Conclusion
Collectivist Structure of NGOs Giving Way to Bureaucratic and Authoritarian Structure

General assembly of street children to deliberate new programmes, Children Bank and Children Radio are some of the many innovative programmes that the NGO have launched for the betterment of street children. Innovative programmes, faster reach-out, direct contact with the street children speak of their progressive governance. Actual mechanics of the progressive governance of these organizations lies inherently in the very structure of these organizations, which allow a space to develop innovative approaches in the governance process.

The study found an emphasis on multiplicity of tasks by all members within an organization. However, there is also emphasis to create a degree of specialization, while simultaneously allowing for overall generalization. The redundancy of functions does not mean that every body becomes a spare part; rather the organisations create a degree of specialization within the system and simultaneously allows for overall generalization. Members of each smaller team or organization within the NGO learn to multi-task and adapt to environmental factors. By creating redundancy within the boundaries of requisite variety, organizations developed in a cellular manner around self-organizing groups that have the requisite skills and abilities to deal with the environment in a holistic and integrated way. So the organisation has a cellular self help group unit, another on micro finance, the other on juvenile justice, etc. One benefit of this faster cell structure is that a team could immediately develop to implement a programme. Once the top decision-makers decided to launch a programme a structure can immediately stand up due to this flexibility of functions. The drawback to having too much flexibility is that it could distract from goals or replicate unneeded structures. One finds the lack of expertise of even the top-level functionaries in the NGOs we studied. The Research wing of all the NGOs lack rigorous research skill. Many who are into banking or micro finance do not have expertise in banking and accounting.

Therefore, there was just enough control needed in these organisations to ensure that groups or systems can carry out their tasks. Leadership and facilitating skills are used
to keep members informed about the process. This feature is borrowed from a bureaucratic system, but it need not be bureaucratic in function.

There are three simultaneous trends, which are noticed in the organisational structures of NGOs. At one level, especially at the middle level managers and executioners there is a redundancy of functions and a great deal of flexibility in functions, which foster a collectivist approach. On the other hand as Organisations scale up in operations, they move towards bureaucratic structures. By gravitating towards a bureaucracy, organizations have increasingly turned to adherence to rules and hierarchy. This excessive adherence to rules partly stems from the constraints of fund mobilization. As NGOs depend on their sustenance funding from government and international sources, they have to adhere to accountancy and other norms as set by government and donors. At the third level, the organisations as they scale up there are increasing trends towards authoritarianism. The Board of trustees have become nominal. The Director/Secretary has all powerful because from the beginning he was the pivot figure who have conceptualised schemes, mobilised funds and developed the organisations. Constraints of fund mobilisation and its impact and increasing concentration of powers and authorities at the hand of one person i.e. Director and Secretary are fast becoming the defining traits of the modern NGOs.

**Innovative Programmes But Short Commitments**

Street girls were one of the most deprived and vulnerable sections of societies. They struggle to find morsel of food. They lack the physical and psychosocial comfort of home, support and other creative comforts essential for a healthy growth of her personality. She is prone to sexual violence and trafficking. And above all, she is regarded as a hazard to public life and is subject to police torture. The police generally view street children as vagrants and criminals. While it is true that street children are sometimes involved in petty theft, drug-trafficking, prostitution and other criminal activities, the police tend to assume that whenever a crime is committed on the street, street children are either involved or know the culprit. Their proximity to a crime is considered reason enough to detain them. This abuse violates both Indian domestic law and international human rights standards. The cumulative impact of violence and deprivation has a debilitating effect on the emotional development of girl street child.
NGOs like Prayas, Butterflies, Don Bosco, Save the Children have launched many innovative programmes. The avowed objectives of these programmes are to restore childhood of the street girls by bringing them back to mainstream. Mainstreaming involves good education that enhances their capacities, to increase their skill so that they have capacities to explore opportunities and securities against torture, violence and sexual exploitation. There are also many delinquent children who have committed crimes and are kept in the Observation home and juvenile homes. These children must be provided opportunities and facilities so that their childhood is not lost. The time in juvenile home must be spent in a manner that increases their choices once they come back from juvenile home.

Apart from integrated programmes for these children, the other avowed objectives of NGOs are to act as sensitiser of public opinion. The NGOs have to a great extent have been successful in this endeavour. They have been successful in sensitising public about the plight of street children. They are instrumental in making changes in the laws that previously did not recognize the neglected aspect of juvenile justice. The 1986 Juvenile Justice Act and the subsequently improved Juvenile Justice (care and protection) Act 2000 make for the first time the distinction between delinquent and neglected juvenile. They are also to great extent responsible for humanising the juvenile home and night shelter home.

The problem of street children is a product of structural conditions of poverty, unemployment and deprivation. Eradication of poverty in the houses of poor and healthy family life is key to prevent the phenomenon of street children. Therefore the NGOs have launched many micro finance schemes to help economically empower the poor.

However, programmes for 1,00,000 street children of Delhi (Butterflies estimate it to be 400,000) require huge financial resources and sustained effort. Intervention programmes that impinge on reducing the asymmetries of economies and societies as through the SHG (Self Help Group) movement, integrated schemes for street children, which cover aspects of shelter, food, education, health and recreation, protection and securities against child abuse, require sustained effort and huge financial resources. However, many funding agencies commit money for short duration and government
funding of agencies of these programmes are too meagre and suffer from corruption. The funding is insufficient to take care of the many aspects of child’s need. This aspect is touched upon in the following section.

NGOs are also instrumental in changing rape laws. Definition of rape as contained in the Section 376 of the Indian Penal Code does not make any distinction between child and others. Further, it recognises penetration as a critical condition of rape. The NGOs have been successful in lobbying against these lacunas in laws.

**NGOs are not Concerned About Post-rehabilitation Future of Street Girls.**

NGOs quote numbers in their annual reports: Number of street and orphaned girls in shelter home among which \( X \) numbers of people are enrolled into formal education and \( Y \) numbers had undergone through alternative and vocational education. It also brings out regularly inspiring stories of street girls who have become successful. They also bring out stories of reintegration of the street girls who have run away from home and were again reunited. Stories of rescue from prostitution and sexual exploitation help to rape victims by the Rape Crisis Intervention Centre are also regularly highlighted by the NGOs.

Prayas claims that it reaches out to almost 50000 street orphan; Butterflies also makes similar claim. However, when it comes to concrete cases of successful stories there is no database. No database exist about the future of girls who have stayed in the rehabilitation home of the organisation, had undergone formal and vocational education. Did they become part of the other normal members of the society or they again fall prey to the prostitution and deprivation. The data are of no help in this regard. Nevertheless it must be said that the NGOs are acting more as advocacy groups than development organisations implementing real actions. Funding may be a constraint. Any programme which targets deprived child must ensure their smooth transition to adulthood. Smooth transition means education, expansion of capacities and opportunities to earn a livelihood. It requires a commitment from NGOs from the time of rescue of the child to the time it grows up in capacities and face the world. Such interventions require massive funding, quality education, which unfortunately are NGOs lacking. This also brings to sharp focus the continued relevance of the state in ensuring the rights of the street girls. It also brought to fore the nature of NGOs i.e. whether it is service delivery organisations or advocacy organisations. The question also involves relations of NGOs with the state.
Fund Mobilisation, Financial opacity and myths of NGO

One of the most important aspects of NGO, which was intended to be studied, is finance and fund mobilisation. However, there was a resistance against financial disclosure. NGOs of course submit their annual financial statement to income tax department and Registrar of Societies but they hesitated to show it to me. The annual report also contains the annual financial statement but unfortunately the annual reports of the five NGOs (except Save the Children and Action Aids) do not contain the annual financial statement. In the absence of financial statement, the administrative expenses of these NGOs could not be known.

One reason for the growing favouredness for NGOs as service delivery mechanisms over the state bureaucratic apparatus is that the NGOs are effective at minimum cost. Many NGOs claim that the administrative cost is kept at 15 of the overall expenses. The ratio of administrative costs to total expenses is used as a proxy for efficiency, irrespective of product.

NGOs are in a bind when it comes to their own created self-image – that development itself comes easy. The creation was not entirely own. In fact, NGOs are still considered as making social services and therefore, must be frugal. This Gandhian notion of service delivery and financial stringency has made NGOs to claim that they are doing development in relatively lesser cost.

The question that arises is: how do they square up the circle? The answer is that they fudge by using forged as well as creative public financial reporting. The accounting standard as maintained in the company accounts is not applicable to NGOs. NGOs maintain their account only under three heads: Administrative cost, project cost, etc. there are no standardized or legally binding formats or ratios, such as the generally acceptable accounting principles. A draft code bill for NGOs in 1987 is greeted with hostility by the NGOs. Recently the Orissa government’s attempt to put in place a proper auditing was scuttled by NGOs. The State and Central government have been regularly blacklisting NGOs for embezzlement of money and non-implementation of schemes for which funds have been allocated by the government. The Planning Commission’s website maintains
the list of 800 odd NGOs blacklisted by the government for misusing the money (commission.nic.in)

The NGOs, studied in the present work, are all big NGOs with multiple sources of funding. While Save the Children funds Butterflies, NORAD and host other corporate and international agencies fund Prayas. Action Aid generates its own resources and funds others. Don Bosco Ashalyam is part of an international faith based organisation and has network across the world.

But the real question lies elsewhere. Whether the NGOs are using money in a manner as shown in their accounts or are resorting to creative accounting standard that conceals administrative cost is only problematic area of NGOs. The point is how different heads were forged for personal embezzlement. The general perception is that the NGO directors forge accounting to use some parts of the findings for personal use. And that this perception is a reality is known firm many cases of black listing.

The answer lies in developing a voluntary code. When Bunker Roy introduced the voluntary code for NGOs in 1985, many NGOs cried foul. But without some degree of financial transparency the NGOs will remain under cloud. The present study could not ascertain the financial transparency of the organisations but the very fact that none of their annual reports or website contains the annual financial statement speaks the financial opacity of these organisations.

Adhering to a voluntary set of rules is one component of transparency. The other equally vital aspect is the proper calculation and true cost of development works. In fact the widely held assumption that the NGOs deliver cheaply is a great myth. Either they pay less to their employees or they deliberately show lesser administrative cost. This fudging has to do with the deeply held cultural value that NGOs are doing a social charity and therefore work with bare minimum. But, who defines the bare minimum? There is a disagreement. Many claim that minimum should be frugal while NGOs claim that their works have enormously expanded and therefore, require networking, mobilization and advocacy. All of them entail huge cost, expenses in advocacy travel and networking. The most critical cause of today’s difficulties is that the process costs of development are denied, ignored or just not considered as part of development. This thinking is most dominant in government discourse.
And those NGOs who still adhere to the myth that the administrative and process cost is not part of the development costs make an internal calculation that the risks of discovery and negative publicity do not outweigh the benefit of keeping things as they are.

**Board - a Nominal body, Real authorities Lies in Director**

It was found out that the NGOs are fast turning away from their flat, collective structure to a more formal bureaucratic structure as they expand their operation and area of activities. As mentioned in Chapter 5 the NGOs’ trend towards bureaucratisation was partly due to the terms and conditions, which are set by the funding agencies including the government of India. Soliciting large funds from institutions requires adherence to certain rules and the NGOs have to turn to formalisations. But formal adherence does not lead always to formalisation of rules. Rules were bent to accommodate the wishes of the Director or secretary who is the main functionary of NGOs. Rather than being democratic, the NGOs more or less are patterned in the nurturant-task leadership (NT leadership (JBP Sinha, 1980). The director is the key figure; he is the pivot. He has nurtured the organisation; mobilised funds and conceptualised programmes in the initial years. Once the organisations grew, he became enormously powerful. In fact organisations were identified with these people. The founding board exists but only in name. President, other executive and general body members also participate in the annual general body meeting. But they are nominal body; the real power lies with the Secretary. One resultant outcome of this process was the concentration of power and authorities with the Director. Arrogation of power and authorities more often turn him/her to be a nurturant-task little. There is a commitment to justice, which makes him/her sensitive to other. At the same time the concentration of powers makes him/her little autocratic in functioning. This may be an effective style in the India context as JBP Sinha argues. Sinha argues that in a culture with high dependency proneness, a weak work ethic, and a strong bonding orientation, a firm, directive, but nurturant leadership style is an essential first step in socialising a workforce into a culture of autonomy, work ethic and professionalism.
State’s Responsibilities and Relations with NGOs

The success of the programme for street children lies in enormous mobilization of resources, organizational capacities and sustained commitment to the tasks at hand. The large NGOs are capable of expansions, as Prayas and others have been doing. But the enormity of tasks (nearly 10 percent of the 375 million children are engaged in child labour; there are about two lakhs street children in Delhi alone) requires a pro-active state policy and commitment of government resources. The government of India has signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child-1989. This legally binding convention puts onus on the government to achieve progress in numerous fields of child rights and their best interests. The NGOs can be a service provider and enter in collaboration with states to achieve progress in child development. At the same time NGOs are also watchdog and must point out the shortcomings of state’s policies, programmes and implementation.

This duality of role – that of collaborator as well as protestor – has placed NGOs in a piquant position. Small NGOs cannot antagonize state apparatus by pointing out the failure of the state as this will lead to blacklisting by government. Blacklisting will stave them off funds so vital for their sustenance. At the same time unless thy point out the loopholes in policies, insensitivities of the state apparatus, the cause of child rights and justice can not be furthered. The NGOs has to make this delicate balancing act. It was found that dependencies on government funds restrict NGOs’ ability to protest. Butterflies, with access to international funds, have been openly critical while Prayas, also having access to multiple sources of funding, has decided to play a more balancing role. It tries to take the government agencies on the board top further the cause of juvenile justice. Prayas believes not in an antagonistic role of NGOs; rather it positions itself as an interface between state and stakeholders.

The NGO-State relation is only one facet but more importantly the Convention of the Child has put the primary responsibility of juvenile rights and justice in the hands of the State. The state has resources, and organizational structure to reach out to children. But so far the achievement is far from warming.

Torture and ill treatment of street children by police is still a common phenomenon. The Juvenile Justice Act stipulates a juvenile police, juvenile board and juvenile court in each district but they are not yet formed in many districts of India. The
police regularly pick up street children, beat them and detain them in police station. The juvenile justice Act specifies that children below 18 must not be put in regular jail. India has recently signed the 1984 UN Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment. But police force gets certain immunity for their action under CrPC. Thousands of children and youngsters comprising nearly one-eighth of the total prison population in India are languishing in jails. They are made to work for long hours. Juveniles are locked up at night without water, electricity and toilet facilities. Medical facilities are not regularly available. Under the Indian Penal Code nothing is an offence, which is done by a child under seven years of age and children between the ages of 7 to 12 who have not attained sufficient maturity of understanding to judge the nature and consequences of their conduct are deemed incapable of offence. The metropolises of Delhi and Mumbai account for 55.6 per cent of paedophilia case and 53.3 per cent of child rape. Six out of ten rape victims are children below 16 years.

The public focus of child labour under National Child Labour Eradication Project -1986 was very limited in focus. It covers approximately six to seven per cent of child labour in the urban, informal, manufacturing sector. Ninety per cent of India’s workforce is informal sector.¹

Similarly, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan- the universalisation of primary education is a very belated measurement. It aims at universalisation of primary education. No children between age six to 14 will remain illiterate. Illiteracy is the basic stumbling block, but it is not a sufficient condition for the expansion of one’s capacities. Government needs to commit itself to quality education till 18 years of age when child could explore further education on his/her own.

Needless to say, the Government has put in place a proper policy framework as part of its efforts to adhere to the conditions of Conventions of Rights. These commitments need continuous commitment of the state and not its retreat. The view that NGOs help neo-liberal forces by taking the burden of program development and implementation away from the state is far from true. The scope of NGOs will never be of

¹ These data are taken from the alternative working group on the progress made so far by India on it commitment to ensure the rights of the child under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Butterflies, 1998).
such magnitude as to allow them to release government from its responsibilities. Second, many NGOs work on the premise that governments should fulfill obligations and be held accountable for the actions they take or fail to take.

**Future Research Strategies**

The present dissertation tried to understand the causes of the phenomenon of the street children, double deprivation of the street girls, their socio-economic profile and their aspiration and dreams. It looked at the phenomenon as a product of rural poverty, rural/urban migration and avowedly discriminatory laws that restrict the livelihood choices of the poor. The relocation of polluting industries on the order of Supreme court, urban laws against street vendor led to closure of livelihood opportunities for urban poor. Moreover, abusive deprived family environment also contributed to the phenomenon of street girls. A deeply patriarchal culture, which discriminates against girl child, further compounds the problem for deprived girls. Different estimates put the figure of street children in Delhi between one to four lakhs and there is lesser number of girls on the street than boys. This relative invisibility of street girls is more disturbing as some of them are force into child prostitution. Various estimated put that around one-eighth prostitutes in different brothels of the metropolises of India are children below eighteen.

The present research also pointed out many progressive legislations made by the government in the wake of India’s ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, the enforcements of various policies are very slack with the result that the street girls continue to be deprived of basic entitlements. Even though scholars disagree over the rights of the child, there is a broad consensus that they enjoy certain rights and their best interests must be safeguarded. These entitlements, such as shelter, education, health, and security are crucial for a secure future. The NGOs are doing both advocacy and service delivery functions. However, the NGOs lack financial transparency and there is trend away from the initial collective structure toward formalisation in NGOs. Moreover, there is an arrogation of authorities by the chief functionary. There is an urgent need for a voluntary code of rules for NGOs without which the NGOs will be under scrutiny. There is also a need of change in the perception about NGOs. The administrative and processual cost is part of the development task and that need to be accounted for in the initial estimation of budgets.
However, the present research failed to study the financial aspects of NGOs in detail. There is a lack of data and short hesitation on the part of NGOs to share the project-wise expenses. The future research should concentrate on availing this information from the Income Tax Office under the recently enacted Right to information bill. Ratio of administrative cost to total expenses of the Ngo is taken as a standard technique in evaluating the efficiency of NGOs and the same be followed in future study.

Another important aspect, which could not be touched upon in the present study is the conditions of street girls who stayed in the rehabilitation homes of the NGOs. Are they empowered to stand on their own feet or they were again forced to lead a life of misery and exploitation could not be ascertained. The same exercise can be undertaken for observation and juvenile homes. What are the capacities built by the NGOs their stay in the shelter homes? Did they provide quality education, vocational training so that they could get livelihood opportunities once they leave the shelter home?

Reports of juveniles being lodged in the jails continue to pour in media. This is against the provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act –2000. Further the Act envisions juvenile courts, juvenile police in each district. Such policy stipulations are not implemented across the country. It is important that state creates fast enforcement mechanisms for the speedy implementation of the provisions of juvenile justice. Equitable growth, progressive policies and effective implementation of schemes are crucial to better the conditions of street child. NGOs can at best be effective advocacy groups; they do not have the scale to replace state. There is no scope for retreat of the state.