Chapter-II

OVERVIEW OF NGOs: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

In this chapter efforts have been made to review thoroughly the literature pertinent to the research topic & research setting. Researcher tries here to understand the basic argument between the concepts of Voluntary Organization (VO) & Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), various types of NGOs, its rise in India and available research studies pertaining to NGOs. The main objective is to bring to fore the contradictions, plurality and trends that exist among the NGOs and to throw light on the studies carried out and the conclusions that were drawn from them. It can give an insight into the research problem and help in establishing a meaningful rationale for the present study.

VO and NGO: A Contradiction

Very often 'Voluntary Organization' and 'Non-Governmental Organization' are used as interchangeable terms. But such usage is not correct, as there is a contradiction between these terms with regard to definition.

Concept of VO

The term 'Voluntarism' is derived from the Latin word 'Voluntas' which means 'Will'. Thus, voluntary organization may be an association to fulfill the will of its members due to material, moral or intellectual inequality in society. A number of definitions of VO have been put forth by scholars from different disciplines.
Bourdillon (1945) remarks that voluntary organization is the product of the blood, sweat and toil of a few individuals, who are known for their persistent efforts for achievement of their sincere aspirations.

Michael Banton (1968), an anthropologist, characterized it as a group organized for the pursuit of one interest or of several interests in common. Usually, it is contrasted with involuntary groups serving a greater variety of ends, such as kin groups, castes, social classes and communities.

David L. Sills (1968), a sociologist, identified it as a group of persons, organized on the basis of voluntary membership without state control, for the furtherance of some common interest of its members. Sills excluded three types of similar associations: (i) making living associations (like business firms, trade associations, labour unions, marketing and consumer co-operatives, professional associations, etc.); (ii) religious organizations; and (iii) political parties.

Smith and Freedom (1972) considered voluntary association as a structure that is formally organized, relatively permanent, secondary grouping as opposed to less structured, informal ephemeral or primary grouping. Formal organization, they said, is identified by the presence of officers, which are filled through some established procedures, scheduled meetings, qualifying criteria for membership and some formalized division and specialization of labour, although the organizations do not necessarily exhibit all these characteristics to the same degree.

According to Lord Beveridge (1979), a voluntary organization, properly speaking, is an organization, where its workers are paid or
unpaid, governed by its own members without external control. Definition
given by Mary Morris and Modeline Roff are also similar. The only
addition is that voluntary organization should depend upon at least some
voluntary resources.

Norman Johnson (1981) examined the definition of voluntary
organization based on the following factors, such as: (i) Method of
formation, which is voluntary on the part of a group of people; (ii) Method
of government, with self-governing organization to decide on its
constitution, its serving, its policy and its clients; (iii) Method of
financing, with at least some of its revenues drawn from voluntary sources;
and (iv) Motives with the pursuit of profit excluded.

Professor N.R. Inamdar (1987) says, a voluntary organization in
development to be of durable use to the community has to nurture a strong
desire and impulse for community development among its members, to be
economically viable, to possess dedicated and hard working leadership
and to command resources of expertise in the functions undertaken.

Harold Laski, an eminent British political scientist, defined
‘Freedom of association’ as a recognized legal right on the part of all
persons to combine for the promotion of purposes in which they are
interested (Sachdeva, 1993).

On the basis of above discussion of the concept of VO, it can be
defined as an organized group in order to promote some common
interest of its members and it is voluntary, self-governing, self-
financing, and non-profit in its orientation. Here, ‘Voluntary’ refers to
spontaneous initiative of the organization for addressing social and
economic inequality. This does not refer to whether workers will be paid or unpaid. On the principle the salary of the staff in voluntary organization is lower than outside as “Voluntarism” concept is attached with it. “Self-governing’ indicates that the decision for the organizational constitution, policy and services is not within the domain of state control. ‘Self-financing’ refers at least some of its revenues drawn from voluntary sources. “Non-Profit” means the motive of the members will be the welfare of the public and profits will be used to strengthen as well as to fulfill the objectives of the organization.

Concept of NGO

Cumper (1986) describes NGOs as organizations not mainly financed by governments and not under the control of governments. It stresses on the sense of distance from the state.

Tongsawate and Tips (1988) define NGO as a non-profit, no-government, private group, at least partially formalized into an organization, that an individual joins by choice.

Duggal (1988) defines NGOs in his study. According to him, (a) NGOs are registered as public trusts or societies; (b) Programmes adopted by NGOs are welfare programmes and many of the times it is government funded rural development programmes; (c) NGOs as a rule do not generate their own funds completely but rely on external financial assistance from government agencies, both national and international; (d) NGOs are private organizations, but their nature makes them somewhat different from what one gradually refers to the private sector. Thus, they are not supposed to make any profit.
According to Smith (1989), NGOs are having legal independence from government, a non-profit status and a voluntary decision making structure.

Maxine Weisgrav (1997) notes in her excellent study that NGO is a term used rather loosely to refer to any organization that is not a direct division of a national government.

D. Rajasekhar (2000) examines the term NGO that undertakes voluntary action, social action and social movements. According to him, four characteristics make the NGOs as distinct organizations. These are: voluntary formation, working towards development and amelioration of suffering, working with non-self serving aims, and relative independence. He admits that these NGOs work within the parameters of government legislations and policies formulated for them (Marthy and Rao, 1997).

In general many people feel, Non-Governmental Organizations are those, which are not government organizations. Thus, this can consider private firm, company or welfare society. It may be profit making or non-profit organization. Hence, it is better to say GOG (Group Outside Government) instead of NGO.

Actually, there is no clear definition as to what precisely constitutes an NGO, and considerable differences exist from country to country. In some countries, instead of NGO, people call it as “Private Voluntary Organization (PVO),” “Voluntary Organization” and “Charitable Organization.” Although such inter-country differences are, for the purpose of setting internal government policy, not important, it is important that within a country at least a workable definition is adopted.
and adhered to. As working definition, in the present study, we can assume, **NGO is voluntarily formed and registered organization working towards development and amelioration of suffering with non-self serving aims and free from the state control in managing day to day affairs.**

**Distinction between VO & NGO**

An effort is being made here to distinguish VOs from NGOs. Firstly, VOs are non-profit organizations, small in size and run outside the domain of the state control; but NGOs are a later phenomenon. There is a relationship between the state and welfare NGOs. It is a fact that NGOs are non-profit organizations but provide welfare services sometimes as a part of or on the behest of Government and sometimes outside it. Secondly, various above-mentioned definitions of voluntary organizations given by sociologists never talk about registration. Voluntary Organizations existed without any legal status before passing Societies Registration Act of 1860. But registration is must for an NGO. Actually registration becomes necessary when an organization starts accepting public grants or government money. Thirdly, in Voluntary Organization, Voluntarism exists. Volunteers initiate activities with selfless motive and many times it is done without remuneration or with a very little remuneration. But NGOs emphasis on professionalism. They use professionals from all walks of life for massive and rapid social development. Since professionals do not believe in voluntarism due to their professional ethics, NGOs are reluctant to provide voluntary service. This is proved in the history of the voluntary sector after 1976 (Foreign
Contribution Regulation Act was passed). In Assam, it is found (Sarkar, 1998), there are some societies who consider themselves as voluntary organizations due to the voluntary nature of their activities and resent for being treated as NGOs. Distinction made in this paragraph is not enough. More researches need to make it clear. Many a time, these two terms (VO & NGO) are used as same meaning.

In fact, these NGOs are not involved in the same kind of activities. Very few similarities are found among them. They differ in terms of size, form, orientation, ideological affinity, resources and target groups (Vahlhans, 1994; Baru, 1998). Hence, it is important to explore various types of NGOs.

*Types of NGOs: A Variation*

Various types of classification of NGOs are found in literature. V.G. Nandedkar (1987) classifies NGOs into ten categories. (i) *Individual Practice of Dharma* - This covers individual's services to the needy. (ii) *Religious Institutions* – This category includes temples / churches or similar institutions engaged in activities – development in nature. (iii) *Individual Based Philanthropic Activities* – These cover a vital sector of social and cultural life. (iv) *Social Service and Cultural Associations* – These are non-political in nature and work through the socio-cultural ethos of the system. (v) *Professional and Consultancy Associations* – They extend advice, guidance & help in their specialized fields. (vi) *Functional Associations* – These express in unambiguous terms the interests of their members and endeavours to protect the same. (vii)
Front-Line Associations – Political parties look to these associations as recruitment grounds, e.g.- Kisan Sabha, Khedut Samaj, etc. (viii) Action Groups – These groups are involved in mobilization and socialization of unorganized sections of society. (ix) Protest Groups – These groups are like action groups, with or without political affiliation. (x) Citizen Groups – These associations develop secular interests with community life and encourage interaction with administration. For instance, Grahak Panchayat, Consumers Education Centre, Citizens Council, etc.

Korten (1990) classifies NGOs as per strategies of development. He states four types of NGOs i.e. Relief & Welfare Organization, Community Development Organization, Sustainable Systems Development Organization and People’s Organization.

Green and Matthias (1997) have classified NGOs in the context of ‘Operational area’ and ‘Activities.’ As per operational area, NGOs are of three types, such as, Community-Based NGO, National NGO, and International NGO. Based on activities, six types of NGOs are identified. They are: service oriented NGO, research NGO, supportive NGO, NGO for policy advocacy, funding NGO and co-ordinating NGO.

According to D. Rajashekar (2000), NGOs are of four categories, such as, Operational or Grassroots NGOs, Support NGOs, Network NGOs and Funding NGOs. Grassroots NGOs directly work with the oppressed sections of society. It is, again, of four types: ‘Charity & Welfare NGOs’ which focus on providing Charity and Welfare to the poor, ‘Social Action Groups’ focus on mobilizing marginalized sections around specific issues, ‘Development NGOs’ focus on implementation of concrete development
activities, and 'Empowerment NGOs' combine development activities with issue based struggle. Support NGOs provide services that would strengthen the capacities of grassroots NGOs, Panchayati Raj Institutions, cooperatives and others to function more effectively. Examples of this type of NGOs are SOSVA, SEARCH, etc. Network NGOs are formal associations or informal groups of grassroots and/or Support NGOs, which meet periodically on particular concerns. An example to this is FEVORD-K (Federation of Voluntary Organizations in Karnataka). Funding NGOs are those who extend financial assistance to the grassroots NGOs, Support NGOs or people's organizations. For instance, CRY, Dorabji Tata Trust, Aga Khan Foundation, etc.

Having understood the above types of classification of NGOs, the present study has preferred to group NGOs of West Bengal into five categories i.e. religious organizations, service organizations, development organizations, research and consultancy agencies, and action groups.

In general, in India, these NGOs have been increasing in numbers by leaps and bounds over the years. They have turned out to be a cogent catalytic force in the country's development pursuits and can no longer be ignored by any quarter (Raj, 1996). A brief picture of 'Rise of NGOs in India', in this context, can give much more information on how NGOs are becoming important in this country.
Rise of NGOs in India

It may be discussed in two phases i.e. before independence and after independence. There is plurality in terms of ideology, motivation and type of organizational form during both these periods.

Before Independence

The efforts and initiatives towards welfare and developmental activities, which originated outside the state structure and within society, came into prominence during the colonial period. The agents of these activities would be called 'Voluntary Organizations' and today we treat them as 'Non-Governmental Organizations'. With regard to rise of these organizations, three major landmarks are found before independence.

During the Early British Rule, i.e. in the eighteen-century (1707 A.D. to 1800 A.D.), the Christian Churches initiated welfare activities by establishing educational institutions, hospitals, dispensaries to serve the non-convert majorities both among the Hindus and Muslims. English educated natives, affluent businessmen, traders and members of aristocracy extended their support in this respect (Inamdar, 1987).

The second shift took place during (1801 to 1904) the Social Reform Movement. Numerous indigenous organizations devoted to social and religious reform emerged. A number of Social Reformers like R. R. Roy, K.C. Sen, M. Phule, S. Banerjee, M. Karve, etc. from different parts of the country founded organizations during the late nineteenth century. For instance, Raja Ram Mohan Roy began 'Brahmo Samaj' in 1828 to shake the belief of orthodox Hindus by opposing child marriage
and propagating widow remarriage. Keshab Chandra Sen advocated inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and removal of the Purdah system. He campaigned against untouchability and founded 'The Good Will Fraternity Society' and 'The Calcutta Evening School.' Mahatma Phule established 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' in 1873 to fight against untouchability. Swami Dayananda Saraswati formed 'Arya Samaj' in 1875 to work against idol worship, child marriage and caste discrimination. The 'Indian National Congress' was established in 1885 keeping in view the objectives of National Development. Sasipada Banerjee founded 'The Home for Hindu Widow' in 1887 to reduce women sufferings and to perform a number of widow remarriages. Pandit Ramabai open 'Sarada Sadon,' a home for Hindu Widows, in 1889 at Bombay (presently named as Mumbai). Maharishi Karve started 'The Hindu Widows Home' at Poona in 1896 for education and rehabilitation of widows. Swami Vivekananda, the disciple of Ramkrishna Paramahansa, made lasting contribution by establishing 'Ramkrishna Mission' in 1897 at Calcutta in order to provide food and famine relief, health & educational facility; etc. Behramji Malbari started 'Seva Sadan Society' in Bombay to look after destitute women and children (Lalitha, 1975).

The third trend emerged during the days of the **National Movement** (from 1905 to 1946). As a result of this movement, patriotism, nationalism, Swadeshi spirit, a deep faith in the power and wisdom of the common people came into existence and the same led to form a few organizations. For instance, Gokhale formed 'The Servants of India Society' in 1905. The approach of the society was secular and it sought to
solve the national and social problems on a rational basis. It engaged itself in improving the condition of women, problems of untouchability, establishing cooperative enterprises and rendering relief work. Mahatma Gandhi founded the 'Harijan Sevak Sangh' and 'All India Village Industries Association' to uplift the Harijans and economically poor people. As a result of Gandhiji's effort, a number of voluntary agencies like 'All India Women's Conference,' 'Indian Adult Education Association,' 'Balken-ji-Bari,' 'Bharatiya Depressed Classes League' came into existence (Lalitha, 1975).

After independence

As a result of exploitation, by the British imperial policies, alternative protection and state initiated welfare were necessary soon after Independence in India. The first Prime Minister of India, late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, assured before the Constituent Assembly, on the eve of the country's independence, that the state would strive to eliminate poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity (Rao, 1999). Hence, Constitution was made and Five Year Plans were started. The Plans took into consideration the available resources, prioritized different development programmes and made adequate provisions for social welfare services. The first two Plans primarily emphasized on the role of the state to provide welfare services. In the Sixth Plan there was a shift towards a more prominent role for NGOs. The rise of NGOs during different Plans can be understood from the following discussions.

During the period of the First Five Year Plan, the central government established the Central Social Welfare Board in 1953 under
the Ministry of Social Welfare with the objective of providing financial assistance, coordination, training, technical guidance and consultancy to the NGOs engaged in activities for women and children. In order to reach out to the local NGOs and to release funds in time, the Central Social Welfare Board established state level Social Welfare Advisory Boards (Lalitha, 1975). During that time National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development (NIPCCD) was established to promote NGOs in the country. NIPCCD concentrated in the area of training voluntary workers supporting NGO activities and promoting liaison between government and NGOs (Garain, 1994). First Five Year Plan allocated four crores of rupees for the voluntary sector.

During the Third Five Year Plan NGO action was considered as an aspect of public cooperation. The National Advisory Committee for Public Cooperation (NACPC), which came into existence in 1952, had representatives during third plan mostly from National NGOs. As the public co-operation got institutionalized, NACPC gradually lost its credibility in the eyes of small and comparatively new NGOs (Roy, 1987).

In the Sixth Five Year Plan, NIPCCD, which came into existence during the first plan, drastically changed its focus and had become the apex body for training functionaries and to co-ordinate, monitor, evaluate the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme of Government of India. Involvement of NIPCCD in the area of Public Co-operation and NGOs had become minimum at that time (Garian, 1994). From the middle of the sixth plan, there were a number of initiatives at the government of India level to establish consultative group of voluntary agencies in each
state under the chairmanship of either the Chief Secretary or the Development Commissioner. But it could not be success and the move on creating consultative committees of NGOs at the state level met a natural death (Garain, 1994).

In the **Seventh Plan**, for the first time, NGOs were given the freedom to plan their own schemes and follow the methodology they thought best to tackle poverty in villages they were working in (Roy, 1987). During that period (in 1986) the Council for the Advancement of People’s Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) was created to seek an integrated approach to Rural Development through NGOs. CAPART was promoted as an autonomous organization under the Union Ministry of Rural Development. People and NGOs, who were engaged in rural development activities, were members of governing body and general body of CAPART (Garain, 1994). During that period, a proposal was made and linked with the Seventh Plan document to establish a council for rural voluntary agencies and code of conduct through an act of parliament. But this created a lot of debate in the NGO sector and the issue was dissolved gradually (Garain, 1994). Regarding health, in the Seventh Plan, Union Ministry of Health and Family Welfare considered following schemes for releasing funds to the Voluntary Organizations:

(i) Scheme for improvement of Medical Services for expansion/improvement of hospitals under voluntary Organizations/associations those are operating in rural or urban areas.

(ii) Promotion and development of Voluntary Blood Donation Programme.
(iii) Special Health Schemes for setting up of small hospitals/dispensaries in rural areas only.

During 1989-90, grants amounting to Rs. 35.83 Lakhs were granted to 27 institutions under scheme one and two above. For the third scheme, grants of Rs. 10.75 Lakhs were given to four institutions (Government of India, 1990).

In the Eight Five Year Plan, it was proposed that grants-in-aid would be given to the voluntary sector for innovative experimental schemes. In the field of health & family welfare, NGOs were expected to help in raising & promoting the small family norm by means of motivation and education of women, provision of antenatal and postnatal care, etc.

During the Ninth Plan, it has been realized that NGOs are actually complementary in nature. Both the sectors (Government & NGO) have their own strategy and strong points. Both the sectors are to work on a reciprocal basis.

Apart from the Five Year Plans, many government committees pertinent to development recognized the necessity of NGOs. The Balvantray Mehta Committee (1957), the architect of Panchayati Raj administration, emphasized the need for close co-operation and collaboration between statutory organizations and the NGOs. The Rural Urban Relationship Committee (1966) focused on the role of NGOs in mobilizing community support for local level development activities. It identified NGOs as linking organizations to keep constant and close contact with the people. The CAARD Report (1985) [Report of the
Committee to Review the Existing Administrative Arrangements for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes] had emphasized the need for the involvement of NGOs in rural development activities (Garain, 1994).

There are also a few acts and social policy those have been passed after independence and have extended avenues to the voluntary sector. For instance, the Income Tax Act 1965, the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act 1976, the National Health Policy 1983, etc. Under section 139 of the **Income Tax Act 1965**, every person (including societies, trusts and other legal persons) who during the previous year had an income that exceeds the maximum amount which is not chargeable to income tax is required to furnish a return of income to the income tax office before 30th June. Income, derived from property or donation or voluntary contribution, of an NGO, which is used for charitable purpose can be exempted from income tax. In order to get such benefit or exemption, NGO or charitable institution will have to get itself registered with the Commissioner of Income Tax within a period of one year from the date of its creation (Mathew, 1998). There were complaints from various quarters that some political parties, organizations and individuals were misusing the aid received from foreign countries. Hence, the **Foreign Contribution Regulation Act 1976** was passed to regulate the acceptance and utilization of foreign contribution, scholarship and hospitality by certain persons and associations. This act permits voluntary organizations to receive funds from the government of a foreign country, international agencies specified by the Central Government, foreign companies,
multinational corporations, trusts or societies or associations registered in a foreign country, foreign citizens, trade union in any foreign country, etc. As per this act, the necessary requirements for an NGO are: (a) it should be registered with the Central Government according to the rules, and (b) it should be agree to receive the foreign contribution only through one account in a bank specified in the application (Mathew, 1996). The National Health Policy 1983 recognized the need for greater reliance on the voluntary and private sectors for achieving the goals of 'Health For All By 2000 A.D.' Specifically it indicated: (a) the government has accepted its inability to provide adequate health care; (b) the active participation of the NGOs is most necessary for achieving goals of the health sector; and (c) 'Privatization' in the health sector will result in better provisioning of health services (Duggal, 1988).

The above-mentioned discussions indicate that there is a growing popularity of NGOs in India. Now, in order to find out the research gap in NGO sector, it is worthwhile to examine the existing studies.

**Appraisal of Previous Studies**

As far as published and unpublished documents are concerned, researcher has come across the following studies. These are conducted by scholars both in India and abroad. Studies on NGOs in development and especially on health are reviewed here.

**Studies on NGOs in Development**

Bourdillon (1945) made a survey of a small suburb of Tokyo. He found that there was a relationship between political leaders and their
participation in voluntary associations. Those were associated with voluntary organizations, they took active part in politics.

Peter Rossi's (1945) study reveals voluntary association's integrative role. It evidences that government officials see voluntary associations as links between the government and the citizens.

Lalitha (1975) conducted a study on "Voluntary Work in India", which was published by NIPCCD (National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development), during the mid seventies. It investigated the status and role of voluntary personnel engaged in social welfare organization on an all India basis. The study covered 390 VO and 356 operational volunteers in nine cities of India, namely Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Patna and Amritsar. The study examined in depth socio-economic profile of voluntary workers, nature of work they were engaged in, their motivations and aspirations connected with voluntary work, the policy and attitude of voluntary organizations towards the involvement of volunteers and difficulties encountered by voluntary agencies in matters of their recruitment, training, supervision and retention. The study made certain suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of volunteers in welfare services such as a new direction and orientation of voluntary work in view of the changed socio-economic conditions in the country, a fresh look by voluntary organizations at their policies and programmes of mobilizing volunteers to keep pace with the exigencies of the present situation, determining the role of volunteers and identifying their work areas,
reviewing and redesigning methods and techniques of their recruitment, placement, supervision and development.

Robert C. Wirsing's (1977) study has proved one assumption, i.e. voluntary agencies are non-political, wrong. Their philosophy has always been extolled as "people" or "poor" oriented. In general, an idea has gained ground that these agencies serve the poor and downtrodden with rare dedication and commitment. The dirty world of "politics" never touches them, as they are beyond "politics". This view is not proven by facts. Wirsing's study of Nagpur shows clearly the close nexus between local politics and voluntary organizations.

Kapoor and Singh (1977) initiated a study on "Rural Development through NGOs" to encapsulate the history of the NGO movement in Himachal Pradesh starting from its inception to till its present state. It included the governmental schemes as well as projects run by the NGOs and each NGO's structure, funding agencies, the success and failure of programmes, credibility amongst the local people, technological facilities, etc. The study admitted that NGOs could do very little in areas of massive action (with human and financial resources) required for development work. However, they were equipped to operate on a limited, demonstrative and pilot basis.

Charyulu and Natarajan (1980) conducted a case study in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. They reported that flexibility, personal touch, easy accessibility of service for the client groups, capacity to initiate the experiment with new programmes, stimulation and mobilization of resources of the community, sensitivity to field problem,
self-help and self-reliance were the strong points of voluntary organizations. Voluntary organizations had terms of reference and enough resources to meet the needs of the whole man.

**Tendler (1982)** found that NGOs were often less successful than they thought they were reaching the poorest of the poor and instituting a participatory process. He indicated that what was termed, as 'innovation' by NGOs could be better described as replication of known techniques to previously unserved population.

**Paul (1982)** argues that successful projects adopt service strategies that are carefully tailored to the organization’s external environment and systematically sustained by matching internal structures and processes. In other words, the emphasis is on congruence between what the project seeks to accomplish (goals and strategies), the context in which it operates (environment) and how it organizes itself to attain its goals (structures and processes). The concept of ‘congruence’ has many similarities with the concept of ‘fit’ as used by Korten (1980) to describe relationships between the organization, the programme and the beneficiaries.

**Marcus Franda’s (1983)** study gathered information on a variety of organizations engaged in the field of rural development. Such organizations were “Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC)” at Tilonia (Rajasthan); JP’s Musahri Project in North Bihar; AVARD (Association of Voluntary Agencies in Rural Development); etc. Study claimed that those voluntary initiatives were not grassroots efforts and did not represent local people’s innate impulse to bring development. Interventions by outside experts, funds from the government and
international agencies sustained the development efforts. Their long-term future would be uncertain and these were small "enclaves" in a vastly semi-feudal rural society.

Oakley and Dillon (1985), in a major study of NGOs in India, Bangladesh, Brazil and Ghana, point out that while NGOs were relatively successful in fostering participation of client groups, their ability to institutionalize these processes was weak. This weakness seems most marked in groups engaged in income generation activities. Collective spirit gets progressively eroded as the activity starts generating profits.

Bhatt (1988) has observed that there is a change in the profile of those who join NGOs. Earlier mostly retired persons would have been involved in relief, charity and welfare activities. Now younger people (both men and women) look towards the NGOs as a career option. The setting up of agencies like Foundation to Aid Industrial Recovery (FAIR), PRADAN, or the Institute of Rural Management at Anand, is indicative of the heightened interest of middle-class professionals in NGOs. Equally significant is the banding together of young people locally under an NGO banner to attract funds for local/community advancement.

Garain (1993) made an effort to develop an instrument for measuring organizational effectiveness of NGO. The study was conducted in West Bengal. Having followed a systematic and exhaustive process, he identified eight dimensions and twenty-eight items. All the items had significant item-total correlation. Separate factor analysis of the items in respective dimensions was undertaken. The twenty-eight items scale
yielded an interpretable structure. The instrument was consistent with the concept of Organizational Effectiveness used in the study.

Sachchidananda et al. (1994) have completed a study on ‘Tribal Development and Voluntary Action’ to review the activities of the Badlao Foundation in some districts of the ‘Santhal Pargana Division’ in Bihar. This organization has been working for more than ten years in the field of tribal development with assistance from the state government, central government and international donor agencies. Its main focus is on women’s development, economic upgradation and supplementary service for education as well as health. The study has made an attempt to do a sympathetic assessment of the entire efforts in different fields and discover the constraints in various situations. Towards the end, a number of suggestions have been offered by the study to improve the situation and to streamline the work so that it becomes effective and fruitful.

Boyce (1994) finds, NGOs are key components of Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR). They forge relationships with other NGOs for networking purposes, and they have associations with donor organizations for funding purposes. He determines the key issues in these partnerships, their structure, dynamics and goal compatibility, in order to improve the ability of CBR NGOs to function effectively.

Kapoor (1995) carried out a research project on “Women & Welfare – A Study of Voluntary Agencies” in Punjab. The study made a historical survey of the status of women as determined or influenced, from time to time, by scriptural codes, social conventions, cultural traditions, political changes, economic and industrial development, constitutional
provisions and humanistic ideas. It explored the changing nature and dimensions of voluntary action towards women welfare by understanding the working of four voluntary agencies – Association for Social Health in India, Bharatiya Grameen Mahila Samiti, Nari Niketan, and Sewa Sadan – along with their ancillary units. The study brought out the points of strength and weakness of voluntary agencies and suggested ways so that they might be able to cope with the new challenges, in view of the changing roles and growing needs of women.

Ahlawat’s (1995) study on “Women Organizations & Social Network”, conducted in Haryana, was a comparative analysis of two women organizations across two different settings. It examined in detail the significant role played by social networks that operated in the functioning of the social organizations to accomplish desired goals as well as broader objectives. It also tried to focus attention upon how ‘networks’ would help individuals as well as organizations as a two way process of social exchange network.

A study made by the Committee for Economic Development (1995) strongly endorses that Community Groups (Non profit organizations) offer indispensable institutional and human resources, a knowledge of neighbourhoods and their problems, and the trust and participation of residents. Outside institutions (government, business) possess financial resources, technical knowledge and skills, and political power. Partnerships between these two complementary sources of strength represent the nation’s best hope for revitalizing inner-city communities.
Johnson et al. (1996), through broad-based mail survey, studied the relationship between collaborating CBR NGOs, as well as relationship with other groups such as universities. The study focused on the effectiveness of umbrella organizations, their different characteristics, as well as the roles and responsibilities in existing linkages.

Uddin et al. (1996) made a study in Bangladesh, which dealt with the relationships between small NGOs, donors and government, and the NGO’s abilities to effectively develop CBR. The study observed convergence and divergence of goals, differences in operational practices & personnel management and shifting from NGO “commitment” to “functionality”.

Prasad’s (1997) study on ‘Voluntary Action and Rural Reconstruction’ is an empirical endeavour to explore Gram Bharati’s contribution, over 30 years, in translating the concept of Sarvodaya and Antodaya in the Gram Dan villages in selected parts of Bihar. Data for this work were collected from 90 villages under the constituency of Gram Bharati. The study finds that Gram Bharati has been doing its best in solving disputes, conflicts and violence by peaceful manner in the area. However, there is still much more needed to protect the indigenous (Adivasi) people from continued exploitation. The study suggests that the Gram Bharati can do two things for them (a) to check dispossession of adivasis by land grabbers from the plains, and (b) to restore the alienated land to the adivasis or restoring the lost land to them.

Rich et al. (1998) completed a study in order to develop a better understanding on relationship between Community Based Organizations
(CBOs) [i.e. non-profit organizations] and City Governments who were involved to reduce poverty and revitalize neighbourhoods. A mail survey was conducted in summer 1998. The CBO mailing list was derived from the membership lists of four national associations of community based organizations: the National Alliance to End Homelessness (NAH), the National Congress for Community Economic Development (NCCED), the National Association of Community Action Agencies (NACAA), and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). A total of 2110 survey schedules were sent to the mayors in 555 cities and to the executive directors of 1555 CBOs located in those same cities. A total of 788 responses were received, resulting in an overall response rate of 37%. The survey found, despite of many fundamental barriers, a large amount of city – CBO collaboration was occurring. The percentage of respondents reported collaborative city – CBO relationships varied across programme areas and by the type of respondent, but on balance the results indicated that a large percentage of cities and CBOs were working together regularly. The present study suggested further research to understand more the dynamics and determinants of these relationships in individual cities.

Sarkar (1998) has observed in his study that there is heterogeneity among the NGOs of Assam so far as their distribution, size, target groups, ideological philosophy, professional backgrounds, nature of services and so on are concerned. This kind of trend has serious consequences for accessibility, availability, and quality of services. The study shows, NGOs cannot be chosen, due to their non-uniformity, as means for
implementation of any kind of social programmes (like health, education, etc.) since services will not reach to every one.

Seshagiri (1999) examined that neither too much nor too less importance should be given to the non-governmental activity. They are certainly significant as vital gap fillers and conduits between the governing and governed bodies. She concluded that the romances of State-NGO inter relation and glorification of non-state intervention does not tell the true story of development. She argued, the NGO phenomenon is a reflection of organisational innovation to respond to shifting market trends and an assertion of the irreducible autonomy of individuals and communities, against an active state. But it is also a phenomenon of growing co-operation and partnership with the state.

Rao (2000) conducted a study among the NGOs involved in training the rural youth under TRYSEM. It examined that the trainees who received training from the NGOs were better employed than the others got trained in government and public institutions. NGOs took interest in arranging employment for their trainees while in government and public institutions once the training was over the trainees had to try for employment on their own. It was also found out that the facilities for training in some NGOs were much better than government and public institutions.

Manimekalai et al. (2000) have conducted a study in rural Tiruchirapalli to understand empowerment of women through self-help groups formed by NGOs. Study suggests: (a) a carefully drawn up training system has to address the strategic needs of rural women for survival,
growth and sustainability. (b) The training system should be linked up with some kind of credit delivery mechanism whether formal or informal. (c) The group approach is the need of the hour to bring deprived women together for purpose of income generation or awareness creation. (d) The rural women would be helped to get into non-traditional activities through the provision of credit facilities and entrepreneurial skill development programmes. Researchers conclude that the government machineries neither create specific opportunities nor have specific programmes for empowerment of rural women. NGOs work effectively and efficiently to promote and encourage rural women entrepreneurs not only in traditional and feminine nature of products but also in non-traditional & non feminine areas. NGOs should be given due importance.

The trafficking of Nepali women and girls, both within the Nepal and across the Indian border, is an ongoing human rights crisis that has received considerable interventional attention. NGOs and government agencies in the region have launched anti-trafficking interventions to raise community awareness as well as rescue women and girls from brothels, offer them counselling and care, and return them to their homes or train them in new vocational skill. To understand the different approaches of NGOs in anti-trafficking interventions, the Asia Foundation and Horizons (2001) conducted a study. The study found significant disparity in the strategies and messages of different organisations. In the study, researchers interviewed ten Kathmandu-based NGOs, one local agency, and four key informants. Overall they found a lack of conceptual clarity & little understanding of human rights issues among many organizations. A
few NGOs were confused between the trafficking with sex work and migration in search of income opportunities or a better life.

Wolleback et al. (2002) examined the impact of participation, in Voluntary Associations, on social capital using three dimensions – intensity (active vs. passive participation), scope (many vs. few affiliations) and type (non-political vs. political purpose). Those were affiliated with many associations, displayed higher levels of social capital than others. The difference between active & passive members was absent or negligible. The only cumulative effect of participation occurred when a member belonged to several associations simultaneously, preferably with different purposes. The authors demonstrated that active participation was necessary for the formation of social capital and suggested that more attention should be paid for passive & multiple affiliations with associations.

Studies on NGOs in Health

Pyle (1981) observes, under the Indian Constitution, health is not a basic human right. Yet, NGOs have used this rationale of social justice to target specific sub-population – the tribals, the Scheduled castes, those are in slums, or those are the most poor in rural settings. NGOs have tried to achieve equity by identifying these disadvantaged and serving their needs. This rationale not only has focused NGOs efforts, but also gives them a cause for commitment.

Duggal, Gupta & Jesani (1986) conducted a study on “NGOs in Rural Health Care” at the behest of the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) to gain a deeper insight into the role and functioning of
the many different types of NGOs in the field of health located in Maharashtra, a state having the largest number of such agencies. That study brought out the largest variation between the aims and motivation of the various NGOs as well as their different approaches, which vary from the running of rural hospitals to community participation and conscientisation. That also brought out the change of approach of the NGOs during the past two decades from being more medical functionaries to involvement in community activities. An interesting finding of that study was that the NGOs had hitherto neglected socially and economically backward districts as compared to their better concentration in the average and highly developed districts in the state of Maharashtra. That highlighted the need to pay more attention to the deprived masses in the backward districts where infrastructure was highly underdeveloped.

American Public Health Association made an international study, which explored 180 health projects (31 in India) in the developing countries, and concluded that more detailed studies were necessary to understand the meaningfulness and feasibility of alternative low cost health projects (Duggal, Gupta and Jesani, 1986).

David Pyle's study of health projects in Maharashtra, undertaken for the Ford Foundation, had identified major factors that contributed to the success of different schemes (Duggal, Gupta, Jesani, 1986).

World Bank initiated study of 14 health, nutrition and family planning projects in India has summarized the work of these projects, highlighting the common as well as differential elements among them (Duggal, Gupta, Jesani, 1986).
Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad (1987) conducted a comparative study among the NGO hospitals, Government hospitals and Private hospitals. It reported that, in general, the cost per hospital bed per day in the NGO sector was very less than the government and private sectors. The study suggested that NGOs might be relatively efficient providers of hospital-based care compared to others. In fact, NGOs often achieve substantial ‘Cost Savings’ due to lower pay scales compared to government employees and in some cases honorary physician services, both of which lead to a lower wage bill and lower overall cost. These are benefits not easily transferable to other institutions.

Baru (1987) made a study on ‘Factors influencing variations in health services’ in Andhra Pradesh. The study was limited in two well-developed districts (Krishna & Guntur) as well as two backward districts (Mehbubnagar & Medak). It considered public, private & voluntary sectors providing health services. With regard to voluntary sector, study explored that growth & distribution of voluntary agencies were skewed in favour of well-developed districts. The reasons for concentration of VOs in a particular area were many: (a) Well developed districts were under British rule and more number of hospitals as well as dispensaries were set up by Christian missionaries; but backward districts were under Nizam’s rule and very few hospitals were set up by missionaries. (b) In 1977, a severe cyclonic storm took place in Krishna as well as Guntur districts and hence there was a rapid growth of voluntary organizations for relief and rehabilitation work. (c) In the well-developed districts, infrastructural facilities were better for setting up VOs.
Duggal and Amin (1989) have made a study on 'Cost of Health Care'. Results indicate that the level of per capita health expenditures of NGOs is within the range of current government spending on primary health care. It is worth noting that in most cases, NGO projects function in addition to the normal government system. The similarity in average costs of NGO-provided services to those provided by government-funded primary health care suggests that these added resources are being used at least as efficiently as those in the public sector. This may reflect the unmet needs that are being met with additional NGO inputs.

The Ford Foundation has been engaged with NGO programmes in India since the 1970s. In order to systematically analyze, document and disseminate the experiences of NGOs implementing health and family planning programmes in India, it initiated a project in 1986. Under the project, twelve case studies, entitled ANUBHAV, were published. Each case study included details regarding the NGO i.e. genesis of the project and its evolution, its organizational structure, staffing pattern, funding and cost structures, the range and mode of service delivery, institutional relationships with the government and other institutions, community participation, information systems and programme impact. The lessons of these projects were shared with NGOs policy planners, researchers and donors (Pachauri, 1994). Based on these documented case studies (published in Anubhav Series) many scholars have given many interpretations. For instance, Peter Berman and Priti Dave (1994) point out that NGOs show a high degree of creativity and innovation in developing varied sources of financing to reduce dependency and enable
them to sustain their programmes. Their health programmes operate as efficiently as public services and provide supplementary support rather than substitute services. They suggest further development of voluntary sector financing, which may reinforce overall health care intervention. **Shanti Ghose** (1994) observed that the innovation of a three-tiered structure of health services and the emphasis on comprehensive health care rather than on vertically targeted programmes were some of the factors behind the success of NGO projects. She suggested, such innovative strategies for training and programme implementation should be followed by the areas under government auspices. **Rajesh Tandon** (1994) studied the Anubhav Projects in order to know the nature of community participation in health. He suggested a policy framework in promoting effective community participation for better health in India. **J.K.Satia** (1994) noted that significant upscaling of community health programmes could take place through increased collaboration between NGOs and the government. Strengthening institutional capacity by learning from each other was the most important step in that direction.

**Bhattacharjee** (1996) has completed a study on “NGO Approaches to Health and Development in India: Strategies and Sustainability.” He observes, in order to achieve appreciable and sustainable results, an NGO will have to make long-term commitments to the community. During its period of function, it may encounter difficulties, such as, (a) shortage of trained staff, (b) very high turnover rate of middle level staff due to low pay & uncertain future, (c) dependency on the donor agency, (d) rivalry, between the NGOs and (e) too much interferences at the grassroots level
by the political parties. Many of these problems however can be overcome if financial stability is achieved. To do so, it has to depend upon government, donors and internal resources (generated by itself). But the NGO cannot rely on the government or donor, since its activities might be controlled in the interest of the donor or the government. It would then become difficult to act as a pressure group. It will therefore have to generate its own funds. Such generation of funds can be done by increasing the number of pay clinics. The NGO then will become a channel to redistribute money from the rich to the poor.

The Population Foundation of India was established in 1970. It had either supported or itself commissioned around 320 projects. These projects included innovative studies, action research projects and training in family planning, maternal and child health and related areas. Many projects funded by the Foundation were not effective in the long run. Therefore, a qualitative evaluation of the action research projects was very necessary. The Population Foundation of India selected fourteen action research projects carried out by voluntary organizations during 1995-96 for the case study and qualitative evaluation. Main purpose was to assess the effectiveness of the NGOs in bringing about the desired changes in the individual and community value systems. Among the fourteen projects, three were related to infant mortality and fertility; three were pertaining to integrated health, family planning and development; four to reproductive health and family planning in urban slums; another three to reproductive health and family planning among industrial workers; and the remaining one to family planning through rural medical practitioners. Dr. Sunil
Mishra (2000) brought together all the fourteen case studies (evaluation report) of action research projects in a volume and analysed the dynamics of social change, the factors that led to success and the problems. He found that NGOs could work as catalysts of change. A concern for community participation as well as a need for mass education, under an NGO, was very crucial to bringing about an attitudinal change in health behaviour.

In brief, this chapter has found, there is no doubt or confusion to understand the term VO but conflict arises for the concept of NGO. NGO is a relative term and hence always there is need to assume a working definition. The chapter has also noticed a plurality among the NGOs. They may be classified in terms of activities, philosophy or working approach, operational area and so on. Regarding rise of NGOs, it is clear that NGO is legacy of colonial system and its growth in independent India is very steady to reinforce the development process. Last part of the chapter has reviewed the existing studies on NGOs. It shows diversity among the research initiatives. Researcher finds there is no state level study in West Bengal with regard to NGOs in health care.

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