:110). It must be noted that NFPO effectiveness is multidimensional and will never be reducible to a single measure (Herman and Renz, 1999:110) and the above discussion endorses this view. There are various factors which have been cited as influencing OE in NFPOs such as Boards, staff, training, strategic planning etc. It seems that the connection between management practices and effectiveness is weak or does not exist – "evidence for concluding that correct management practice enhances NPO effectiveness is scanty" (Herman and Renz, 1999:118). It is worth noting that in the new era of Government-NGO nexus target achievement is important (see the nexus that exists between NGOs and Government in Kutchh rehabilitation especially between Kutchh Navnirman Abhiyan and the Government). However it is argued that "programme outcome indicators as measure of NPO effectiveness are limited and can be dangerous" (Herman and Renz, 1999:119). It is important to note that research on NFPO is limited and the reasons cited could be due to the problem of defining and measuring NFPO effectiveness and the other conceptual or theoretical problem of multiple models of effectiveness (Herman and Renz, 1999). The scholar believes that the effectiveness of development NFPOs consists in critically understanding and responding to the needs and expectations of the stakeholders (in the context of the present study, the stakeholders are the poor, the marginalised and staff within the organisation).

1.7 Contribution of the research study to the field of sociology:

Many of us are born in hospitals and nursing homes, our education is through schools and colleges, our livelihood depends on working for or serving some organisation and even at the end of our lives we need some organisation or the other. Organisations are of various forms and sizes and are
there in society to fulfil human needs - socio-cultural, economic, educational and emotional. Organisations are a very important part of any individual, society and nation-states so much so that some multinationals and organisations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organisation wield such political and economic clout that they can even dictate the government policies of some countries. No wonder Robert Presthus in his book “The Organisational Society” said that ‘Our Society is an organisational society’ (Etzioni, 1981). Organisations affect human life and existence, they are shaped but also shape human society and therefore the study of organisation falls under the purview of sociology.

As discussed earlier the study of organisations has a relatively short history within sociology. As Pfeffer (1982) suggests the subject of organisation emerged as a distinct category in the discipline of sociology in the ‘American Journal of Sociology’ in 1965. It is said that “the sociology of organisations in India, as in most countries with the exception of the USA, has yet to become a distinct field” (Chaturvedi and Chaturvedi, 1995:3)

Research undertaken in the field of social sciences and in particular in sociology contributes to the field in terms of,

a) Increment in the existing knowledge of the subject,
b) The knowledge increases the understanding of the subject of study and its impact on society,
c) The new knowledge and understanding empowers human beings involved in the field to make more informed decisions,
d) It opens up new avenues for research and therefore better understanding of society and its functioning

T. N. Chaturvedi (1997) in his article ‘Voluntary Organisations and Development. Their Role and Functions’ has argued that though NGOs have done good work the problems being faced by them in carrying out their activities are many and varied. Study undertaken by BSC in 1997 suggests a trend in the NGOs sector where people from a particular socio-economic and religious background predominate the executive/managerial positions and the issue of caste is conspicuous by its absence.
The study, which the scholar has undertaken, would, in a way, address the problems which these authors have raised. The scholar would like to examine the organisational factors especially in the area of organisation culture which influence the effectiveness of three organisations identified.

In the context of the existing debate about the purpose of their existence, the role they play and their effectiveness in responding to the needs of the communities they work with or work for, the study undertaken will contribute to the field of sociology in several ways.

1) It will add to the body of knowledge about NGOs which are important actors in society today,
2) It will add to the theory of knowledge of organisation especially that of NGOs involved in development,
3) It will provide impetus and motivation for further research in the NGO sector,
4) The study will help the students of organisation theory especially that of Not for Profit organisation,
5) The study will hopefully have implication for NGO functionaries and consultants with regards to organisation development interventions in NGOs

The research experience will provide the scholar the expertise to carry out further research and help him to be a better educationist and activist who is more scientifically involved in the process of empowerment of the dalits, tribals, other marginalised communities and women across these communities.

The study also will fulfil a personal interest in contributing to the Not for Profit Sector, especially to the functioning of those organisations and people who are highly committed but lack competence due to socio-economic constrains because they come from certain strata of society

1.8 Problems, solutions and limitation of the study:

No research is without problems and its limitations and this one is no exception. Some of the problems and solutions found are listed below:
1) Envisaging apprehension of the respondents about secrecy and fear of endangering their relationship with top management, the NGOs were ensured confidentiality through written and oral communication.

2) Efforts were made to deliver the questionnaires personally or through the organisation channels to ensure safe and fast delivery and return. Delivery through post was avoided to ensure safety and avoid delay.

3) Questionnaires were bilingual to avoid the difficulty of understanding.

4) All the forms were not filled and returned.

5) To avoid misinterpretation of questions during interviews, the respondents were given a copy of the questionnaire with her/him.

6) To avoid inconvenience, the interviews were scheduled by the organisation at a time and place of their convenience. It must be noted that the respondents were very considerate in accommodating the convenience of the scholar as well.

7) The time and dates of the interviews had to be changed sometimes at the request of the respondents. Adequate privacy was provided by the NGOs so that the respondents could speak to the scholar without undue fear of being heard by others around.

8) A certain amount of apprehension, nervousness, and anxiety were mentioned since for some people it was the first time they were talking about the organisation, while some others were afraid that what they said might come to the notice of the people concerned. The scholar acknowledged the nervousness, anxiety, and apprehension of the respondents and assured that secrecy would be maintained.

9) There was reluctance in inviting the scholar for observation of their meetings.

10) A few respondents expressed the difficulty to understand some questions in the questionnaire. Lack of understanding of some concepts such as values, leadership style, and culture was noticed, and in such cases, various examples were given from the respondent's context to make her/him understand the question better.