Chapter 5
Role of NGOs in the Development of the Street Girls
5.1. Context of the Emergence of Third Sector

The preceding chapter dealt with the progressive legislations and practices, that sought to ensure the rights of the child in general and street children in particular. While the child rights have been one of the major concerns since the colonial times, the paradigm shift took place only post-1979. This was in the wake of International Year of Children. Numerous legislative interventions have been made to address the challenges of ensuring the rights of the street children. One of the landmark initiatives in this regard has been the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which was ratified by India in 1993, making it mandatory to meet specific targets in specific areas of rights of the children.

The ratification of the convention has led to legislative interventions in the form of enactment of Juvenile Justice Act 2000, Children’s Code Bill 2000 and a host of other legislations on the subject. Periodical workshops to sensitise members of parliament and the police have been organised. Besides, modules on children’s issues have been included in the training of police officers. Growing awareness and attention to rights of the children in the media and establishment of NGO training and advocacy are some of the notable steps government has adopted in the last two decades. The National Initiative for Child Protection campaign was launched in 2000. It was an effort at sensitising the functionaries of the state working in the police, healthcare, judicial, education, labour, transport and a host of other sectors to the rights and problems of the children. In the private space, the media and corporate sectors have been made the target of this intervention.

As per the statistical details made available by the agencies of Government of India, it is claimed that 2,50,938 street children have benefited through its programmes. There are some 214 organisations in 24 States, which are involved in such state sponsored initiatives. Another notable feature is the introduction of\(^1\) CHILDLINE, a 24-hour free emergency telephone hotline (phone no-1098) that has been established in 65 cities. As per available statistics, till 2003, more than 4.8 million children have used the facility.

However, some of the impediments in the working of the state-sponsored schemes are: lack of effective implementation and monitoring mechanisms for programmes, lack of enforcement of legislation, most notably, registration of birth, lack of uniform adoption law, absence of children’s participation and child-centred approaches in government, deleterious impact of forced evictions, demolitions and displacement on children. These are some of the issues, which the State has failed to address in its interventions, aggravating the already vulnerable position of the children and in particular street children. The magnitude of the problem can be gauged from the fact that India has the largest number of child labourers in the world. Widespread poverty, unemployment, increasing rural-urban migration, and lack of political will to address the problems of the children on the streets have only harmed the long-term interests of these children. Therefore, increasing numbers of children on the streets are being subjected to problems of malnutrition and hunger, experiencing different types of health hazards and are falling prey to substance abuse. Harassment by the police/railway authorities is routine and incidents of physical and sexual abuse are quite common. Thus, there exist formidable challenges before the civil society and the state.

The government in its effort to ameliorate the plight of children, and in particular the street children, is working in close collaboration with non-governmental agencies. In fact, emphasis on NGO-government collaboration for the success of the intervention programmes is a paradigmatic shift in governmental approach. Since 1987, the government has moved away from a state-centric approach to a decentralised bottom-up approach, where NGOs are considered as agency between the state and citizen voicing citizens’ priorities. The NGOs are co-opted into the scheme to draw up effective action plan and to implement them with the help of central and state government funds. The major developmental institutions like World Bank, DFID and USAID also route their funding primarily through the state.

However, there are concerns from many social scientists that the revival and promotion of NGOs is symptomatic of a new dimension of globalisation – retreat of the state from its priorities and from discharging principal duties and penetration of global capital through international NGOs. This is argued, is aimed at subtly influencing the government policies to further the agenda of globalisation (Kothari, 1988c: 2177). Two contentious developmental agenda – the eradication of child labour and environmental
movements – are closely tied to the trade negotiations being carried out under the aegis of the *World Trade Organisation* (WTO). It is suspected that international NGOs’ emphasis and advocacy for the elimination of child labour has little to do with the rights of the children. Rather, emphasis on the ‘theme of elimination of child labour’ conceals an attempt at blunting the competitive edge of the developing countries in the arena of world trade. Similarly, environmental movements are being funded by various international donors, who are championing the cause of adoption of green technologies in industry and trade. Given the huge costs involved in switching over to such environment friendly technologies, it is bound to impede the pace of socio-economic development of the developing countries. Thus, NGOs are being increasingly being perceived as the allies of the developed-capitalist world. The issues of rights of the children and environmental concerns are mere pretensions, concealing a more sinister design to undermine the interests of the developing countries.

“The emerging view in global corporate sectors is that a freshly conceived private sector, including the NGOs will provide new frontiers of a dynamic technological integration of the world economy. This rapacious drive of the trans-nationalised, technologically driven, capitalism provides yet another shift in the capitalist thinking on the role of the state.” (Kothari, 1988c: 2177). However, the available evidence, in fact, points out to the contrary. In fact the rise of new social movements, the emergence of World Social Forum and other trans-national NGO federation oppose the existing model of development being practiced by the World Bank and WTO and voice their concern for a more humane globalised village.

### 5.2. Resurgence of Civil Society

Organised social action was not a novelty in the late *seventies* and early *eighties*. In fact, its existence can be traced back to pre-colonial and colonial times. In this regard, the *Societies Registration Act* was enacted during the colonial rule in 1860. During the course of freedom struggle, numerous socio-political organisations came up in the domain of civil society who challenged the discourses on colonialism and its model of progress. In this context, Gandhian movement had specific component of rural reconstruction, with emphasis on volunteerism. What made the resurgence of civil society movements in the *eighties* different from the earlier ones were to be located in the scale, structure and forms of these civil society institutions. New forms of
movements – ecological and environmental, human rights, including gender rights emerged during this period, which challenged the authority of the State. Civil society institutions became more organised and networked. Access to funds leapfrogged and big NGOs soon acquired corporate identity. The NGOs were considered to be partners and/or pressure groups in the formulation and implementations of various government schemes of the government.

In the developmental discourse, the notion of civil society gained ascendancy in the eighties. This was in the wake of a twin syndrome- development of fatigue with consumerist capitalism on the one hand and the failure of the democratic state to address the problems of the disadvantaged on the other. It was being argued that civil society provided a third leg to the ‘trinity’ model of development (Tandon and Mohanty, 2000: 5). The ‘trinity’ consisted of the public sector model of development with its emphasis on public welfare, the private sector model of economic development with the predominant theme of ‘profit-motive’ and the third model of development in the form of civil society as a non-profit associational life. As the third element of a comprehensive reaction against the ‘dirigisme’ of developmental states... civil society is a sociological counterpart to the market in the economic sphere and to democratic capitalism in the political sphere (White, 1996: 178). The civil society in its discourse has been traced its role to identify social forces that have participated in struggles against the overwhelming state power (Chandhoke, 1995).

Some argue that civil society strictly refers to the social components, with its emphasis on the autonomy of society. Its differences from the state and the political class have been elucidated for the purpose of explaining some specific developments. But in the broader sense, it refers to a segment of society populated by voluntary associations (intermediary bodies, social movements, interest groups, political parties, ideological groupings), which pursue their own particular interests including the assertion of their identities and their own version of the general interest (Perez-Diaz, 1995: 81). Broadly it refers to the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy
and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.

It is an intermediate sphere of social organization or association between the basic units of society, families and firms and the state (White, 1996: 179). In a sense, this can include 'uncivil' entities like the mafia, ‘primordial’ nationalist, ethnic or religious fundamentalist organization, and ‘modern’ entities such as trade unions, chambers of commerce and professional associations.

Faced with this social farrago, some authors have tried to give the term a more precise meaning. Some argued that civil society couldn’t be independent from the state. For instance, civil society restricts it to organizations that interact with the state. Seligman (1992) expressed that civil society is an ethical ideal, which holds the public and the private in a balance. The concept of civil society is considered as an ideal character that covers political components (limited government) as well as social components (markets, associations and public sphere).

In identifying civil society as a distinct but broadly defined sphere of intermediate social associations, it is necessary to define its relationship to the state on the one hand and society on the other. The conventional dichotomy between the state and society, even though important, is not realistic. Civil society in a strictly independent sense is more an ideal-type concept, which embodies the qualities of separation, autonomy and voluntary association in their pure form, and the real world of civil societies composed of associations, which embody these principles to varying degrees. The term ‘civil society’ has also been used in various developmental or political projects, each with its own preferred associational life. Neo-populist development theorists and practitioners extol the virtues of grass-root non-governmental organizations as paradigms of social participation, alternative developmental agencies and potential building blocks of democracy.

In contemporary times, the boundaries between the state and civil society are blurred. States may play an important role in shaping civil society and vice versa; the two organizational spheres may overlap to varying degrees; individuals may play roles in
both sectors, and the principle of voluntary association may be infringed through political pressure or legal regulation. In particular, the autonomy of civil society organizations is highly variable – a question of degree rather than either/or (White, 1996: 183). For instance, Tocqueville and more recently Putnam see civil society as a network of associations and applications, which safeguards democratic space between the state and the family (Tocqueville, 1900; Putnam, 1999; also see Keane, 1988 for a discussion of the role of civil society in reforming and transforming the state).

5.3. Types of Civil Society Institutions

In modern discourse, civil society encompasses several intermediary institutions. Edmund Burke called these as ‘little platoons’ (Heywood, 2000: 17). Every society has a number of mediating institutions that link individuals to each other and negotiate between the citizens and the state (Bettile, 1996: 14). These become important in the backdrop of modern life, which is atomised, alienated and fragmented simply because individualism as the hallmark of the modern world breeds self-interested action (Chandhoke, 1995: 33).

It may be necessary to distinguish between different types or sectors of civil society, for example, between ‘modern’ interest groups such as trade unions or professional associations and ‘traditional’ ascriptive organisations based on kinship, ethnicity, culture or religion; between formal organisations and informal social networks based on primordial or clientelistic allegiances, between those institutions which specifically prefer political roles as pressure or advocacy groups and those whose activities remain largely outside the political system; between legal or open associations and secret or illegal organizations such as the freemasons, the mafia or the triads; between associations which accept the political status quo or those which seek to transform it by changing the political regime (such as a guerrilla movement or a reactionary religious organization) or redefining the nation (as in the former Yugoslavia) (White, 1996: 182).

The components of civil society are based on the classification of intermediary institutions. Tandon and Mohanty (2000: 41) categorized these into five types such as: Traditional association, Religious association, Social movement, Membership association and Intermediary.
These intermediary institutions of civil society in India associated with voluntary bodies in the social arena, allow individuals to participate directly and manage their own affairs. These organisations, independent of the government have witnessed the emergence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as a major collective actor in developmental activities and in the sphere of public space in general. This occupation of the public space by the NGOs, according to Bebbington and Farrington (1993: 205) is the most important role of NGOs.

5.3.1 Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

People's agencies make up the gamut of associational relationships that translate community aspirations, duties and functions into actions. They also create that necessary linkage between the state and its people in various capacities. While this linkage is governed by the nature of association and its ability to influence decisions, a lot also depend on the nature of relationship as institutionalised. In developing countries, for instance, the relationship is defined by a top-down, highly centralized approach with local level involvement serving mainly as an aid to implement such programmes instead of being a part and parcel of the system itself. Institutionalised people's agencies created to respond to such crisis situations have been unable to function in an efficient manner mainly due to their isolation from decision making in most of the cases.

In recent decades, there has been a move to distinctly demarcate people's activism from the state's rigid structures. Non-governmental organisations have come to play a vital role not only in acting as intermediaries but also by directly managing tasks, which traditionally have been functions of the state. There has been an enormous growth of these organisations. Within the independent sector, these include everything from strictly civic associations, such as athletic teams, to organisations that are trying to develop their communities or promote social change.

NGOs constitute the primary vehicle for individual citizens to articulate their views, to participate in the policy process and implementation and to contribute to the progress and well being of all strata of society. NGOs are the life force for civil society.

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2 The term 'NGO' was first coined by the United Nations Charter of 1945 mainly to indicate the difference between the sovereign nation-states which are its direct members, and the organizations that collaborate with or receive grants from its agencies to implement development programmes. This can be defined as private, non-profit, professional organization with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare goals.
Civil society, when not used as a synonym for society in general, is used to refer to 'that segment of society that interacts with the state, influences the state and yet is distinct from the state' (Chazan, 1992: 281).

NGOs have been involved in a variety of activities from implementing grassroots/sustainable development, promoting human rights and social justice, protesting against environmental degradation to many other similar tasks. On the basis of objectives and methodology there are two different types of NGOs. First, there are NGOs which concern supporting, in various forms, social movements and/or initiatives of development that are the expression of the free will of groups/groups that are formed to confront certain essential questions of life (common needs and common aspirations) (Frantz, 1987: 123). These support the strengthening of civil society and the conflictive dynamic of individuals' and groups aspiration, as they try to build a collective society in which every individual becomes a citizen. Second, there are NGOs, which are in the nature of social movements and represent a certain degree of their institutionalisation (Frantz, 1987: 123). In this sense, NGOs are the expression of civil society's capacity for free organization and its vitality, in its different historical perspectives.

In describing the functions of NGOs, Korten (1990: 115-27) distinguishes three generations of NGOs. The first is commitment to relief and welfare, which predominate in the developing world. These often have close ties with political activities. The second attends to small-scale, local development projects, which organises individuals locally to address issues like public health and agricultural development. These groups frequently help their constituents to overcome structural constraints, to challenge local and regional elites, and to assist in reducing dependency relationships. And the third consist of community organizations interested in building coalitions explicitly targeting political constraints and engaged in mobilization and 'conscientization'. Their focus is on coordinating communications and linkages among people's organizations.

The rise of NGOs is one of the central processes in the sphere of development since the 1980s. This period coincides with the demise of developmentalism as a project of the nation-state and the rise of post-developmentalist neo-liberal political economy. This is often described as a move from inefficient states to efficient markets, which facilitate the free play of market forces and enable decentralized institutions to practice 'participatory management'. This has been a new mantra for the provision of services
through community based organisations and local municipalities or panchayats. It is the sphere of natural resource management functions where NGOs are seen as ‘civil society’ actors that are more accountable, responsive and committed to bringing about social change. The state is seen as consisting of entrenched interests and styles of functioning that make it unwilling and unable to work with the people, a role that NGOs are supposed to be good at. Thus, NGOs have emerged to perform roles with greater efficiency, motivation and transparency. Increasingly, the state itself accepts the presence of NGOs and in fact expects them to take over certain tasks. Given the profound implications of NGO-involvement in development, there is a great need to examine the performance of NGOs and the changing relations between NGOs, state agencies, multilateral and bilateral funding institutions, and other social groups.

5.3.2. Nature of Civil Society in India

The most distinctive characteristic of civil society in India has been that its activism has mostly been directed towards making the democratic system live up to its reputation; rather than the installation of democracy or a normatively appropriate form of government (Tandon and Mohanty, 2000: 21). India is a welfare state with constitutional provisions aimed to promote socio-economic transformation of society. Despite these the state has not been able to deliver on its promises (Gupta, 1996: 2). Also, the state has not achieved any significant development, particularly in the case of the downtrodden or marginalised sections of the society.

It was the state’s failure to fulfill the aspirations of its people who could not appropriate the benefits of development, despite several measures to uplift society after independence that brought about an upsurge of civil society groups and activities.3 Until the 1960s, it was the state that fully took charge of developmental endeavours and efficacy of state institutions. It was during the seventies that saw a significant shift in relationship between state and civil society in the aftermath of the ‘emergency’. This political event severely curtailed fundamental rights of the people. The state’s despotism

3 Scholarly debate in the 1960s and 70s centred on the appropriateness of democracy for developing countries; unrestrained expression of dissent, allowed by democracy, hampering socio-economic development; and the collapse of democratic institutions as the cause and consequence of subaltern mobilisation (Kohli 1991; Kohli (ed.) 1988; Mohapatra, 1997).
was sought to be challenged and this gave a significant thrust to the growing civil society consciousness in India.

Post-emergency, there was a shift in the outlook of the government. There was increasing realisation that the traditional service delivery mechanism through the apparatus of bureaucracy has been inadequate to reach out to the citizenry. The Sixth Five year Plan Document recognised the need of ‘participatory development’, with its emphasis on the importance of NGOs in the whole scheme of socio-economic development. The role of the NGOs, as new actors for the purpose of motivating and mobilising people for specific or general developmental tasks came to be recognised.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1992 initiated the civil society into a complex interplay between society, state and the market. The policies of liberalisation and privatisation curtailed the importance of state and gave importance to private sector. It was an attempt at handing-over crucial segments of the economy to the private sector. In the process, it undermined the role of the bureaucracy and its processes of public accountability. The role of the public sectors in defining the socio-economic life of the Indians commensurately diminished (Jain, 1997: 134-135). The structural provision of change promoted constitutional changes to give real autonomy to the institutions of local government. This provision led the private and voluntary agencies to apply entrepreneurial talent and innovative experiments, instead of being ‘dependent’ on official agencies. Thus, the accommodation of civil society into these spheres of global capital and subaltern groups have allowed non-state actors to play a dominant and responsive role within the framework of sustainable development and democratic participation (Tandon and Mohanty, 2000: 11).

Another conceptualisation of civil society offered by activists and radicals see new social movements as a ‘glimmer of hope’ in the renewed attack by the state on the individual (Omvedt, 1993: 257-59).

Over the years, the increasing importance of civil society space has been redefined and restructured. If the earlier model of state-centric development resulted in excluding the people from the spheres of governance, the market-driven model has become notorious for its uneven distribution of economic benefits. This has belied the
expectations of the common man and in the process, has given a renewed thrust to the upsurge of civil society.

5.3.3. NGOs in India

The nature and character of the voluntary agencies have undergone a noticeable change over a period of time. In the past, such agencies adopted a religion-oriented mass approach in an informal atmosphere and were mostly involved in programmes of education, medicine and social reform in their sphere of action (Jain, 1997: 129). However, at present, the NGOs in India have incorporated a more secular idiom and are largely involved in socio-economic developmental activities.

The activities of the NGOs encompass myriad activities, which include creating awareness among people against socially harmful practices, creating livelihood opportunities, mobilisation of communities for ecological preservation and environmental protection and also orienting people for the use of appropriate technologies and sustainable scientific practices. In this, the NGOs have succeeded in adopting approaches that are flexible, and efficient. The movements and the interventions have succeeded in making demands on the state in an unprecedented way. These interventions spoke of new concerns, reflected a new consciousness and heralded the emergence of new identities. These issues were not new to India, but a significant change took place in the way they were addressed in the public space. The earlier movements addressed the issues from an economic and ‘class’ perspective linking the peasants’, workers’, and women’s plight to the relations of production (Tandon and Mohanty, 2000: 28). Now they are largely seen in terms of their “incisive analysis of those aspects of poverty and oppression, ecological degradation, subordination of women and so on that are given short shrift by the class based movements.” (Guha, 1989: 15). In addition to the above, NGOs are also involved in support services, mainly responding to crisis situation both natural and manmade.

5.4. Grants as Gift Giving and Changing Nature of NGOs

Marxists view civil society as an unequal terrain of oppression structured by power and class. In this context, critiques point out that though many NGOs and their donors have recognised their role in strengthening the structures of the civil society, it does not mean that they have adopted a commitment to social justice (Laura, 1994). In fact, sole focus on strengthening the role of the NGOs may contribute in obscuring many of the power
equations involved. In particular, it ignores the extensive ties between NGOs and state and the other forms of power relations which shape and restrict NGOs’ action.

Wood (1986) took up the aid-giving as a form of gift-giving by the state and asserts that the donor-recipient relations between state and NGOs reflect a basic asymmetry of power and status that lies at the core of the aid process. The same can be said of the relationship between Northern aid giver and Southern recipient. “Paradoxically international NGOs have more freedom to impose their models than their official – and far wealthier – counterparts: they are subject to little control by the state apparatus and they can seek out a clientele which will accept their own conception of the right way to development. Having done that, they can then engender a relation of dependence by making local institution and groups dependent on short grants for their survival – for these organisations rarely provide funding beyond a year or two. The funding is usually in the form of grants or of loans on terms so soft that they are, in effect, grants, but though this sounds generous, it hampers the development of autonomous sustainability (Wood, 1986).

What is the effect of this patron-client relationship on the nature of civil society institutions? The shift from the government to NGOs is built on the growing criticism of the state in delivering development as well as on the distrust of government among the United Nations and donor agencies in reaching out to the target population. The irony, Kothari observes, is that by hijacking the whole concept of voluntary and NGO effort as a preferred mode of organising civil society as against the state bureaucracy, the new look state will also be able to marginalise and be ruthless on these elements in the voluntary space that refuse to fall in line, are too political and are unwilling to accept the disciplines imposed by a capitalist corporate state.

One fundamental change that occurred in non-governmental organisations is the pattern of resource mobilisation. Earlier resource generation from within the host community was the most dominant pattern; now it is more in the form of aid, grant and donations. It is true that many of the interventionist tasks require huge funds that require resource mobilisation beyond the host community and four-anna membership of the Gandhian type in the process. But, it also fundamentally altered the structure of the organisation. Earlier, the NGO was a more amorphous and loosely structured body. Now with the mobilisation of resources constituting the key to the growth plan of the NGO, those in charge of fund mobilisation emerged as the foci of power and as the most powerful autocrat within the organisation.
Another important change occurred in the staff pattern. The new NGOs have become more corporatised and formal. While the NGOs themselves advocate participatory Learning Appraisal (PLA) for project identification and execution, within the organisation there is large degree of opacity and nonlinearity in decision-making and communication, especially in the financial matter.

The other aspect is in respect of the nature of relations between state and the NGOs. While there are many NGOs who work in opposition to states like Narmada Bachao Andolan and have access to international funding, a vast majority of around two millions NGOs in India depend on government funding. A form of dependency develops which severely restricts the independence of the NGOs. Moreover, given the still pervasive nature of the state, the tool of blacklisting by Government severely restricts the space for action by small and medium level NGOs. Therefore, it is only the large-scale NGOs with access to international funding who take a position other than that of the Government.

At present, therefore, most of the NGOs in India are service-delivery institutions rather than policy advocates. Only the large NGOs with independent wherewithal are into policy advocacy that, at times is in conflict with state’s position.

5.5. NGOs and Street Children

According to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, there are about 205 NGOs who have got assistance for implementing Integrated programmes for the street child. This excludes many international NGOs like SOS, Action Aid and others. Some of these NGOs are more into grant giving and oversight of the project like Action Aid and Save the Children. The others are into implementation. The interventions these NGOs make can be classified into four categories (Lusk, 1989): correctional (containment, institutionalisation), rehabilitative care (cure), outreach (street education) and preventive approaches. Correctional measures refer to those, which see street children as the problem and remove them from the streets to ‘correct’ them, usually in an institutional setting. This measure is meant for children who have got into conflict with laws.

Rehabilitative approaches regard street children as having special needs and accordingly attempt to support them by providing them with basic services and perhaps even counselling. Rehabilitative services, while of high short term value, only serve to
maintain the child’s situation in the long run rather than to create better opportunities or to prevent street children from falling into destitution in the first place (Ortiz et. al 1992).

Outreach programmes, such as street education, problematize the existing social structure and try to educate and empower street children on their home ground them with a view to find collective solutions to their problems.

Preventive Approaches, like Outreach programme, view social structures and forces as being the main causes of destitution of street children and attempt to directly influence social change. These also include education programmes, which though employed at all levels, tend to have preventive functions. An underlying guideline is that the programme has to fit the child, not the child to the programme.

On a study of the above-mentioned approaches, it is evident on the whole that a developmental approach is required while planning intervention services for street children. The significant features of this approach are:

- Focussing on strength, adaptability and resilience of street children rather than deviant behaviour or pathology
- Building competency rather than attempting to cure
- Encouragement of trial and error learning
- Taking context into consideration
- Taking developmental tasks and needs of the children into consideration
- Working with the total person, as against focussing on the so called pathology of the problem
- A strong belief in the potential within each child and family, the aim being to maximise such potential rather than minimising the problem
- An emphasis on most of the treatment taking place in the daily living environment of the Child labour in hazardous sectors
- A multidisciplinary team approach as opposed to hierarchy approach, in which the child and family are recognised as members of the team (Garg, 2004: 120-21).

5.5.1. Case Study of Selected NGOs: Prayas, Don Bosco, Chetna, Butterflies and Navshristhi

In the backdrop of the aforesaid discussions, the present study tried to analyse the working of various NGOs working with street children in general. For the present study
four NGOs and two donor agencies were selected. Prayas, Don Bosco Ashalaym, Butterflies and Chetna were selected for the study of the working of NGOs who are into implementation and policy advocacy. In addition two donor agencies, Action Aid and SOS children who are into funding and implementation were also selected to understand donors’ perspectives.

All the four NGOs are closely associated with government-run schemes funded by Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. All of them have special focus on street children. These four NGOs have advocated major policy changes and influenced government policies in positive ways. Moreover, Butterflies have conceptualised and implemented many innovative and successful programmes like Street Children Banks, to channelise their savings and to put the amount to more productive use. Another scheme is the Street Children Radio to give voices and to sensitise public about the problems of street children. It must be said that none of the NGOs deal exclusively with street girl children, except Navashristhi, which is a special programme run by Action Aid India for the street girl child of Delhi. Details of their working were observed at different centres. In-depth interviews were conducted with important functionaries to understand the structure of their organisation, fund mobilisation, transparency in their fund management, service delivery structure and decision-making, various programmes and their conceptualisation. Participant observation method was adopted to study the working of the various programmes. The structures, service delivery mechanism, decision-making and fund utilisation of the organisations are also critically analysed and compared with that of the government.

Prayas$^4$ is a humanitarian, gender-sensitive, child-focused development organization with a vision to restore the lost childhood of neglected street and working children. It is a non-governmental organization, which has devoted itself to the care, protection and rehabilitation of children from the marginalized sections of the society. They include street children who are homeless and from broken families or who have run away from home. They also include children belonging to families who are in a state of deprivation.

$^4$ www.hamaraprayas.com (prayas’s website)
Created in 1985, Don Bosco Ashalayam (DBA)\(^5\) is an Indian NGO run by the Salesians of Don Bosco in Kolkata working with the street and destitute children in and around Calcutta. Ashalayam gives them the “means to build their own future, by allowing them the access to the education or to the vocational training.” Ahalayam in Delhi works with 50 professional – both from Church and other employees – with Father Jose Mathews as Director. Don Bosco’s Asha Anubhav serves as an umbrella programme covering many of Ashalayam’s street contact activities. It includes Asha Outreach, Asha Daan, Night Shelter, Asha Placement, Drug de-addiction programme and Networking and Referral service. Don Bosco being a Faith Based Organisation run by Christian missionaries puts strong emphasis on moral education and the growth of character of weaned away children. Asha Daaan is DBA’s street contact programme. The programme staff reaches out to the children on various locations in the city. This is more like Prayas and Butterflies’ contact points.

Butterflies\(^6\), a Delhi-based street children programme, but later registered as a formal organisation, has launched many innovative projects since 1989, that goes beyond institutional care. “Everything takes place wherever the children live and work,” says Butterflies director Rita Panicker. Children participate in planning most of their activities. The organisation is in contact with 1000 street children at nine different points across the city. It has undertaken several innovative programmes aimed at the welfare and development of street children. These include, street education, alternate education, theatre programme, Bal Mazdooor union, Bal Vikas Bank, Radi programme airing street children’s voices, night shelter programme, community development, technical training, advocacy and Research Centre, Child line, etc.

Chetna is a Delhi-based NGO working for the street and working children with a special focus on the street girl child. It works with the street children with the assumption that the “exploited, defenceless and extremely vulnerable children living on the streets have a right to their dignity, which can be achieved by the participation of children.” CHEITAN – the Child Resource Centre (CRC) of CHETNA is an acronym for Child focused Health Education – Innovations in Training and Networking. Its mission is

\(^5\) http://www.ashalayam.org/index.asp  
\(^6\) http://www.butterflieschildrights.org/island.html
to create and ensure an enabling environment for empowerment of children and adolescents enabling them to contribute as partners in their own, their families' and communities' health and development.\(^7\)

Child Resource Centre (CRC) activities were initiated in 1991, to promote child-focused approaches among policy makers and practitioners including Government (NGOs) and Non-government organisations (NGOs), field workers, academicians, researchers and communities to address the health and development concerns affecting children and adolescents.

**Navshristi**, more than being an organization, is a project, which is being run under the aegis of the Action Aid International (AAI). This project is being run especially for the girl children. Since their effort is to make a long-term impact on the child's life, to ensure that a gradual and smooth transition of children into adulthood takes place, follow-ups are made even after they have reached 18 years of age. The objective of this project is to empower women and girls and bring them into the mainstream through education. Navashrsthri tries to ensure smooth transition of the child into adulthood. The process of bringing the child into the mainstream includes practices like vocational training, Open School Education, finding jobs for them.

### 5.5.2 Programmes of NGOs

Intervention by NGOs can be classified into two categories – Institutional and Non-institutional. Institutional care refers to closed-door, residential facility for a group of children. These institutions may be statutory i.e. under the laws enacted for the welfare of children e.g. Observation or Remand Homes set up under the provisions of Juvenile Justice Act 2000 or non-statutory being run by voluntary organisations.

The basic assumption is that child rights need to be ensured by families first and the society at large. Since most of the street girl children are runaway children – from the oppressive and deprived family environments – it is the duty of the society to reach out to them and ensure their rights. Reaching out to the children is what distinguishes NGOs from the government agencies. NGOs acting as implementing agencies are neither bad nor good in themselves, but it depends on what they are helping to implement. NGOs

\(^7\) [http://www.chetnaindia.org/idc.asp](http://www.chetnaindia.org/idc.asp)
tend to enjoy greater access to communities and have staff that is more committed, experienced, and sensitive to local needs, thus allowing them to function as better intermediaries than government agencies. This does not occur by magic, but is a by-product of their need to perform well to survive vis-à-vis both donors and the communities they serve the diagram below represents the approach of the NGOs:

Diagram 5.1. Strategies Adopted by NGOs for Street Children

Street Contact → Weaning → Grooming → Training → Earning → Homing

(Adapted from the Don Bosco Ashyalam Annual Report 2004-05)

In contrast, governmental interventions are more reactive than preventive. The interventions are not aimed at reaching out to children. For instance, the facilities at the night shelter run by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) are denied to many street children. The action of the police in putting street children, who are in conflict with laws behind bars in observation homes, is not aimed at reforming them. Rather, such street children are perceived as threats to public order and hence are supposed to be kept out of the society. NGOs, on the other hand, act on a right-based approach i.e. believe that children including street girl children enjoy certain rights which must be ensured by society. These human rights must be protected by societies.

A study of NGOs brings out the broad pattern of similarities in project conceptualisation and implementation of various programmes for the development of street children. Except Butterflies, which initiates programmes on a unique method of participatory decision-making in which street children themselves articulate their needs, all NGOs run programmes to alleviate the conditions of misery, homelessness, sexual abuse of the girl child, their educational and vocational development and take steps to restore them to their family setting. Realising that weaning them away from child labour will deprive them of their livelihood, many NGOs run alternative education at their leisure time and place. In fact, Indian Railway Protection Force has run Platform Schools, which provide the basic model for alternative education schemes of the many of the NGOs. All NGOs are in close collaboration with government agencies and are running the Child line number – 1098 for children in distress. Moreover, all of them take a pro-active approach in keeping a vigil and preventing immoral trafficking of the girl
child. All of them also are engaged in community initiatives as part of their primary prevention strategies and have launched several community initiatives in the areas of livelihood, health and sanitation, psychological counselling to further improve the physical and psychological environments in the underprivileged families, the absence of which leads partially to the phenomenon of street children.

Since the four NGOs share many similarities, the present discussion illustrates the programmes of Prayas alone. Any differences with Prayas model followed or practised by other NGOs have been highlighted.

**Prayas** since its inception in 1988 is engaged in juvenile justice. As part of primary prevention strategy, it has recently started intervention programme in the community setting by launching Self-Help Groups (SHGs) as well. The subjects with whom it works comprise the following:

Street and Slum area children living in extremely poor condition for whom 110 Alternative Education Centres are running in various parts of Delhi. Children rescued from crime cases and trafficking for whom 7 shelter homes are running in Delhi itself. Children involved in doing a crime for which a special Children's home is running at Delhi Gate. Prayas also caters to women and men from poor backgrounds through self-help-groups. Major areas of activities of the organisation are presented in the box below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.1: Major Activities of NGOS with Regard to Street Children</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sponsorship (Child Projects and Events)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Childline 1098</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shelter Homes</td>
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<td>Health</td>
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<td>Nutrition (Mid-day Meal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vocational and Life-skill Education</td>
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<td>Placement</td>
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<td>HIV/AIDS Programmes</td>
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<td>Awareness and Mobilization</td>
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<td>Advocacy and Awareness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juvenile Justice System</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sustainability through Resource</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Self-help Groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation and Recreational Programme</td>
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<td>Room to Read-Library Programme</td>
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</table>

Prayas provides shelter facilities to children who are orphans, children from broken families and run away children through its three homes, one of which is a custodial home for boys. The other two homes are the shelter home for girls and the drop-in centre for boys. Through its 110 non-formal education centres, 15 vocational trades, 12 community
libraries, one mobile health van and other intervention programmes, Prayas covers nearly fifty thousand children every year. An exclusive facility for neglected and abused girls in the age between 5 to 16 years is also part of the effort. The hostel for neglected or abused girl children take adequate steps for counselling, rehabilitation which include shelter, food and clothing, non-formal and formal education, vocational training, recreational facilities, counselling and emotional support and restoration and rehabilitation.

5.6. Structure of the Organisations

The general assumption is that the bureaucratic structure of the government is not suitable for faster implementation of the programmes and delivery of services. Corruption, lack of motivation and lack of empathy on the part of bureaucracy have led to failure of numerous schemes. On the other hand, NGOs with their local base, participatory method and informal flat structure have greater success in reaching out to people including the street children. While this assumption is taken as apriori, it is important to understand the structure of the NGOs under study to assess the structural constraints and strengths of these organisations in fulfilling the objectives set out in their own constitution.

Organisational structure is a variegated phenomenon and includes aspects such as hierarchy of authority, decision-making, organisation as a whole and its sub-system, whether it is an open or closed system and communication process.

The emergence of NGOs as a catalytic factor of social change and social responsiveness was preceded by the failure of the state in implementing its social obligations. The failure of the state can be located within its structures that impeded it from reaching out to the countless children in need. Therefore, a logical starting point for the analysis of structure of NGOs is to start with the features of bureaucracy in general and Indian bureaucracy in particular. This in turn is juxtaposed with the structure of the NGOs and the factors contributing to its functioning.

The Weberian concept provides the starting point for any study on the bureaucracy, including forms of governmental bureaucracy. Weber specified several characteristics of ideal organisational structures, of which four are most important.

1. Specialisation and Division of Labour: Weber’s bureaucracy contained a ‘Specified sphere of competence’. This involves (A) a sphere of obligations to perform functions, which have been marked off as part of a systematic division of labour. (B) The provision
of the incumbent with necessary authority.... (C) That the necessary means of compulsions are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions (Henderson, 1947: 330).

2. Positions Arranged in a Hierarchy
Weber stated that “the organisation of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; each lower office is under the control of the higher office.” This hierarchy in organisation is based on organismic principles of body.

3. A system of Abstract Rules: The structure and the decision making process is governed by a set of abstract rules. The rules are impersonal, secular and purposive. The rules are essentially designed to help the bureaucracy rise above primordial and other affective considerations.

4. Impersonal Relationship It was Weber’s belief that the ideal official should be dominated by a spirit of formalistic impersonality, without hatred or passion and hence without affection or enthusiasm. He felt that bureaucracy, in order to make completely rational decisions; they must avoid emotional attachment to subordinates or clients.

Thus, Weber weaved his bureaucratic-model or ideal type around these four abstract edifices. Though, in the Weberian conceptualisation such models were never absolute. Rather, it was an approximation and variations of the formulated ideal types are always there within formal organisations.

One of the important and distinguishing attributes of the bureaucracy has been the concept of ‘hierarchy’. The functional justification of hierarchy is that it maintains a unity of command, coordinates activities and personnel, reinforces authority and serves as the formal system of communication. In theory, the hierarchy has both downward and upward orientation, but in practice it has often turned out to have only a downward emphasis. Thus, individual initiative and participation is blocked where upward communication is impeded and there is no formal recognition of horizontal communications. Personnel who follow only the formal hierarchy may waste a great deal of time and energy.

The second edifice rested on the legs of ‘abstract or formalised rules’. However, in practice formalised rules became an obstacle, rather than a facilitator of organisational goals. In this context, Drucker points out, “First is the mistaken belief that procedural rules are instruments of morality. They should be used only to indicate how something can be done expeditiously; they should not determine what is right or wrong conduct.
Second, procedural rules are sometimes mistakenly substituted for judgment. Bureaucrats should be mesmerised by printed forms; forms should be used only in cases where judgement is not required. The third and most common misuse of procedural rules is a punitive control device from above. Bureaucrats are often required to comply with rules that have nothing to do with their jobs.” (Drucker, 1954: 133-134).

The impersonal quality of the bureaucracy has even more dysfunctional consequences than specialisation, hierarchies and rules. Merton and Selznick, who have studied this aspect, conclude that one major behavioural consequences of bureaucratic structuring is the disruption of over all objective of goal attainment. The exaggerated adherence to bureaucratic rules and discipline affects participants’ personalities to the point where the rules and discipline become ends in themselves (Merton, 1949: 153-157).

One encounters these typical features of bureaucracy in the Indian context. Indian bureaucracy is extremely rule-bound and therefore, fails to adapt itself to the changing situations. It lacks innovation and empathy, qualities required to handle cases of sensitive nature as are the cases involving child abuse and deprivation. Adherence to authority and hierarchy make down-up communication non-existent. Therefore, schemes are conceptualised and designed at the top echelons, divorced from the ground realities. In this context, Hassan’s study of government organisation shows that there was considerable delay in decision-making, with an average of over a year for disposing of cases. The lower level functionaries like dealing assistants and under secretaries indirectly controlled decision-making process by controlling file initiation and furnishing of information. The files were processed at several levels with a tendency to transfer responsibility on to others (Hassan, 1980: 97-102).

5.6.1. Tall Structure of Bureaucracy vs. Flat Structure of NGOs

In contrast, important features of the structure of the NGOs, which distinguish them from government departments, are the fluidity and collectivism of the NGOs vis-à-vis narrow span of control and segmentation of the government departments. Even though the detailed working of the government departments is beyond the scope of the present research, it can be surmised that various departments work in an atomistic way, lacking necessary synergy of purpose. There is no coordination between social defence department on the one hand, MCD (slum wing) and police on the other. The police send a delinquent street child to rehabilitative home or to an observatory home and forget
about him. Moreover, the government agencies do not work not on a proactive basis; rather they function in a reactive manner with the result that street children are treated as objects, instead of subject of actions.

Fig. 5.1. Tall Structure of the Ministry of Social Justice

![Tall Structure of the Ministry of Social Justice](image)

The study of NGOs reveals that they have a flat organisational structure. Even though a Board of Trustees heads Prayas and other NGOs with secretary as the functional head and president as the nominal head, the Board does not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the organisations. The executive director managed day-to-day affair and managers at the respective department/wing. Therefore, the NGO has two level of management. Management at the top where the secretary is the executive head and is part of the top-level management and the managers at the unit/sub-system level with executive director as the interface. In contrast, the bureaucratic structure is very hierarchical and there are multiple levels, which hinder progress. For instance, the Secretary at the apex level oversees the activities relating to social justice and empowerment activities of the organisation. Any government department mandated to implement a programme of juvenile justice like running of the observatory homes has to adhere to the rules and guidelines fixed at the top. This creates dy-synchrony between what is required on the one hand and the schemes formulated and implemented on the other. Government employees are afraid of breaking the rigid rules and structures, lest their job security is threatened. The command system is steeply hierarchical; the monitoring and oversight system is contingent on feedback from below. While the top sets the command system,
it hardly does anything to monitor the result. Any kind of feedback does not go to the apex body by independent sources but by departmental channel with the resultant distortion of facts and figures. The government bureaucratic structure is thus a tall-type structure with little scope for horizontal communication. On the other hand, the informality and flat structure of the NGOs has its own advantages and disadvantages. Fewer levels of authority and hierarchy make communication easier. To cite the instance of Prayas, every fortnight on Saturday, the Secretary sits with the managers and workers and listens to the progress of the work. In the process, lower-level workers not only get an opportunity to avoid hierarchy, but at the same time, it provides an opportunity for more horizontal communication across different levels. At one go, one can talk to his/her co-worker, manager or Board.

However, it must be said that flat, collectivist and informal structure of NGO may suffer from communication confusion. Increased equality existing between subordinates in a flat structure has the potential to create and generate communication problems. In the absence of status or authority differentials, which are structurally absent, a heavy burden is placed upon horizontal communication. Horizontal communication system is notably deficient in most organisations. The problem may be compounded in flat organisations, where dependence is placed solely on this type of communication, but it is not structurally facilitated. It is a common sight to observe confusion and absence of clear-cut responsibility in flat organisational structures of like one existing in the case of the NGOs.

All the four organisations are functionally divided into different units. Each subsystem is not only independent, but is also functionally autonomous. For example, the education unit looks at curriculum for alternative education, give teachers training for its regular residential school and designs other educational materials. However, the units are not classical bureaucratic structures- type of government in which each department is an island in itself with little interaction with other subsystems, resulting in an inchoate disparate system, without lending fluidity and openness to the over-all system. In contrast to the tall structure of bureaucracy, the structure of NGOs is more flat. The tall structure has very small or narrow span of control; whereas the flat structure has large or wide span of control. In tall structures, the number of subordinates assigned to each superior allows for tight control and strict discipline. In tall structure (diagram in discussion with bureaucratic structure) the level of management is more layered and
therefore, the authority structure is much more than in flat structure where there are only two levels of management. From behavioural point of view, self-control is much more effective than control imposed from the above. The behavioural advantage of flat organisation hinges on the assumption that there are capable people who can produce under conditions of relative independence.

5.6.2 Structure of NGOs: Secondary Literature

Governance outside of a national political context is generally understood as managing or facilitating administration, while being closely associated with strategic decision-making (Ott, 2001). Tandon makes the distinction between management of the NGOs and governance by stating that “governance focuses on issues of policy and identity, rather than the day-to-day implementation of programmes” (2002: 215). Governance addresses the ‘vision’, ‘mission’ and ‘strategy’ of an NGO rather than operations. The traditional approach to the study of NGO-governance has focuses on the structure of trusts/boards (Carver, 1990; Houle, 1989), especially their role in reinforcing governance structures (Smillie and Hailey, 2001). Numerous empirical studies on boards have focused on how boards should operate. Bradshaw, Murray, and Wolpin (1992) classified these studies on the basis of subjective versus objective performance measures. A number of studies offer prescriptive advice on the ability of boards to effectively fulfil their responsibilities (Axelrod, 1994; Block, 1998; Callen and Falk, 1993; Houle, 1989; Ingram; 2003; Murray and Tassie, 1994; Price, 1963; Siciliano, 1990). Another angle, frequently used to study governance is the analytical approach, particularly decision-making as a factor of governance when accounting for internal power dynamics and external environmental factors (Bradshaw, Murray and Wolpin, 1992; Herman and Heimovics, 1990). A significant portion of the literature on non-profit governance focuses on the North American scenario with very limited conceptual studies done on non-profit governance in the developing country context.

Furthermore, there are gaps in the available literature with respect to addressing the theme of exploration of contextual elements within non-profit organizations, having implications on governance in terms of structure and process (Ostrower and Stone, 2001).
Governance models have focused on the tripartite system, the structure of boards and the overall governance processes. Models are useful as they help us unravel the contextual elements of governance especially as they relate to a given organizational structure. Charles Handy (1976) pointed to the effectiveness of an organizational structure dependent on the interplay between multiple systems and this idea can be extended to the structure of boards and the overall governance process. Models on non-profit governance have evolved over time, starting with the seminal policy governance model by Carver (1990), followed by an alternative model proposed by Herman and Heimovics (1991). These guiding models reflect governance as it is traditionally perceived and practiced. Carver's policy governance model (1990) views the board as representing a microcosm of the larger organizational ownership. The model differentiates between the types of policies that boards are preoccupied with framing such as outlining outcomes and the means to achieving those outcomes, setting the parameters between the board and the staff, and framing accountability standards for the executive or determining board accountability.

Herman (1989) has suggested that the principles suggested in Carver's model are not only demanding, but also realistically difficult for board members to achieve or implement on their own. The alternative model presented by Herman and Heimovics (1991) showed that, as NGOs became more established, the chief executive came to be seen as the key driver of growth; the link between board members, staff and constituents. The exception being organizations managed on the voluntary basis. The alternative model shares the same moral assumptions traditionally followed by non-profit organizations, which holds the board responsible for acting as the steward that oversees the mission, mandate, and values of the organization. However, in the alternative model, policy decisions are not taken solely by the board but are based on the collaborative efforts of the chief executive working in conjunction with staff and board members.

In an effort to explain the complexity that characterizes the direction of the governance approach within the tripartite system, Bradshaw et al. (1998: 13) developed a classification of governance models. They surveyed the literature on non-profit board governance and have found that there is no consensus among researchers or practitioners about an ideal governance model. They identified two sets of dimensions that generally encompass the governance spectrum within non-profit organizations. The first dimension
is 'established' versus 'innovative.' The former refers to organizations that focus on sustainability and static methods of operation while the latter refers to those dynamic organizations that are operationally flexible and creative. The second dimension, 'unitary' versus 'pluralistic,' refers to the application of a given model to either a single or a group of related organizations. Thus, when the dimensions are placed perpendicular to each other they give rise to four quadrants or four types of governance structures. Along these lines of dimensions, organizations may either be single entities or represent multiple entities that place emphasis on minimum change by adhering to predefined policies or on continuous change through innovation in policy and corresponding activities.

By using lessons learned from their classification, Bradshaw et al. (1998: 29) went a step further and created a hybrid model: the 'Adaptive Equilibrium Model'. It relies on the same dual sets of dimension used in their original classification, but uses features from all four scenarios to indicate how a given organization responds to stimuli from environmental factors. For instance, an organization may be drawn to the features of one of the governance approach, such as a focus on innovation, but it may simultaneously retain or adopt characteristics along the other dimensions that emphasize other interests including framing policy and the needs of multiple stakeholders. The model aims to foster leadership through learning and adaptability by using a multiple-stakeholder approach to mission framing, and board diversity. The key functions of the board are clustered under 'outreach, stewardship, operations, self-reflection and assessment, and establishing legitimacy'. The key descriptors of the model are in keeping with present day researcher/practitioner emphasis to have more inclusive, diverse, multi-stakeholder approaches to governance. Besides, providing descriptors of such progressive governance features, how does one go about creating a space and culture within the organization that would allow for inclusive governance features? The actual mechanics of achieving progressive governance lies inherently in the very structure of the organization, which allows for a space to develop innovative approaches in the governance process.

5.6.3 Organisations: Key Units

The components of the organisation and the manner in which they are related to authority and hierarchy and decision-making processes have been identified. The Prayas model is described and the differences with other organisations are also highlighted.
1. Anti Trafficking Unit:

One of the most important units of the organisation, it always reaches out to children who are destitute, or who have run away from their homes and are vulnerable to human trafficking. The wing has contact points at New Delhi Railway station, Inter-state Bus Terminus and other important transit points of the city and rescue girl children from trafficking or children who are vulnerable to trafficking.

2. Training Unit:

The basic objective of the training unit is to sensitise various groups of people on issues related to child rights and needs, juvenile justice, etc. It organizes workshops, seminars and develops materials (both written and visual) to impart training, inter alia, to NGOs, police, educators, bureaucrats and other social groups.

3. Information, Education and Communication (IEC):

IEC, the advocacy unit of Prayas works with a multi pronged strategy aimed at sensitising the society on the issue of neglected street and working children. This is done by involving partners with the true spirit of care, protection and development of these children. Using effective communication tools like posters, pamphlets, puppet shows, street theatre, folk dance, TV spots, film etc., it tries to reach out to cross- sections of the society, whose help has the potential to bring big changes in the lives of millions of children.

- Kalasrishti Prayas: A unit of advocacy through performing arts by the children, for the children and of the children. Regularly, they perform on pavements, with school children, on the occasion of Anti-Child Labour Day and in many other public arenas.
- Parivartan: Parivartan, the bi-lingual newsletter is the vehicle of ideas and activities of Prayas. The newsletter contains articles on children's issues, poems and paintings by street and working children, interviews of child right activists etc.
- Prayaschildren.org: It is this website of Prayas which was launched by none other than the Union Finance Minister Mr. Yashwant Sinha.
TV Spot: Making appeal to the majority of our society and to protect the underprivileged children, Prayas produced a TV spot, which is being aired on prominent channels.

4. Resource Management:

The resource management unit raises resources and consolidates the corpus fund by organising fund raising events, through the sale of greeting cards and vocational products and by obtaining sponsorship for the children. It plays a vital role in helping Prayas achieve self-sustainability.

Prayas is also able to generate funds through the sponsorship programme, which has been very effectively managed by the resource unit. There are nearly 150 children being presently sponsored by various individuals in the organisation. Majority of these children have been sponsored initially for a period of one year. Some of them have been sponsored for two to three years. Most of these children have been sponsored for the purpose of giving them education. The sponsorship programme is being expanded to include more and more children.

5. Education and Vocational Education Wings:

The Prayas alternative education model is sensitive to the needs and interest of the child and adheres to the concept of joyful learning. Flexibility of timing and curriculum are the hallmarks of this project. The Prayas alternative education unit prepares appropriate curriculum for the out of school children. Prayas at present runs 52 alternative Education centres. A child is educated in these classes for a maximum period of three years and then mainstreamed into a regular school.

6. Community Initiative Wings which include Self-Help Group

Working on primary prevention, Prayas launched several community initiatives to improve livelihood, economic conditions of the deprived and poverty stricken families in the slums of Delhi.
7. Observatory Wings

The observatory wing manages the observatory home for children who are in conflict with laws. In major policy shift the government handed over the observation homes for juvenile in conflict with laws to NGOs. Prayas took over the management of the custodial home for boys in Delhi Gate. Most homes all over the country are infamous as centres of exploitation. Prayas has converted this jail-like institution into a home where boys can play, study, receive individual counselling and also go out on excursions and picnics. Similar observatories home also is run by Prayas at Pherozshah Kotla.

8. Health Wing

Prayas Health Service is an apex unit for all health services provided by Prayas at various slum communities in Delhi. Since its inception in 1995, the PHS was focusing largely on HIV-AIDS, besides regularly providing primary Health care to all children from the targeted areas. This is also part of the primary prevention made at the community level.

9. Crisis Intervention Wing

The crisis prevention wing created in recent times to provide help to sexually abused makes critical intervention in providing emotional care and psychological counselling. Crisis Intervention Centre was set up in June 2000 through Prayas in nine districts of Delhi in collaboration with the Delhi Commission for Women and Delhi Police. It is meant to cater to the social and rehabilitative needs of girls in the age group of 6-18 years who are victims of acute forms of violence including physical abuse. CIC was set up in each district having four major partners viz. Police, earmarked voluntary organizations, doctors and lawyers including the prosecutors and special counsels, ACP/CAW Cell of the concerned district. CIC professionally investigates rape cases (16 years and below) in the city of Delhi. It provides rehabilitation to the victims in the areas of education, health, legal, vocational training for self-sufficiency, counselling (both individually and family), besides a host of other support services like shelter, financial support, support in marriage etc. It functions in collaboration with Delhi Police and DCW.
With a view to handle the investigation of rape cases of minor victims professionally and with sensitivity and to rehabilitate the needy ones amongst them, CICs have been set up in the Police Districts of Delhi with the following objectives:

- To provide support structure to minor victims of rape in handling rape crisis
- To ensure professional investigation of such cases and its meaningful prosecution
- To provide financial support, medical services and counselling to help the needy ones

Prayas's Crisis Intervention Centre, which comes into being to help the victim of rape and sexual assault, is an amalgam of counselling unit, legal unit, education wing and shelter wing. When the crisis intervention unit came to know of any abuse, it reaches out to the victim, establishes relations with police to lodge complaint, take the help of counselling and legal unit to record the statement of victim before police. In contrast, handling of rape cases by the police further confounds the trauma of the rape victim. Police treat street children as nuisance and violators of law who are engaged in petty burglary and theft. The NGOs see the whole event as a product of deprivation and try to wean them away from their activities and rehabilitate them.

5.7. Analysis of Organisation Structure

The NGOs stressed informality among their management staffs and ad hoc rather than permanent task-force committees. This fluid type of organisations has led to quick action instead of inertia and inaction, characteristic of formal, bureaucratic structure (Thomas and Waterman, 1983).

NGOs with secretary as the functional head and president as the nominal head, the Board does not interfere in the day-to-day affairs of the organisations. The day-to-day affair is managed by the executive director and managers at the respective department/wing and therefore, the NGO has two level of management. Management at the top where the secretary is the executive head and is part of the top-level management and the managers at the unit/sub-system level with executive director as the interface. In contrast, the bureaucratic structure is very hierarchical and there are multiple levels, which hinder progress. For instance, the Secretary at the apex level oversees the activities relating to social justice and empowerment activities of the organisation. Any
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5.7.1. Decision-making and Project Conceptualisation in NGOs

Bureaucracy, dominated by hierarchy, veneration of authority, lack of initiative and imagination, fear of responsibilities and a process of self-aggrandisement, is utterly inadequate to deal with child rights (Rogers, 1975: 4). Police, which are entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring child rights, are more than often found to be the worst violators of child rights and are found abusing street children. The case in point is the tobacco and substance abuse provisions of Indian laws, which make tobacco chewing by children illegal and liable to punishment. Rather than seeing it as cases of deviations from norms, the same can be viewed as a consequence of culture of deprivation and lack of discipline, which require behavioural modification not through punishment but by a series of incentives and disincentives.

In contrast NGOs adopt participatory decision-making. Flat and collectivist structure of the NGOs allow quick decision-making, project conceptualisation and implementation. In the working of the NGOs, major policy decisions are in the nature of governance issues rather than implementation issues and decision regarding them is taken by the Board. However, programme conceptualisation is always done at the top. Except at Butterflies where project conceptualisation and implementation are decided in a participatory manner; in other NGOs, the decision is made at the Board level and little discussions are held among the lower level employees about the major policy decisions. However, the board seeks the opinion of the employees about the procedures of
implementation. Thus, the major policy decisions are governance issues and decided at Board level with Secretary/ Director assuming the key role, while the implementation aspect is more participative.

Box 1: Bal Vikash Bank of Butterflies

In other NGOs the Board takes a major policy decision on a programme and then approach funding agencies for resources. A baseline survey is conducted to ascertain preliminary data about the intervention area.

In a typical bureaucratic structure- both government and non-governments, programmes/projects like rules are invested with a life of their own. They are, to borrow the words of Durkheim “Social Facts”; distinct and distant from the context in which they exist. Programmes are designed and implemented by organisations for the ‘target groups’, without ascertaining their needs and peculiarities.

In contrast, Butterflies designs programmes on the basis of conceptualisation made by the principal stakeholders i.e. the street children themselves. Balsabha (street children’s assembly) sits regularly to discuss their problems and it suggests solutions. The organisation-Butterflies facilitate these concepts by rendering financial and other logistical support. Street children themselves articulate their problems and find out solutions as well the mechanisms to realise them. This children-oriented and initiated programme leads to greater participation of the street children in various banks.

5.7.2. Fund Mobilisations and Accountability

While the government has tax payers’ money and annual budget allocation for the Social defence and welfare section of Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Women and Child Development and HRD, the most crucial concern for NGOs are financial resource generation for implementation and sustenance of projects. Unlike in the past, the third sector has also globalised. Funding sources have gone beyond the narrow confines of government grants to international funding agencies, multilateral agencies,
foreign government, corporate houses and other undisclosed sources. In fact, the informal, collective structure of NGOs is increasingly giving way to bureaucratic structure on account of other conditions imposed by funding sources. If fund mobilisation is one of the key concerns of the NGOs, there is an increasing opaqueness about funding sources and fund utilisation. The annual report of each NGO contains an annual financial statement about income and expenses under different heads, but these audited financial statements are not taken very seriously. NGOs and their international donors who were wary about public questioning of their assets, activities and lifestyles greeted a Draft Code of Conduct for Voluntary agencies in 1985 with hostility. The NGOs were reluctant to share the financial information under each head of the programmes as well. There is a sense of uneasiness about sharing financial information under different programmes and in the absence of the same it cannot be independently ascertained whether the finances shown in the book is actually spent. NGOs under the study made deliberate efforts to avoid hierarchy and implement a participatory, decentralized and informal structure. However, available empirical evidence suggests that non-governmental organizations (NGO), even those that intentionally want to maintain a collectivist structure, when subject to growth and accountability from funders, turn to adopt bureaucratic governance features (Kassam, Handy and Ranade, 2000: 30-40). By gravitating towards a bureaucracy, organizations are likely to increase their reliance on traditional systems of governance. Organizational governance cannot be understood without recognizing the complex environments that they function within and the levels of permeability between boundaries of those environments. For example, as NGOs generally have to apply for recurrent funding they are subject to accountability standards as prescribed by funders, while funders are subject to environmental factors that could affect their mandates and their decision to grant recurrent funding to the NGOs.

5.8. NGO Moving Towards Bureaucratic Structure

The role of the NGOs has increased over a period of time. They have been called upon to perform multifarious functions. And, the objective of ameliorating the lot of the street children is one of the many areas in which the NGOs are beginning to make their presence felt. This has in turn led to a degree of ‘hierarchisation’ and ‘bureaucratisation’ in the functioning of the NGOs. The organisational set up of the NGOs has over a period of time evolved into strata, with its own set of command structure. Close observation of
the functioning of the NGOs would reveal that the personnel working for the NGOs can be broadly classified into Deciders, Managers and Executors. This classification is made based upon certain set of parameters like access to decision making process, autonomy in decision-making, access to funds, ability to conceptualise a project and implement it and also on the basis of control on other functionaries.

**DECIDERS:** They are the ones, who are part of the management. The Secretary or one of the trustees is categorised as a decider. They wield enormous power and have complete autonomy in decision making process. They also enjoy complete autonomy in conceptualising and implementing a project. As they are part of the management, they have unrestrained access to funds. Besides, they have unlimited power to ‘hire or fire’ any functionary working in the NGO.

**MANAGERS:** They are the next in the hierarchy of NGOs. They have commensurately less powers. What differentiates them is the fact that they function as the ‘eyes and ears’ of the ‘deciders’. They are part of the middle management and exercise direct supervisory powers on the ground staff. They have relative autonomy in planning their day-to-day goals; which are invariably circumscribed by the overall objectives of the organisation. They have neither access to funds nor autonomy in conceptualising and implementing a project.

**EXECUTORS:** The executors form the lowest rung in the hierarchy of NGO functionaries. They are the ones who are supposed to carry out the instructions of the higher-ups. They are akin to the ‘foot-soldiers’, who are at the level of execution. They report to the ‘managers’ and have no authority over others or have autonomy in conceptualisation and implementation of the projects.

5.9. Personnel and their Satisfaction Level

There is a paucity of materials on the socio-economic background of the personnel engaged by the NGOs. An in-depth interview was conducted with the manger-level personnel to ascertain their satisfaction level. In the last two decades with increasing importance of NGOs as service delivery mechanisms and increasing funding baskets, the NGOs have been able to attract the best of talent. However, the motivation level of the personnel depends not only on levels of salary, but also on organisational structure. The
organisation that provides good salary and scope for autonomy will provide a better organisational space. The level of motivation varied across the hierarchy.

The present study interviewed a total number of 6 NGOs namely, Nav Shristi, Prayas, Save the Children (UK), Don Bosco, Chetna, Action Aid International. Across the NGOs and across the various levels of personnel (Deciders-Managers-Executors) we interviewed 40 personnel. If we look at the educational status, a varied range can be identified. In the case of the ‘deciders’ the educational level was found to be quite high-mostly Ph. Ds/M.Phils. In the case of the ‘managers’ also the educational qualification was found to be at least post-graduation and in many cases even Ph.Ds. In the case of the ‘executors’, the educational qualification showed wide diversity- from class 12th to post-graduation. Only two had M. Phil or Ph.D.

Table 5.2 Educational Qualifications of NGO Personnel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Qualification</th>
<th>No. Of Personnel</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class-XII</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate/ M.A.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Phil/ PhD</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field Data)

Further when asked about job satisfaction, as high as a 57.5 percent of the personnel were satisfied with the job that they were doing, a significant 20 percent were not satisfied with their jobs and the remaining 22.5 percent were moderately happy with their job. This also showed variation in terms of their respective location in the hierarchy. Thus, the ‘deciders’ were the happiest with their job profile. There was no disenchantment with their job content. The ‘managers’ on the other hand displayed a mixed profile- 40% of the ‘managers’ were satisfied, 30% were moderately satisfied and the rest 30% were disenchanted. In the words of one of the managers who was disenchanted- “There is no job satisfaction. Since, I do not have any other alternatives; I have to perforce continue in my present assignment.” The degree of job satisfaction amongst the ‘executors’ was the least. Only 20% said they were moderately satisfied with what they are doing. In fact, the high attrition rate amongst the category of the ‘executioners’ was a pointer to the effect that not many were happy with their jobs. For many in the category of the executors, it was just another job. They at no point in time told that they were actuated by any love for the children on the street.
Table 5.3: Job Satisfaction of NGO Personnel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Satisfaction</th>
<th>No. Of Staff</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Satisfied</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field Data)

5.9.1. Career Prospects

Again when enquired about career growth, as to whether they thought it was good opportunity for them to work in the respective NGO, as high as 45 per cent of the respondents thought it was a good opportunity while for some it was moderate (37.5 percent), while others (17.5 percent) did not think there was scope in career growth. The highest percentage in the category of ‘executors’ were of the opinion that there was no scope of any meaningful career growth in this line of profession.

Table 5.4. Prospect for Career Growth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Growth</th>
<th>No. Of Staff</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Scope</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Scope</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field data)

5.9.2. Monetary Benefits

Monetary compensation related to satisfaction of its personnel is one aspect, which dogged many of the middle level NGO workers.

Table 5.5: Monetary Satisfaction Level of the NGO Personnel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monetary Satisfaction</th>
<th>No. Of Staff</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately Satisfied</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Satisfied</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field Data)
As far as the monetary satisfaction was concerned, it was seen that out of a total of 40 personnel interviewed, as high as 32.5 per cent were moderately satisfied with their pay package and around 30 per cent were satisfied with what they were paid. A significant 37.5 per cent were unhappy about their pay package. The majority of ‘executors’ were not happy with their pay packets. In the words of one of the ‘executors’- “Long hours of work and the salary we are getting are not commensurate.”

5.10. Children’s Responses

The responses of the children were also ascertained to examine their perception about infrastructure and basic amenities in the shelter homes, day care centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amenities</th>
<th>No. Of students</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field data)

Twenty-nine percent of the respondents felt that structures in classes were in good condition; while 60 percent felt that the structures were in satisfactory condition, as less as 12 (approximately 11.5) percent were critical of the infrastructure. They shared their views with us and told us that in summer they felt very hot and uncomfortable with so many of them being cramped in one room.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amenities</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Field data)

With regard to drinking water as high as 46 percent of the children were happy and said that the drinking water facility was good, while 35 percent of the children were satisfied with the facility. However, 19 percent indicated that the facility available to them was not good. As far as the toilet facility was concerned as high as 57 percent found toilet services to be satisfactory.
5.11. Conclusion

While the third sector has done inherently better than government agencies in ensuring the rights of the children in general and street girl children in particular, the achievement must be read not in terms of the failures of the state alone but on the objective conditions of street children. It must be said that despite many innovative projects such as child radio, child bank, crisis intervention centres and community intervention projects; the success rate of street children in achieving social mobility is very few and far between. There is no study to show that integrated children have not gone back to their old profession. Moreover, there is also no data to show that street girl children, rescued and rehabilitated by NGOs, have not again fallen prey to the immoral trafficking. However the rehabilitation home with its facilities and approach are educating experiences for all and had given a ray of hope in children.

However, one area of concern is the increasing bureaucratization of structures of governance within the NGOs. This has led to the emergence of parallel stratified layers; having a bearing on the motivation and morale of the personnel working in the NGO sector. What is cause for concern is the fact that, in the case of the street children, there needs to be a greater level of commitment and involvement of the personnel working for them. At the grassroots level, these are the factors which are virtually absent. Thus, those employed by the NGOs and working for the street children, perceive their roles as being limited and mandated by the decisions and orders of those who are manning the levers of management.