THE SUMMING UP
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I

The history of voluntarism is as old as the society itself because the primitive society was based on mutual understanding or voluntary social contract. People lived in groups and worked together to accomplish their basic common needs. Social relations were face to face, division of labour was based on age and sex, and social institutions were rudimentary by the people themselves. These were self-interest groups and communitarian, such was the social formation and system of local governance.

The roots of voluntary action can be traced to the functioning of social institutions in the ancient society. In the medieval period, alien forces influenced social action. The history of voluntary organisations in modern India can be related to the ancient and medieval periods. Voluntaries social activities existed for centuries in their indigenous form in India in the form of socio-religious movements such as Sufi movement, Vasnavite movement, Christian missionaries and several local social formations. In Mewar the socio-religious institutions such as Sump Sabha (1881), Paropkarni Sabha (1883) and many others have performed social service activities.

Mewar has shown a strong impulse for modern voluntarism. It has been led by a section of educated and locally awakened people. The influence of Mahatma Gandhi is also one important factor for such a peaceful revolution. For instance, Rajasthan Seva Sangh (1919), Sarva Hitkarni Sabha (1913), Vidya Bhawan Society (1931), Mahila Mandal (1935), Kasturba Matri Kendra (1948), Rajasthan Adam Jati sevak Sangh, Nav Nirman Sangh (2nd October 1950), Gandhi Peace Foundation Center (1969), Rajasthan Mahila Parishad (1947), Rajasthan Vidyapith (1966) are some of the well known voluntary institutions, which profiles Ghandhian philosophy and action for social change.

The present study is an effort to look at some selected voluntary organisations in Udaipur district and adjoining areas. The study is divided into two parts. The first is to know about the nature of voluntary organisations with reference to their size,

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162 Initially the social contract theory was propounded and developed in sixteen and seventeenth centuries by Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, J.J. Rousseau in their works respectively, The Leviathan (1651), On Civil Government (1690), Inquiry Concerning Principles of Morals (1751). Though this was holistic approach more emphasized on political and economic dimensions later on sociologists like Herbert Spencer, Henery Maine and Durkheim emphasised on social diamension through distinction of social and legal contract.
structure, ideologies and strategies. The second is concerned with the functions of the voluntary organisations in relation to tribal development. Thus, the purpose of our study is to understand the organizational aspects of the NGOs' contributions for tribal cause. Some of the questions we have posed: What is an NGO?, Is a voluntary organisation a social formations?, How NGOs differ from each other? What are their similarities?

In order to understand and explain these questions, we have tried to see major forms and patterns of networking of the NGOs in Udaipur district and the adjoining places. The Udaipur district has highest concentration of NGOs in South Rajasthan. It is also as administrative center and cultural capital of the Mewar region. Participation of the people in the NGOs is another point of investigation in our study. We have analysed the role of the voluntary organisations based on their programmes and actions vis-a-vis tribal policy and initiatives taken by the government of Rajasthan. Let's briefly dwell upon the conceptual baggage used in the present study. A 'voluntary organisation' is a form of social organisation and it can be defined 'as a group of people who have organized themselves voluntarily for some common objectives. An organisation is voluntary at least in two respects: (1) recruitment of members and (2) resource management. The word 'tribe' refers to a Scheduled Tribe (ST) in our discussions and an NGO, an association of people formed an NGO. An NGO may be formal or informal in its structure, but it is for specific goal (s). An important aspect of 'civil society' as it works for development of the people and strengthening of democratic institutions.

II

The structure of voluntary organisations in Udaipur district can be viewed in terms of their ethical base, intervention method, and main issues. In other words, these refer to the missionary vs the non-missionary ethos, reformative vs radical orientation, specific issues vs general issues. A particular faith or religion may direct missionary voluntary organisations. As much its mission would be spreading strengthen of cadre-based orientation. Unlike this, non-missionary voluntary organisations are people's organisations, they function irrespective of caste, creed, sex and religion. There are four major missionary NGOs in Udaipur district. There are: Rajasthan Vanvasi
Kalyan Parishad, Dera Sacha Sauda, Christian Auxialary and Social Action and World Vision of India. The rest of NGOs are non-missionary.

The NGOs from the point of intervention method are broadly speaking reformative or radical in their approach and action. Very few organisations are radical in their method as they confront to the State and its authorities. Astha Sansthan and Samajik Sudhar aur Manvadhikar Suraksha Samiti (SASUMASU) are two such well-known organisations in Udaipur. Many organisations selectively adopt both 'radical' and 'reformative' postures. But a large number of NGOs often follow reformative approach to accomplish their goals.

Many NGOs are quite specific about the issues which they voice. These are, for example, CRY (Bombay) and PRAYAS (New Delhi) working for welfare of children. Help Age India is working for the elderly people. In Udaipur district, the Jagran Jan Vikas Samiti (traditional medicine), Narayan Seva Sansthan (Polio effected people), Astha Sansthan (awareness through training programmes), Maruti Seva Sansthan (consumer interest), Ubeshwar Vikas Mandal (environmental management), Vidya Bhawan Society and Rajasthan Vidyapith (formal education), Mahila Mandal (women's issues), Rajasthan Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad (tribal interests), AFFRO and BAIF (technical support to local NGOs and people), Wakal Sangharsa Samiti (organisation against the dam construction in Wakal, Jhadol) are pursuing and advocating specific interest and issues. Contrary to this, a large number of NGOs are also engaged in over all developmental activities. These are: Seva Mandir, Ankur Sansthan, Sanjeev Seva Samiti, Parivar exetra.

III

In general, networking refers to the pattern of relationships among the NGOs. The knowledge of this pattern of relationships, and the interactions is the most significant dimension to understand and to evaluate the potential role of the third sector, that is, the grassroots voluntary organisations.

- Horizontal and Vertical interactions in voluntary organisation
- Intra-voluntary interactions
- Institutionalised and non-instititutionalised interactions
- The Seva Mandir and its relations with other NGOs in Udaipur
The networking pattern in the voluntary sector can be broadly divided into two ways—relation among the voluntary organisations and the relations within the voluntary organisations on the basis of their activities. The first refers to the nature of relationship among various voluntary organisations such as their ideology, leadership, intervention etc. The second refers to the inner structure and dynamics of a given voluntary organisation, i.e. concerning the management, executive, workers, volunteer, and beneficiaries.

The linkages between the NGOs looked in two different ways. One is in the horizontal, where the voluntary agencies have more or less equal or similar status in to their structure and functions. The horizontal relations are often manifested through projects sponsored by external agencies. The common thread is the nature of the project and the funding sources, hence common interests. The vertical relations are based on the hierarchy that exists among different NGOs. Hierarchy implies power relations based on two important criteria—the size of volunteers or members, and the work jurisdiction and its impact. In the former category, the voluntary organisations are small in size and have limited area of operation, narrow membership base, and operate at the lowest level, such NGOs constitute a voluminous proportion of the third sector. The NGOs of the second category are a few, but are quite effective and have strong links with the outside world.

Institutionalization is the third important criterion the pattern of networking because a very few voluntary organisations have considerable longivity. Institutionalization is a process by which a voluntary association turns into an institution. Each year on an average 200 NGOs have surfaced 1990 onwards, but not even 10 percent of them have become enduring agencies. Now the question is: Why this happens?. One man leadership, lack of peoples’ participation, absence of innovative devices, simple role of implementation, etc., are some of the factors responsible for sort lived existence of such NGOs. A large number of local voluntary organisations playing the role of project implementation in Udaipur came up in the last two decade (see the list), and functioning have been in local surrounding with limited resources.

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163 See the details of the NGOs registered in last ten years, that is, more than 1500. Also look at the list of active NGOs.
Confederations of NGOs also exists in Udaipur. One of them is known as Parivar. The Parivar comprises of ten local voluntary organisations of Udaipur. The other one is Rajasthan Lok Vikas Manch (RLVM) comprising of 16 grassroots voluntary organisations of spread out in the districts of Udaipur, Dungarpur, Sirohi and Chittorgarh. Besides these two groupings there are many clusters of NGOs in Udaipur district some voicing some specific issues. These are Panchayati Raj, concerned with Watershed programme, child labour, education, etc.

The Parivar emerged as a federation of voluntary organisations on August 10, 1991 declaring equal footing of all the constituent units. Such a beginning was based on a UNFPA project on Family Planning Programmes, which continued even after its formal closure. It is risky to state that the project has brought about the Parivar. There were in all 35 local voluntary organisations engaged in the project, and only eight voluntary organisations come together. However, it is an innovative experiment for networking of small voluntary organisations with a view to overcome the limitations of the size, local resources and antagonism.

IV

The pattern of networking and relationships in the NGOs has evolved in Udaipur district in a self-sustaining natural manner. Several voluntary organisations have common relationship with the Seva Mandir. This unique relationship is between the Seva Mandir and other grassroots organisations established during 1980s and 1990s. Most of the NGOs’ leaders today are drawn from the ‘Seva Mandir’. They worked in Seva Mandir either as employees or social workers or volunteers prior to the establishment of their own outfits. At least 14 well-known local voluntary organisations have emanated from the Seva Mandir as per my study. These are many more (see table- 3.4).

Founding leaders of some of the well-known NGOs such as Astha, Ubeshwar Vikas Mandal, Jagran Jan Vikas Samiti, Mahan Seva Sansthan, Manav Kalyan Samiti, Alert Sansthan, Trimurti Siksha sansthan, Chetna Arogya Mandir, Gram Vikas Samiti, Sahyog Sansthan, Prayatna Samiti, Hanuman Vikas samiti, were actively associated with the Seva Mandir in different capacities. Most of these organisations were registered in the 1980s and 90s. Now the question is: What made
these people to establish separate voluntary organisations. None of these leaders have any sort of grievances reported against the Seva Mandir, and on the contrary, they claim good relations even today. Some of them served as executives of the Seva Mandir. Differences in approach to development and unequal share of power and authority are the reasons reported by the leaders, reported from the Seva Mandir\textsuperscript{164}.

\textbf{V}

The data relating to the leaders of the NGOs and their social background are not proportional to the ramifications of society in Rajasthan. Social background of two-hundred four NGOs leaders (table-4.1) shows that only forty-one (twenty per cent) belongs to the Scheduled Tribes, four (two per cent) are Scheduled Castes, and seventy-eight per cent are from other castes, including ‘twice-born castes,’ and peasant castes such as the Jat and the Gurjar. In our sample of eighteen well-known voluntary organizations’, tribes are scanty. However, some, like the Ubeswar Vikas Mandal has as much as 90 per cent tribal population, whereas in eleven out of eighteen, not a single tribal is their in their NGOs management. The upper castes represent more than the peasant castes (Jat and Gurjar). However, there is no exact idea about the numerical strength of the peasant castes in South Rajasthan. In the eighteen voluntary organisations, only three have nominal representation of the Schedule Castes.

Unlike the leaders, the workers and the para-workers of voluntary organisations have far more presence of tribal people. For this, the NGOs such as the Seva Mandir, Astha, Rajasthan Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, and World Vision of India have more tribal workers. Though high positions are not occupied by the tribal people.

The study also shows that the older people (60 years and plus), almost one-fourth, 24.5 per cent, are active in the NGO. People below twenty years of age are not engaged in the NGOs. In the age-groups of 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 4, 19, 20 and 30 per cent people are engaged, respectively. About seventy-five per cent the NGO personal are more than forty years of age. In the USA, young people are in the NGO,

\textsuperscript{164} An elderly NGO leader claimed that the establishment of the Seva Mandir was also due to clash of power between the management of Vidya Bhawan and Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta. Dr. Mehta had played a leading role in the Vidya Bhawan Society.
since India is a developing country, a lot of people are in need of reasonably viable source of livelihood, they prefer a well paid job rather than an under paid job.

Most of the women, who are in the NGOs are age group of 35-44, unlike the general trend of men the bracket of 60 years and above. A very few in 60 plus and also in the category of 35 years and below are in the management of the NGOs. Thus, not only participation is gendered, age at the entry is also not uniform. The highest proportion of the age-group of 35-44 clearly indicates that most of the women leaders/workers are married.

In Udaipur, leaders of voluntary organisations are not free from gender discrimination. Only 19.6 per cent women are there, in our sample of two hundred NGOs leaders. This is also not even as some voluntary organisations have all women, and some didn’t have not a single woman in the management boards. A tribal woman is rarely found as a leader as only nine out of 204 are tribal women. Surprisingly, both Hindu and Muslim women are represented in nearly equal numbers.

Discrimination based on gender is reflected in many ways with regard to leadership in Udaipur district (see table- 4.7). In terms of occupation, female voluntary leaders are highest whom carrying on leisure activities. Salaried female workers come next. Overall female participation is far less than the participation by male members. However, both male and female are there as paid social workers, voluntary service-doers and in paid retired people. Similarly urban male and female workers are more than the rural male and female workers.

In Rajasthan, the districts having high concentration of voluntary organisations are Jaipur, Udaipur, Jhodpur, and Ajmer. All these districts except Udaipur have also a large proportion of urban population, that is, more than 36 per cent (Jaipur 40 per cent, Jhodpur 36 per cent, Ajmer 41 per cent), Udaipur it is located in South Rajasthan, where average urban proportion is less than 13 per cent, and Udaipur is the most developed town in the region with 17 per cent urban population. Therefore, one may surprise that voluntary organisations are more in urban centers, and also in urbanised regions.

We have tried to know the proportional presence of the insiders and outsiders among the leaders and workers. Thus, we have observed at their levels within Udaipur district, within South Rajasthan, and in general (see table- 4.9). Unlike the rural-urban
divide, highest number of leaders and workers are from within the Udaipur district, and a very few are from outside the South Rajasthan. 163 (77 per cent) management members are from within the district, 13 (6 per cent) are within South Rajasthan and 26 (12 per cent) are out of South Rajasthan, mostly from outside the State. Thus, the rural people are less than their urban counterpart in the NGOs. However, it does not mean that leaders are from outside are less influential. The outsiders are only 12 per cent as they are from outside Mewar and Rajasthan.

The religious background of the NGO leaders in Udaipur district is as follows. 95 per cent of the NGO leaders are Hindu, while 3 per cent are Muslims, 1.5 per cent are Christians, and 0.5 are from other religious groups. Here, Jains are clubed with Hindus. Two NGOs which have dominance of Christianity, are not included in the present study. Most of the paid-staffs and field-workers of these NGOs are Christians, hence, the above-mentioned 1.5 per cent Christian leaders are not a part of the present study.

In 18 NGOs of Udaipur district, 25 per cent leaders are engaged as full-time volunteers or workers. Most of them play a key role in decision-making, and are very enthusiastic. 73 per cent leaders are part-time workers, that is, they are less concerned with their organisations. Six NGOs have no full time workers.

A good number of retired people joined NGOs as their part time, some have associated themselves with NGOs as they believe in ‘social work’. Social workers are generally full-time leaders. Only 4.43 per cent, people are government servants. Professionals are the smallest group in the NGOs.

VI

Tribal policy in India is hazy because it is trapped between the two streams of thought, whether the tribal should remain aloof from the main stream or they should be assimilated with the wider society. Verrier Elwin and J. L. Nehru were architect of these two modes of thought. Tribes are highly differentiated lot, hence a common policy would not make then evenly structured entity. Such differentiation is a biggest hurdle to develop a precise definition of 'tribe' (A. Beteille, 1977: 7). The problem of the concept is also a barrier to develop a uniform tribal policy. Two distinct settings
of tribal development are clearly visible in India, viz., the North-Eastern region and Central region. The North-Eastern situation is full of insulation, partly as a matter of policy and partly because of difficult terrain and hostile disposition of tribal communities themselves. In the Central India, the dividing line between the tribal areas and the non-tribal areas has not been clear, hence there has been a relatively free interplay of economic and social forces. Thus, it is difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between the tribal and the non-tribal communities. The North-East had active involvement of Christian missionaries which resulted in availability of advanced educational and health services. Whereas the pace of educational development in the tribal pockets of Central India has been extremely slow, hence, education development indices and health care have not been easily available.

The tribal region of Central India covers parts of Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Gujarat, and Rajasthan, and these have more diversification than North-East. The proportion of tribes in this region is highest about 406.82 lakhs, 60.04 per cent of the total tribal population. South Rajasthan is one part of this region comprising five districts, namely, Udaipur, Dungarpur, Bhilwara, Banswara, and Chittoregarh, with a tribal population of 2928645, which is more than half (53.53 per cent) of the total tribal population of Rajasthan. In this area (five districts) the percentage of literacy among tribes ranges from 10 to 14 per cent only, which is lowest in the State.

Although, in Udaipur district, there is highest number of voluntary organisations, yet very few have been formed by tribals. Their existing NGOs have given scant importance to the tribal cause. In our study of Udaipur district, seven tehsils out of ten are Scheduled Tribe Areas (STAs). Of the existing NGO in Udaipur district, only one claims to work exclusively for tribal development, that is, Rajasthan Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, established in 1978. Two Christian voluntary organisations, that is, Church’s Auxiliary for Social Action (CASA) and World Vision of India have also similar focus towards. The NGOs such as, Seva Mandir, Astha Sansthan, Ubeshwar Vikas Mandal, Jagran Jan Vikas Samiti, Aravali Volunteers Society, Ankur

165 Andre Beteile, 1993, Telegraph, Calcutta, 20 January, p.10
166 This is according to 1991 census that is given in table -2.1
167 These two international organisations are working in South Rajasthan through their branch offices and have influence in tribal pockets. Details of these organisations is given in chapter-2
Sansthan are actively engaged in tribal villages of Udaipur district, without exclusively professed goal for tribal upliftment.

VII

The NGOs work with contradictions and caused by the control of the State on the one hand, and by the constrained of voluntary service on the other. Hence, they are not non-political and non-profit organisations, despite their such acclaims. In fact, most NGOs are influenced by political and economic constraints, including the State.

The emergence and growth of voluntary organisations in 'developing countries' is due to disenchantment with the State (Kean, 1988; Saligman, 1992; Hann, 1996) and the luckward policies of the 'developed countries,' because of consumerist or corporate culture (Saligman, 1991). The form of governance in the developing countries is often suspected and dubbed as authoritarian, away from human concerns. Thus, polity often influences the structure, strategies and role of voluntary organisations. This includes State, political parties, Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and many other allied institutions. The economic institutions which influence the NGOs, the market, are trade and commerce which have profit as the sole motive. The liberalization process determines the growth of NGOs, and programmes relating to AIDS, drugs, etc.

The State in India has played an important role in the formation of the NGOs. However, all the voluntary organisations in India have not emerged against the State. A large number of NGOs are supported financially by the State. The State, political parties, and Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRI's) play a significant role in the formation of voluntary organisations and their functioning. The relationship between the State and the people's organisations is not uniform, as it changes with time and place. However, as we have discussed earlier that the relationship between the State and NGOs can be seen in terms of regulator, the State being a funding agencies, as development actor, and as a power-broker. All these are relevent for a sociological analysis of the NGOs in Rajasthan.