VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT : STRATEGY FOR ALTERNATIVES

(A STUDY OF PURI DISTRICT)

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
INDIA
1992

to that unsung army

of young volunteers

dedicated to wipe tears

from the eyes of the

rustic millions

world over

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
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C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that the dissertation entitled "VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT: STRATEGY FOR ALTERNATIVES (A STUDY OF PURI DISTRICT)" submitted by Pradeep Kumar Harichandan in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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PREFACE

For millions of poor Indians who live in the backwoods, political independence has not meant much. Meaningless is the debate for them -- 'which form of government is the best government'. The much awaited political independence has not effected any perceptible change in their socio-economic conditions. It has not helped them out of a state of abject poverty and backwardness. It is here in the miserable huts of the rural poor that the realisation of a national failure and relative deprivation comes most strongly. A father has to pull his child out of schools and yoke him to back-breaking work because he cannot afford to provide a pair of clothes, or he needs him to supplement his work of livelihood. It is here that one would find a strong co-relation between indifference of the father to educate his child and economic value of the latter as a bread earner for the family. Thus, the basic calculus of human life remains unsolved.

Here lies yet another Indian paradox -- 'self-sufficiency' in food production and starvation-deaths paradoxically co-exist in this country! It is the rural poor who has been worst affected. More than four decades of state-sponsored development has produced a plethora of programmes, an abstract pattern of development; but it has failed to

overcome this paradox.

Against this backdrop, emergence of voluntary organisations as catalysts of development has opened up fresh avenues for rethinking the existing pattern of development. There are wider possibilities of voluntary organisations emerging as the agents of alternative development. But there are limitations as well. Thus main argument of this study has been whether these organisations can really facilitate an alternative course of development while replacing the existing one. Each and every issue raised or examined in this study has revolved around this basic argument.

Chapter-I of this work is based on a review of the existing literature on the topic. But necessary modifications and subject-specific interpretations of existing concepts, ideas and assertions have also been given in this chapter. Besides trying to provide theoretical perceptions on the topic, the difficult task of classification and operationalisation have been worked out to ensure conceptual clarity.

Chapter II presents a profile of the three developmental organisations - Centre for Youth and Social Development (CYSD), Bhubaneswar; Bidyut Club, Haladiapara; and Association of Social Action and Development (AKSS), Kanas - all in the Puri district. This chapter touches upon the agro-climatic conditions and occupational pattern of the

people as well. At the end it presents a comparative view of the three voluntary organisations.

Chapter III deals with the leadership pattern and structure of the organisations. Continuity of a developmental organisation depends much on its second-rank leaders. Thus problems and possibilities of building a second-tier of leadership to avoid possible leadership vacuum in the future have been discussed. The problem of 'managing a voluntary organisation' as it grows in size and activity has been examined.

Chapter IV is concerned with funding of the developmental organisations. It seeks to find limitations and advantages of various sources of funding in terms of their impact on the nature and function of these organisations. Besides other related issues, a new approach followed by the two grass roots organisations to ensure beneficiary involvement has been examined.

Chapter V intends to provide a critical analysis of the relationship of voluntary organisations with the government, political parties, other voluntary organisations and the people. These relationships have been examined separately and from different view points. The apprehension that voluntary organisations might be used as an intermediate rung between the state and civil society has been deliberated in terms of their prospects to accomplish such task. While discussing their relationship with the political parties the phenomenon of co-opting the leader-volunteers and political interference in developmental activities have been discussed. Relationship between these organisations and political parties happens to be a relationship of opportunity. Prospects of horizontal and vertical co-ordination between voluntary organisations has also been analysed. Findings in this chapter reveal that these organisations

have a fragile and unclear relationship with the base groups which amounts to very poor public accountability. This chapter also discusses proliferation of easy money which has prompted some of the leader-volunteers to establish nexus with the bureaucrats and politicians.

The concluding chapter presents an overview of the research findings. The prime concern of this work has been to assess the prospects and constraints of developmental organisations to emerge as catalysts of alternative development. Therefore, an assessment of, whether these organisations can really accomplish this challenging task has been worked out. At the end, two separate alternative paradigms are suggested which would replace the existing practice of planning and development. The first one is the Alternative Plan Model (Single-Circular Continuum) which covers both macro and micro settings. The second paradigm constitutes the Alternative Development Model designed to operate in micro setting.

I must admit that this work is not a definitive study owing to its limited scope and applicability. This work may sound off-beat so far as the mainstream discussion on development is concerned, but the purpose has been to guide the discussion in such a way that it would furnish better insight into the existing pattern of development. Taking a turn from the 'dominant ideology' prevailing on the theme was difficult, though, a sustained effort has been to suggest an 'alternative thought' to weed out the

discrepancies therein and evoke a supplementary guide-line for this purpose.

CHAPTER-1

A STRATEGY FOR ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

- Issues
- Rural Development since Independence
- Problems
- Theoretical Perceptions
- Alternative Development
- Rationale
- Profile
- Classification
- Paradigm of Research/Operational Definations

Mahatma Gandhi said, political independence of India would not be safe and stable unless the village community was developed. After four decades of experience with state sponsored development, it is high time for introspection, for this country has neither been safe nor stable politically or otherwise, by subscribing to the existing model of development. A society, highly volatile and fragmented with ripening political and economic discontents has substantiated Mahatma's thoughtful perception linking rural development with political order of the country.

The state after independence became the sole agent of development and the masses obviously developed a tendency of parasitic dependence on it. On the part of the state, it nurtured a tendency of seeking remedy for every problem, developmental or otherwise; through its administrative apparatus. Thus the extent and mode of development remained dependent largely on the efficiency and power of the Indian bureaucracy. But unfortunately, Indian bureaucracy was not an institution designed to engineer development for the masses. Initially it was created by the colonial rulers as a regulatory institution to safeguard their interest with a rigid ruler-ruled hierarchy.

Administrative continuity amidst large scale political change became a feature of the Indian state. While state assumed new interventionistic role as a welfare state, no clear cut agenda was set to revamp the

administrative apparatus which was supposed to be the 'vehicle' for that change. Though no longer a British type 'steel frame', the Indian bureaucracy remained very much an 'aluminium frame' in terms of its status, power and 'closed to the community' nature. A huge bureaucratic structure soon developed the tendency of 'trained incapacity'[1] though endowed with monopoly of skill and power. The Indian bureaucracy was accorded an artificial indispensability in regard to developmental functions. Bendix's argument that monopoly of modern bureaucracy in terms of skill and power makes it irreplaceable and powerful enough to either sabotage policy directives or effect such directives in a convenient way is worth-considering in Indian context.[2] Lipset also subscribes to the view that time and again bureaucracies haved played major role in obstructing changes.[3] Role of Indian bureaucracy in sabotaging Panchayati Raj (local self-government) initiatives can be a fine example of the great and growing bureaucratic power.

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1. Robert Merton used this Vebler's concept to analyse his famous formulation of 'bureaucratic dysfunctions' which refers to a state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies.

2. Reichard Bendix, 'Bureaucracy and the Problem of Power', in Robert K. Merton et. al. (eds.), Reader in Bureaucracy, New York: Free Press, 1952.

3. S.M. Lipset, 'Bureaucracy and Social Change', in ibid., p.222.

The other argument on Indian bureaucracy favours entrusting a catalyst's role to the Indian bureaucracy. It is often argued, with the adoption of new goals of socio-economic changes role of the bureaucracy has also undergone changes responding to the exigencies of development. Bureaucracy in India has to perform multiple functions unlike the developed countries where in these functions are performed by variety of institutions. In countries like India where social and political institutions are relatively less developed, the state has to depend mainly on its administrative apparatus to engineer socio-economic changes. This line of argument is essentially functional in nature which insists that there has been a necessary shift from a status-quo oriented bureaucracy to a change and result oriented one after independence.

ISSUES:

The systemic limitations inherent in bureaucracy-rigid hierarchy, formalism and lack of innovativeness, inhibit its ability to function as an agent of development. It is evident from the fact that, in India,unless additional doses of subsidies are infused the bureaucracy is handicap to initiate or accelerate any rural development programme. The powerful bureaucracy-rural rich combine claims to be swallowing almost seventy per cent of the total resource allocated for rural development. Rural development in India lacks momentum today, largely because the bureaucracy has failed to involve people in it.

It is the rural India which has been worst affected. It is here in the miserable huts of the rural poor that the realisation of a national failure and relative deprivation comes most strongly. It is the rural land-less labourers who form the major chunk of 'poor' in India. Here lies yet another Indian paradox - 'self-sufficiency' in food production paradoxically coexists with mal-nutrition and starvation death! Notwithstanding the simple and straight explanation of 'poor distributive system', the fact remains that; there is surplus in food not because people are well-fed, but majority of them do not have the capacity to buy.

In spite of a massive technological infrastructure built up in industrial and hi-tech areas, India has not been able to make use of it for rural transformation. The outcome is uneven development both in relation to urban areas and among different groups and classes in rural areas. This unequal development has serious social, economic and political ramifications. At the micro-level, it has produced regional imbalance and income disparity which have become spring-boards for many secessionist and regionalist movements.

The much celebrated 'green revolution' has accentuated the problem of both intra- and inter-regional imbalances. It has produced an economically powerful rich farmers group in certain parts of the country which projects itself as the 'true representative of the rural masses'. Already endowed

with economic strength, this group now seeks a recognisable place in the state-power structure. Several studies ascribe to the fact that eighty per cent of total government subsidies and concessions to agriculture and its allied items for rural areas has been appropriated by these rich farmers. These 'champions of rural masses' thrive on projecting a facade of rural-urban divide. A crude and spatial rural-urban dichotomy has been used to consolidate political power, so that these farmers can safeguard their own interests by exhausting more and more concessions from the state. This is no surprise, for, in India politics deflects the real contradictions. The intra-regional gaps are tried to be covered up through this spatial dichotomy.

But rural-urban divide in its real sense is not without substance. Rural poverty owing to relative underdevelopment is a major contributing factor to the poverty of this country. Even in the 'green revolution' belt surplus generated in the rural areas by rich farmers is not ploughed back to these areas to accelerate further development but diverted to the urban areas. There seems to be an increasing economic and political nexus between the rural and urban rich. The real rural-urban dichotomy has been easily covered up mainly because there has been a lack of perception viewing village as a socio-economic unit for development.

The accepted model of state-sponsored development without community participation is a total reversal of the pragmatic Gandhian assertion that 'India lives in the villages'. Gandhi observed, "If India is not to be perished we have to begin with the lower rung of the ladder. If that was rotten, all work done at the top or at the intermediate rungs was bound to ultimately fall."[4] This encompassing approach towards development did have a little impact or impression on the accepted model of development. The slogan of participatory development changed its tune - from community development in the fifties to panchayatiraj in the sixties; but the hard reality of bureaucratic encroachment and centralisation did not.

But these adverse consequence or bureaucratisation do not reject the imperatives of state intervention initially envisaged by the plan-makers. There has been a strong case in support of state intervention in development. Independent India inherited a state of abject poverty, mass illiteracy and poor standard of living. Against this background that the desirability of state intervention as a welfare mechanism was envisioned. Frankel says that development strategy undertaken during first fifteen years after independence was a result of

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4. Gandhi, Harijan, April 13, 1935, p.68.

the Gandhian-socialist collaboration.[5] Nehru's preference for mixed economy was essentially meant to strike a balance between growth and equity. However, while commenting upon the performance of the Indian state, Pranab Bardhan opines, as the desirability of state intervention as a sense of unified ideological purpose waned away, the Indian state as an autonomous actor reflected itself more in patronage dispensing than development.[6]

RURAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE:

The first ever strategy for rural development was envisaged on the basis of community involvement through community development programmes in the early fifties. The basic goal was to provide infrastructural support to rural development involving agricultural production, rural communication, education, training, social welfare and development'. But it was soon realised that, C.D. programmes which were designed to involve community in developmental process turned to be government sponsorship and bureaucratic expansion. The Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (1957) recommended 'democratic decentralisation' through a three-tier system; with Village Panchayat at the bottom, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level. The committee also recommended to make

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5. Francine R. Frankel, India's Political Economy 1947-77: The Gradual Revolution, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

6. Pranab Bardhan, The Political Economy of Development in India, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp.38-39.

these elective local bodies statutory and endow them with necessary resources, power and authority. Since then a number of committees including the Ashok Mehta Committee (1977) have gone into various aspects of panchayati raj and many constitutional amendment proposals have been proposed. But people's participation in rural development remains by and large inoperative. On the part of the government it diverted attention towards the glaring problem of food-scarcity in the sixties. The concentration principle was given top priority as opposed to the earlier approach of growth with equity. A new programme called Intensive Agriculture District Programme (IADP) was initiated with the sole objective of increasing food grain production through concentration of financial, technical and administrative inputs in some selected high production oriented districts. This programme, end-product of which has been coined as 'green revolution' certainly yielded tremendous success within its narrow objectives, for, at least at the micro-level, the country could turn itself from a food grain deficit country of 1970s to a surplus, even a marginal exporting country in the 1980s.

But failure of the earlier perceived trickle down effect on rural poverty wedded with unheeded growth of population having disproportionate demographic pressure on the rural poor, intra- and inter-regional disparities

etc., led to fresh social, economic and political discontents in the country. Thus once abandoned 'growth with equity' approach was again incorporated into the philosophy of rural development, but in a different manner. The new strategy gave emphasis on direct and multi-pronged attack on poverty and unemployment in the rural areas through various anti-poverty programmes. During the Fourth Five Year Plan(1969-74), deprived areas as well as groups and communities were covered by the 'target group' approach. The programmes included Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Development Programme (MFALDP), Drought-Prone Area Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP), and Hill Area Development Programme (HADP). The objective of all these programmes was to provide employment opportunities through projects which would create community assets such as roads, bridges, tanks, houses and so on. All these programmes have been continuing since, by reformulating or reorganising them from time to time.

The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) has been a leading poverty alleviation programme which concentrates on target groups comprising of small and marginal farmers, landless agricultural labourers, village artisans and craftsmen, scheduled castes and scheduled

castes and scheduled tribes. The programme employs 'cluster approach'[7] while selecting the village and 'anthyodaya approach'[8] while selecting the beneficiaries. Besides IRDP, various self-employment and wage-employment programmes such as Training of Rural Youth For Self-Employment (TRYSEM) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) have been launched under target group approach.

However, more than a decade of experience with the anti-poverty programmes reveals many loopholes and structural limitations both at the planning and implementation levels. Centralised planning of these programmes unmindful to local needs and variations has left many of these programmes either unsuitable or irrelevant. Corruption and inefficiency inherent in local bureaucracy, group and party politics; have resulted in selection of ineligible beneficiaries.[9] Improper grasp of the situation by the implementing agencies have also contributed to this effect.

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7. Cluster approach ensures that infrastructural facility for the programme is either readily available or can be made available at a relatively low cost.

8. Anthyodaya ensures that the benefit of development should go to the poorest of the poor.

9. Which varies from state to state ranging from ten to fifty per cent of the total beneficiaries chosen.

PROBLEMS:

Despite a plethora of attractive programmes, efforts on rural development have failed to generate a 'development process',[10] which could have accelerated further development. Centralising tendency has produced built-in-rigidity in the process of rural development. For a plural society like India, wherein the situation at the ground level is diverse, a uniform delivery mechanism is designed. Indeed, it has produced an abstract pattern of development imposed from the above and indifferent to the local needs and variations. One fine example of this homogenisation would be the centrally sponsored schemes which are designed at the national capital and imposed on the state without leaving any room for local needs, variations, agroclimatic conditions and the delivery mechanism which would implement them. Failure of rural development programmes has resulted in large-scale migration from rural areas, many more slums in the urban areas and deprivation of almost eighty five per cent of the country's total work force from gainful employment. This large chunk of unorganised and scattered work force comes from the villages. For these people, the state is nothing but an abstract pattern of bureaucratic management. Here, the state has gone farther from the community creating a widening gap[11] between itself and

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10. L.C. Jain et. al., Grass Without Roots: Rural Development Under Government Auspices, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1986.

11. To which L.C. Jain ascribes as a 'complete mismatch' between the priorities of the people and planning of rural development. Rajni Kothari describes it as a 'shrinking space' between the state and the civil society.

the community.

Even political parties no longer remain a bridge between the state and society aggregating interests. Decline of political parties in India is marked by their inability to play this crucial role in a plural society while accepting the model of state-sponsored development. People are not involved in programmes even though it affects them intimately. Their views remain unexpressed and ideas unrepresented.

THEORETICAL PERCEPTIONS:

Democratic decentralisation through panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) no doubt remains the best option for attaining genuine and 'sustainable development'[12] but not sufficient to meet the complexities involved in rural development. The local people are best informed about the needs and possibilities of development in their surroundings. But considering the growing complexities and need for new technology, the crucial task of plan formulation will have to be left with the official agencies. Since majority of the elected representatives to the panchayat bodies would lack in expertise, a general supervisory role for them seems to be appropriate. It is

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12. The process of development has to meet the needs of the present generation in such a manner that the ability of the future generations to meet their needs will not be compromised.

not possible on the part of the PRIs on their own to diffuse technology for rural development. It is obvious that the majority of rural people will continue to remain indifferent towards advanced method of production and lack in motivation for adopting any new scheme. Thus the idea of 'participatory development'[13] remains inoperative.

The clarion call for 'new panchayati raj' in the late eighties accorded no enthusiasm in the countryside probably because development and democracy which should reinforce each other, have alienated instead. This reinforcement can be achieved if the PRIs and the voluntary organisations play a complementary role towards attaining the goal of participatory and sustainable development. It can be seen as a new socio-economic force aiming at sustained development at the grass-roots level. Voluntary organisations can act as catalysts by mobilising the people along the line of development. But, the ultimate task of people's participation lies with the PRIs.

Gone are the days of command economy and state exclusiveness in the process of development. In a plural society like India, considering its diverse human and material resources the effort on rural development must emanate from likely diverse sources and in a multi-pronged way.

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13. Participatory development in this context refers to involvement and control of the people in the process of development.

Therefore, possibilities of voluntary organisations accelerating the process of rural development opens up fresh avenues for a structural change in the existing model of development.

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT:

When the existing model of development fails to yield desirable results, there arises a need for rethinking about the mechanisms and institutions involved in it. A theoretical perception on the alternative socio-economic and political institutions that link resources, people and government is necessary to work out an alternative paradigm of development in general and that of rural development in particular.

Dunu Roy while discussing about the sources of alternatives refers to two different ideologies of development working in any given society - the dominant and the counter-ideologies.[14] It is the latter ideology which searches for alternatives locating the limitations of the dominant ideology. Envisioning voluntary organisations as agents of alternative development in the rural sector is the product of such a counter ideology. Voluntary organisations offer the possibility of doing things in alternative styles with different organisational structures and processes

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14. Dunu Roy, 'Between Dogma and Debate', in Harsh Seth et. al. (eds.), The Non-Party Political Process: Uncertain Alternatives, Delhi: Lokayan, 1983, pp.47-91.

conducive to the diverse demographic and material possibilities in various parts of the country. Harsh Sethi opines, the most important contribution of voluntary organisations is their experimentation in development works 'with alternate styles of doing things and with different organisational models and processes'.[15]

A corelation does exist between the degree of institutionalisation and participation.[16] Institutionalisation should be proportionate to participation which by and large determine the stability of a political system. Thus in Indian context, Huntington would agree to a great extent with the Gandhian assertion of rural transformation. Voluntary organisations have the potential to help the PRIs in bridging the existing gap between institutionalisation and participation. They do it in a supplementary and indirect way by bringing new groups into development process which were otherwise alienated. But this does not imply any dilution in the welfare character of the Indian state. However, its all inclusive interventionistic role in the process of development must be reviewed.

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15. Harsh Sethi, 'Redefinitions: Groups in a New Politics of Transformation', in Ibid.

16. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.

RATIONALE:

Some characteristics inherent in voluntary organisations make them different from both government agencies and profit making private organisations. These qualities include innovativeness, motivation, commitment, flexibility in approach to suit local conditions, their origin in the community, close contact with the affected people, less-formalism and a human touch to the programmes. They can operate with a degree of autonomy that the government agencies lack and a sense of commitment to the interest of the community that the profit-seeking private sector does not care for.

The low cost operational model adopted by these organisations is an added factor for their usefulness in a capital scarce economy. Unlike the bureaucracy it is a unique feature with these organisations that they can be involved at both planning and implementation levels in a non-interventionistic manner. Relationship between the voluntary organisations and rural people is 'unstructured, direct and free from the ruler-ruled syndrome'[17] which is inherent in the bureaucracy. Absence of control dimension in this relationship helps the affected people to interact with these organisations directly. Here people are not seen as mere objects for an external change, but as subjects

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17. V.A. Panandiker, Strategies for Increased Involvement of Non-Governmental Organisations, Local Governments and Institutions For Promoting Greater Community Participation in Family Planning, New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research, July, 1983.

of change to be involved and mobilised.

Voluntary organisations possess the much needed experience which becomes useful to ensure economy and achieve efficiency in implementing the programmes. They possess a blend of practical experience acquired from the implementation of previous programmes and innovativeness which can be reflected in the succeeding rounds of planning.

A shift from existing sectoral planning to resource-based area planning can be made possible only when necessary planning components are available at the block and district levels. This necessitates incorporation of voluntary elements in designing and implementing the area planning. Universities, research centres, institutes and colleges can provide necessary inputs and expertise for plan-formulation and programme evaluation. Voluntary organisations operating at the grass-roots level possess first-hand community response to the earlier launched programmes at their disposal. They are capable of providing the much needed feed-back[18] to the system which can be ultimately assimilated into the national plan.

Taking into account the scarce capital factor in Indian economy it seems desirable that the state must continue to provide infrastructures for rural development.

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18. Feed-back refers to the succeeding rounds of inputs. In this context, evaluation of the earlier programmes and reaction of the community to such programmes.

Voluntary organisations can assist in generating additional capital through self-employment and wage-employment programmes. These organisations have proved themselves as the best motivating and mobilising force to ensure participatory development. Their potential in the field of human resource development through non-formal education, literacy campaign, population control, women and child development as well as in the field of integrated rural development involving social forestry, soil conservation and minor irrigation has been widely appreciated.

There are many emerging areas wherein voluntary organisations can play a crucial role. For instance, family planning and population education being a sectoral venture have not been very successful partly because of the socio-economic compulsions before the rural poor. But the major reason seems to be the failure on the part of the sectoral agencies to motivate the people for voluntary birth control. Since population control has been accorded a precondition for growth and development, these organisations can be made the key-partners with the medical sector for creating consciousness and motivation for voluntary birth control.

Voluntary organisations can be instrumental in identifying target groups for various rural development programmes. They can better motivate the rural people for group action in which bureaucracy has failed, wedded as it is with large

scale corruption, repotism and inertia.

Providing basic technological support to rural development through technology transfer from hi-tech to the rural sector remains a challenge. The fact that some parts of northern and western India have acquired tremendous prosperity by adopting new technology of production while the rest of the country continues to lag with under production provides ample evidence of the homogenising tendency of technology. While the wheat belt has acquired prosperity, the rice-belts of north-eastern, eastern and southern regions remain undeveloped. It has further accentuated the already existing inter-regional disparities. Voluntary organisations can play an important role in technology transfer if provided with requisite resource and technical know-how. First ever significant step in this direction has been undertaken by the Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART), reorganised in November 1986.[19]

Voluntary organisations have an important role to play for a large and sprawling, unorganised workforce

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19. Reorganised with the merger of Council for Rural Technology (CRT) with People's Action For Development in India (PADI). CAPART channelises resources to the grass-roots developmental organisations from various sources (including foreign fundings on government to government basis) for agricultural production, research and training, an application of appropriate technology for rural sanitation, housing and drinking water.

which constitutes almost eighty per cent of country's total workforce. Not surprisingly, this workforce has been deprived of the minimum living standard and basic amenities, leave alone education and training. Majority of this workforce comes from the villages and comprises of landless agricultural labourers who have no forum, no union to listen to their plights. It is precisely for this large segment of workforce, voluntary organisations remain the only hope.

These are some areas where voluntary organisations can assist the revamped PRIs to build an alternative pattern of development. A review of these organisations sponsored by the Ford Foundation confirms 'the popular perception of NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) playing a useful intermediary role between the state and the community'.[20] Notwithstanding this general appreciation there are also reasons for apprehension about the capability of these organisations in rendering an alternative pattern of development. The new developmental role accorded to these organisations will not be a smooth sailing since its success involves many factors - pattern of leadership, organisational structure, sources of funding, relationship with the government, political parties, with other organisations and the base groups. These factors collectively determine the logic of the very survival of voluntary organisations - their freedom, autonomy and efficiency.

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20. Sunder, 1986, quoted in Marcus Franda, Voluntary Associations and Local Development in India, New Delhi: Young Asia Publications, 1983.

A major handicap of these organisations is their 'collective inability' to influence the national agenda on rural development. They are yet to build a national outlook scattered and intermittent as they are; through a viable national platform. Their presence is not felt in all parts of the country which remains a limitation to confer on them the challenging task of rural development. Uneven distribution of these organisations both area-wise and field-wise remains a major constraint, a constraint which obviously reduces the possibility of reversing the present trend of uneven distribution of resources. In a country of the size of India, these organisations are yet to make their presence felt at the national plane. However, it is not possible to look into these two important issues owing to their macro nature. But no doubt, voluntary organisations can play this new role under the general supervision of PRIs wherever and whenever the former come to exist.

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PROFILE:

Although the tradition of voluntary actions was present long before the advent of the Christian missionaries, it were they who started an organised effort for voluntary action; Of course, they did it with a happy blend of charity and religious indoctrination. Emergence of Western educated indigenous middle class towards the end of the nineteenth century led to a series of socio-

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cultural reforms. But the societies and movements spearheading these reforms began to subside in the beginning of the twentieth century since emphasis was now shifted from socio-cultural reforms to political change. Hence national liberation movement took priority over voluntary initiatives.

Advent of Mahatma Gandhi in freedom struggle once again imbibed some degree of voluntarism in the social and political outlook of the people. Gandhian concept of voluntary action focussed on developing people's own resources for their material and spiritual wellbeing. Gandhi gave a much wider meaning to voluntarism which covered Khadi Gramodyog (village industry) and education; besides charity and relief. He linked voluntary action with the development of the village community. This linkage introduced the concept of rural development through voluntary action. Under the influence of Gandhian thought, an indigenous concept of voluntary action for development emerged as a separate whole in contrast to the traditional Western concept accorded to it.

After independence many Gandhian Sarvodaya activists continued to maintain a network of voluntary actions across the country which could be characteristically different from that of the state action. However, many of them joined politics of governance in later years leaving a little

difference between their approach and that of the government's towards rural development.

Another trend of post-independent society regarding voluntary actions seems to have been ignored by most of the scholars. There had been a sharp decline also in the element of voluntarism, which was otherwise inherent in Indian society and refurbished by the Gandhian way. It became a change from the colonial to a modern welfare state. Under the logic of state-welfarism, the Indian state took the sole responsibility for welfare of the people. This shift changed the outlook of the masses guided by the early euphoria of independence which was sufficient enough to develop a parasitic tendency towards every developmental measures in the rural areas. Therefore, much before the decline of political parties and the state, there had been a decline of voluntarism in Indian society. With this decline, popular support base of voluntary organisations declined too.

The initial enthusiasm for statism facilitated a smooth control by the state over all rural development activities. Community Development Programmes of the early fifties turned out to be more as a bureaucratic encroachment than 'bureaucratic rationalisation', on the community. It left behind a formidable and well-entrenched bureaucracy over and above the community. It became so powerful that it could play a key-role in sabotaging the

panchayati raj initiatives of the sixties.

The recent revival of interest in voluntary action for development is based on a strong realisation that the state has not been able to deliver goods, belying the aspirations of the deserving masses.

CLASSIFICATION:

The basic concept of voluntarism is attributed to the social psychology and organisation theory. In organisation theory, voluntary organisations have been defined as "non-authoritarian commitment producing entities that rely basically on the normal idealistic values shared by the organisation members."[21]

Today, voluntary organisations as a phenomenon in India is so fluid and unclear that any rigid classification may prove inappropriate. Available literature on the topic accord diverse terms to explain these emerging entities, which are often used interchangeably as Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Voluntary Agencies, Social Action Groups, Grass-roots Movements, Voluntary Organisations and so on. However, they can be classified into two broad groups, i.e., Non-Political Transformative/ Action/Protest Groups, and Developmental Groups.

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21. Mohit Bhattacharya, 'Voluntary Associations, Development and The State', Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol.XXXIII, No.33, July-Sept. 1987, p.384.

1. Non-Political Transformative Groups/Protest Groups:

These groups are concerned with issue-based voluntary action, thus usually having strong base groups. These groups articulate around the issues of ecology, child and bonded labour, health and education, legal aid etc. Their activities involve creating consciousness about the source and location of exploitation or injustice. They organise meaningful protests to resist the existing model of development which has created the problems of alienation, displacement, deforestation, environmental and health hazards, commercialisation of forest resources and so on. The transformative groups try to project the existing model of development as no development but 'let loosing naked violence' on the community, threatening its socio-economic and cultural survival.[22]

These action groups have successfully presented the case of 'other side of development'.[23] Many of these groups have been able to retain their non-political character and the spirit of protest. Their message is for rethinking development. Chipko Movement, Apiko Movement, Narmada

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22. VIKAS KI KIMAT (Price of Development), Ahmedabad, Setu, 1985.

23. The consequences of the existing model of development on the community, its socio-economic and cultural fabric; ecology, surroundings and survival.

Bachao Andolan, Movement Against Missile Test Range at Baliapal in Orissa, are a few examples of such protest groups. In spite of tremendous pressure from the state, the industrial and business lobbies and contractors they have still sustained largely because of the support base they continue to enjoy and partly because of committed and high profile leadership factor.

These groups vehemently place the case of sustainable development in India. But the nexus between the powerful business-industrial lobby and the politician-bureaucrat combine has made the idea of sustainable development a mere rhetoric. The problem tends to be more political rather than economic. The politician-bureaucrat combine receives huge money from the business-industrial lobby to run the party, engineer defection, contest elections and personal aggrandisement; all at the expense of the community's interest. India has been sustaining an exploitative pattern of development because it is democratic, though in a narrow electoral sense!

2. Developmental Groups:

Groups involved in various economic and productive activities in rural areas are identified with this category. However, developmental groups can be further divided into two more categories for conceptual clarity. Emergence of a new group of professional support organisations has necessitated this further classification of developmental

groups into grass-roots developmental groups and organisations rendering support services to the former. But this classification is rather nebulous one and a single developmental group might possess nature and functions of both these types.

i) Grass-roots Developmental Groups:-

Again it has to be a broad classification since there are 'agency type' developmental groups which play a sort of intermediary role in implementing the government-planned rural development programmes. Yet another group of this 'agency type' organisations can be branded as a new breed of contractors or a new rank of bureaucracy.

For grass-roots developmental groups there is every possibility of sacrificing their autonomy, integrity and flexibility since most of them are dependent on government funding. The protest groups on the other hand, are not subject to this limitation. Considering the nature of activities, finance is not vital for their functioning. But in this case pressure from the state and the business-industrial lobby is tremendous which seems to be non-existent in case of the developmental groups. But some developmental groups face problems when they do not comply with the state. Many developmental groups give priority to government sponsored programmes rather than the felt-needs of the community. It goes contrary to the logic

and purpose of voluntary organisations for which they come into existence.[24]

The 'agency type' of developmental groups are no less bureaucratic and formal than the bureaucracy itself. Many among them have accepted the role of 'extension services' for implementing pre-designed developmental programmes. But many down-to-earth compulsions make developmental groups more formal and bureaucratic. Factors responsible for this bureaucratic tendency include the rigidity emanating from government and foreign funding, growing technicalities and complexities involved in the process of rural development itself. The increasing demand for 'management of voluntary organisations' is definitely a direct response to the complex environment in which these organisations have to operate. But there are some developmental groups which have been able to retain a degree of flexibility and autonomy. In Gujarat, for instance voluntary organisations are recognisable partners in the process of rural development. They have been entrusted with some selected but independent area planning covering many parts of the state.[25]

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24. Unlike the official bureaucracy, voluntary organisations come into being on the basis of local needs owing to a single issue or a whole range of issues concerning genuine development of the area.

25. S.C. Jain, Rural Development: Institutions and Strategies, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1985.

ii) Organisations Rendering Support-Service to the Grass-roots Development Groups:

Enlarging area of activities in rural development, growing complexities to organise and implement them, introduction of modern technology and programme evaluation demand expertise and outside support for grass-roots developmental groups. Universities, research centres, training institutes, technological institutions working on rural technology and the support service organisations specially organised for this purpose can be included in this category.

Support-service groups are a recent phenomenon. These groups serve the rural community in an indirect manner through the activities of research, training documentation, publication, evaluation, network formation, legal aid, technology transfer and so on. Many voluntary groups such as Child Relief and You (CRY) and Helpage India have been providing funds, technical expertise and channelising donations, grants from various sources to the grass-roots developmental organisations those are unable to launch developmental programmes for lack of funds. Many other groups have been engaged in network formation, legal aid, and media exposure on the issues being fought by various grass-roots developmental groups (for instance, 'Kalpa-briksh').

PARADIGM OF RESEARCH OPERATIONAL DEFINITION:

The scope of the present study is delimited to only the developmental groups consisting of both grass-roots developmental groups and those groups rendering support-service to them. Since the basic objective is to search for the possibilities of the developmental groups emerging as the agents of alternative development, the protest groups are not covered by this study. Therefore, any further reference to the term 'voluntary organisation' will precisely mean the developmental groups, if not mentioned otherwise.

The term rural development in this study refers to both human and material resource development, bringing benefit of such development to the deserving rural masses. Development of material resource refers to infrastructure for rural development minus human capital which involves irrigation transport and communication facilities, marketing and storage facilities for agricultural as well as industrial products, adoption of new production techniques and creation of employment opportunity. Human resource development attributes to the development of human potential in the rural areas involving development of skill, attitude, motivation, proper institutional set up; availability of health services, educational facilities etc., which are vital to accelerate further development by

bringing qualitative improvement in the standard of living and work potential. In other words, rural development refers to both utilisation of available human potential and material resources and their enrichment to engineer further development.

In geographical or spatial terms this study is confined to a specific area - Puri district in Orissa. In institutional terms the scope of the study is confined to three different but inter-related developmental groups active in various fields of rural development. Choosing them is the most crucial part of the study since it might affect the outcome of the research. Certain immediate conditions such as area and nature of activities (geographical andfunctional terms), leadership and organisational pattern etc., are taken into account while classifying these organisations. There can be classifications also on the basis of funding, relationship with other institutions and organisations. While selecting specific developmental groups for study the effort will be to pick up characteristically and operationally distinct voluntary organisations working under different circumstances and various fields of rural development.

The basic issues which will direct the course of study would be precisely which have been discussed in this chapter. Briefly they include:-

1. The Pattern of Leadership and organisational structure:
   - whether they have been able to develop second rank local leadership and decentralised institutional structure,
   - whom does the leadership represent or belong,
   - problems emanating from the second rank local leadership.

2. Support Base:
   - whether they have been able to acquire a support base,
   - from which strata of the rural society this support is drawn,
   - whether they have been able to retain the support base successfully,
   - by which means (mobilising people, receiving contributions or by any other means).

3. Sources of Finance:
   - whether these organisations raise funds through
     a) own economic or productive activities,
     b) contribution from the base groups,
     c) patronage of rich and influential people,
   - or they completely depend on government and foreign funding,
   - then, what are the implications of government and foreign funding.

4. Relationship with the Government, Political Parties and Other Voluntary Organisations:

   - to what extent government has given opportunity to these organisations to operate at various stages (planning, implementing and evaluating), and fields of rural development,
   - to what extent they have been free from or involved in group and party politics,
   - what are the levels of co-ordination and network formation with other grass-roots organisations (horizontal), and support-service groups (vertical).

The functional basis of the study will cover some other related issues mainly regarding the functions of the voluntary organisations. The basic questions are:-

i) Do these organisations provide the much needed feed-back in terms of:
   a) evaluation of earlier launched programmes
   b) channelising the community's or beneficiary's response to earlier launched programmes and using them for formulation of successive programmes;

ii) Have they been entrusted with the task of identifying target groups by the government or other funding agencies:
   a) whether they only identify and report to the funding institution,

b) or, both identify and implement the developmental programmes aimed at these target groups;

iii) What role do they play in taking technology to the villages:

a) for agricultural production,

* from subsistence to cash crops
* from traditional to mechanical farm production
* from human or animal labour to mechanical cultivation.

- through the help of -

* mechanical technology, which includes use of modern tools and equipments such as tractors, tillers, sprayers, dusters, disc-harrows, threshers, electric cane crushers etc.
* hydro-technology, for irrigation and water management which includes electric and diesel pumpsets, modern sprinklers, dams, tanks, tubewells and canals.
* bio-technology, which includes high-yielding seed varieties (HYV), fertilisers, pesticides and insecticides.

b) for health care and sanitation,

c) for energy conservation;

iv) In which way they contribute towards human resource development:

a) population education and voluntary population control,

b) health care and sanitation,

c) women and child development,

d) housing,

e) non-formal education, vocational education and adult education.

On the basis of the above questions and their relevant findings, careful generalisations are worked out at the end of the study. The research findings can be analysed only within the boundary of 'being a case study'.

The hard-to-answer questions remain about the prospects and possibilities of these organisations to determine the course of politics and economics of this country, can they play instrumental role for achieving a self-sufficient and vibrant rural economy? Hopefully, the present study can, at least, focus on the problems of voluntary organisations, limitations and the likely role they suppose to play in bringing about decentralisation of economic and political power as micro structures of an alternative development strategy.

CHAPTER-II

THE SETTING

- The Land and the People
- A Profile of the Organisations
- Centre for Youth and Social Development (CYSD)
- Bidyut Club
- Association of Social Action and Development (AKSS)
- A Comparative Analysis

Orissa, with a population of 31.5 million is characterised by abject poverty, low literacy rate and very poor health status. Taking any indicator into account, socio-economic or otherwise; majority of the people of this state are poverty-stricken who struggle to survive and somehow eke out a living. The state has thirteen districts[1] which can be distinctly classified into the coastal belt, western plains and the central plateau. The four coastal districts which lie along the Bay of Bengal have been ravaged by frequent floods and cyclones while drought haunts the western and central parts. Agriculture being the mainstay of the people these natural calamities shatter their hopes for a better tomorrow.

The Land and People:

Puri is one of the four coastal districts of Orissa which lies between $19^{o}28'$ and $20^{o}35'$ North latitude, and $84^{o}29'$ and $86^{o}25'$ East longitude. Its topography includes the thickly populated deltaic areas of the coastal region as well as the jungles and mountains of the central plateau. Geographical extent of the district is 10,159 square kilometres which comprises 6.52 per cent of the state's total area. According to 1991 census population of the district is 3,570,192 which happens to be 11.33 per cent of total population of the state (31,512,070). The average density

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1. The state government has declared about formation of ten more districts but yet to be implemented.

of population is 351 persons per square kilometre which is more than the state average of 202 persons per square kilometre. Its neighbouring districts are Dhenkanal and Cuttack on the north and north-east, Baud-Khondmals and Ganjam on the west and south-west; and on its south and south-east lies the Bay of Bengal.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the people of Puri district about seventy five per cent (75%) of whom sustain on subsistence cultivation. Paddy is the principal crop while mung, biri, groundnut, mustard, teel, wheat, ragi, maize, sugarcane, potato and other vegetables are also grown in various parts of the district. But absence of infrastructural facilities and modern techniques of agriculture have restricted the cultivators to subsistence crops only. Most of the deltaic region known as the coastal belt is flooded every year thereby washing away the main crops which brings immense misery to the poor peasants. The farmers of the districts have been depending on rain for cultivation owing to inadequate and uneven irrigation facilities. However, some of the coastal and interior areas are having irrigation facility through canals. While major problem of the interior peasants[2] is inadequate and

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2. The district has two distinct physiological divisions, viz., a plain alluvial tract in the east and south-east; and a hilly tract to the west and north-west. In present context, the latter is mentioned as interior area of the district.

uncertain rainfall, one added difficulty for coastal peasants is heavy monsoon rainfall and consequent high-floods.

Fishing, forestry and animal husbandry have been some of the other sources of livelihood for the people. With the volume of forest receding, fishing is left as the most prospective occupation but only for the people residing in the villages approaching the Bay of Bengal and the Chilika Lake. Coconut constitutes main cash crop in some parts of the coastal belt which accounts for more than fifty per cent of state's total coconut production. Sugarcane is grown in interior areas as a cash crop in spite of its dependence on uncertain rainfall for irrigation. Pan (betel leaf) is also grown as a commercial crop in few areas of the coastal belt. Like many other neglected rice-growing regions of India, the modern method of paddy farming is yet to arrive in this area. Most of the farmers still depend on the age-old wooden plough, ladder, leveller, spade, sickle etc. for cultivation. Absence of infrastructural facilities like roads and irrigation and modern farm technology have been resulted in high cost of production and low output thereby forcing this predominantly agricultural populace to be restricted within a subsistence economy. The infrastructure and other support-facilities for agricultural production is so little or non-existent that any adverse agro-climatic condition to the crops upsets the entire economy of livelihood.

A Profile of the Organisations:

Against this background of poverty and backwardness that three voluntary organisations working in various fields of rural development were taken for a case study. As per the earlier plan two grass-roots organisations are taken for study to assess the degree of intervention they have been able to make in socio-economic and political spheres of a particular region. BIDYUT CLUB and Association of Social Action and Development (AKSS) operating from the same (Kanas) block are two grass-roots developmental organisations selected for this purpose. Centre for Youth and Social Development (CYSD), the third voluntary organisation selected for the study is a support service organisation operating from Bhubaneswar but its activities cover the whole state. CYSD, which was established in 1981 has recently completed a decade of its successful operation. Bidyut Club came into being in 1960 at a remote village of the district. This organisation is operating from Haladiapara-Lokapal in Kanas block. It has expanded its activities manifold since then. Association of Social Action and Development has been operating from the block headquarters of Kanas. AKSS was established in 1979 mainly as a cultural organisation as its original name implied.[3] No doubt the organisation has

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3. Originally it was a cultural organisation named as Anchalika Kunzeswari Samskrutika Sansad. When AKSS took up voluntary initiatives, the expansion to the original name was changed.

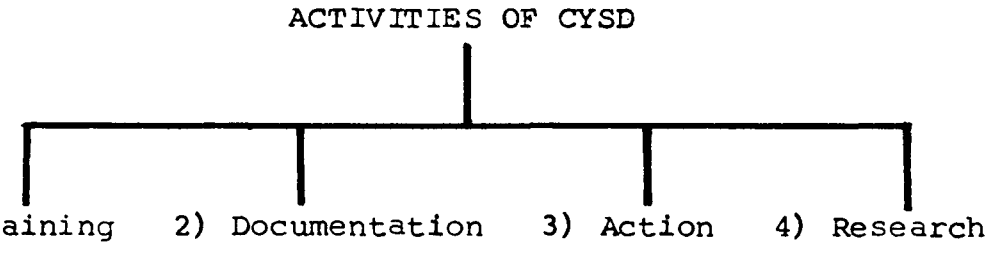
expanded its activities from culture-specific to social action and development. The reason behind selecting two grass-roots organisations from the same block was to get access to the problems of overlapping, extent of horizontal co-ordination, co-operation as well as inter-organisational feuds.

Centre for Youth and Social Development (CYSD):

Centre for Youth and Social Development came into existence in 1981 as a support service organisation to encourage and assist the micro-level action groups. However, to procure necessary inputs for its support service programmes the organisation has established its own model projects on rural as well as urban development in various parts of the state. In 1985 CYSD inducted full-time development functionaries into its rank and file for making the efforts of the organisation continual and sustained.

The prime focus of CYSD has been on human resource development which intends to effect interventions for integrated development in terms of knowledge inputs, skill endowments and attitudinal changes. Here, development is seen as a continuum whereby importance is accorded to the positive co-relations between the social and economic inputs. The organisation has been working in the areas of promotion, support and sustenance of local initiatives for self-reliant progress with active community support. It carries developmental programmes in partnership with micro-level action

groups. Striving for sustainable development with conservation of non-renewable natural resources and application of indigenous science and technological innovations have been the basic approaches followed by the CYSD.



1) Training:

Training for senior, middle and grass-roots level developmental functionaries of the micro-level action groups as well as CYSD's own functionaries and the beneficiaries has been given top priority by the organisation. This is because CYSD recognises human resource development as a key to the success and sustenance of development process. Training programmes include management, development, cadre development, skill development, entrepreneurship development and training on environment, women and child development, non-formal education, rural sanitation and consumer awareness. A special training unit has been set up for this purpose. It offers general courses on a regular basis as well as specialised programmes. The former include management development, media and communication, accounting, financial management, development of leadership and entrepreneurship qualities. The special

courses have been offered according to the specific needs such as consumer education, environmental protection, social defence, animators' training, low cost housing and disaster management.

CYSD offers specific trainings to the relevant action groups only after identification of their needs. Separate training courses have been conducted for different categories of developmental functionaries. The finest aspect of CYSD-training seems to be its emphasis on training in environs where the trainee is located. A Mobile Orientation and Training Team (MOTT) has been successfully working for this purpose. Besides, a training centre with class rooms, hostel and dining facilities is operating to render training on general courses.

The general courses are offered to the professional volunteers drawn from various grass-roots developmental organisations of the state. Developmental functionaries of semi-government and government bodies are also imparted training by this organisation. In-house trainings for CYSD's own functionaries for acquiring proficiency in different spheres of actions as well as support services are conducted regularly with the help of experts drawn from national level voluntary organisations and management groups. CYSD-documents ascertain to the fact that absence of training facilities for grass-roots developmental

groups in Orissa has made this organisation indispensable in this area. For enhancing the managerial skills among the micro-level action groups various courses have been offered which provide basic education to the lower and middle level functionaries in programme planning, implementation, communication, accountancy etc. CYSD personnel have been extending their acquired expertise for training activities of government, semi-government and other voluntary organisations.

CYSD has been emphasising on decentralisation of developmental activities through its policy of social engineering which involves promotion of new developmental organisations and strengthening of the existing one. It assists the grass-roots developmental organisations to optimise the return on investment for development. Training on management development has acquired added importance to tackle the problem of management in growing-organisations and sustain the positive desire for social change among local organisations. CYSD has been offering support service for management development which include -

a) human resource development,

b) goal defining,

c) formulation of action plans,

d) programme planning and implementation,

e) monitoring and information,

f) community resource mobilisation, and

g) administration, budgeting and accounting.

CYSD maintains continuous liaison and regular contacts with the grass-roots organisations. It extends technical support through training, planning counselling etc. In many cases, the local organisations also come forward with their organisational and developmental problems before CYSD.

Now CYSD serves as a platform for many voluntary organisations in Orissa. It facilitates interactions at the district and state levels which help the grass-roots developmental organisations to share their experiences with each other.

2) Documentation:

The documentation unit of CYSD has been bringing out publications on environment, consumer action, women's development, education etc., which carry both conceptual and practical messages for grass-roots organisations. Among many other facilities, the documentation unit provides user-referal service, data bank on voluntary organisations and government schemes, publishing monographs - case studies and information kits on anti-poverty programmes, on women's issue, environment and so on.

The unit has also been involved in documenting the field activities, ideas and views of different developmental organisations on the developmental issues. As an

in-house operation every other unit of CYSD provides its activities reports to this unit which have been documented. A well-equipped library having three thousand books, many more journals, magazines is set up with computer facilities to store the data and other informations. Another responsibility of the documentation unit is information dissemination and network formation with CYSD's own action projects as well as with other voluntary organisations.

CYSD has brought out some important publications which include a Directory of Voluntary Organisations in Orissa. It provides profile of voluntary organisations active in various developmental activities in the state mentioning their goals and objectives, location, area of operation, legal status and activities. 'Sankalan', a documented occasional update consisting of selected and edited Oriya versions of important press clippings on issues like environment, women's development etc. has been brought out by the organisation. 'Jeevan Tathya', a translated version of the combined UNICEF, WHO and UNESCO publication 'Facts For Life' has also been published by CYSD which provides vital health informations. It has become an useful communication and information kit for health educators and social animators working at the grass-roots levels. It provides basic knowledge about civil care, immunisation, diarrhoea, coughs and colds, home hygiene, malaria and AIDS. 'Chatsali' is a news-

bulletin published by CYSD's Non-Formal Education Resource Centre which provides conceptual as well as operational context for non-formal education programme. 'Nua Katha Nua Kama'; a teacher's hand book for pre-school (Oriya) and 'Jhul Re Hati Jhul'; a leaner's hand book for pre-school (Oriya) and 'Mo Geeta Bahi' (My Song Book) are some of the recent publications of the documentation unit.

The documentation unit also provides the grass-roots developmental groups with knowledge and information about recent developments and promote exchange of information and experiences. The unit collects and stores informations on various issues and interests which are considered relevant for social action and development. For instance, an 'environment kit' is brought out by the unit containing leaflets on various aspects of environment illustrated with pictures for easy understanding of the common man. Similarly, a pack containing information about the government anti-poverty programmes is published to facilitate active involvement of grass-roots developmental organisations and proper understanding of the objectives of these programmes. An inventory of voluntary organisations in Orissa has been published in Oriya as well as in English. It has been updated at regular intervals. Some other publications of documentation unit include The Environmental Protection Act - 1986, Monograph on 'Friends of the Trees and Living

Beings', and 'Gandhamardhan - A Struggle for Survival'. Besides, CYSD has been bringing out a news bulletin on a periodic basis which contains latest information on policies and programmes of the government's developmental effort and sharing of experiences with the grass-roots organisations.

3) Action:

CYSD action programmes are basically aimed at field experimentation of alternative models of development. The organisation has been running an integrated urban development project on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar and an integrated rural development project at Rajbati, Tangi Choudwar, Cuttack. Besides these two integrated projects, another project for Non-Formal Education covering hundred villages of Delang block has been running by the organisation. These projects have been considered as model projects for training, research evaluation and further actions on development. These projects facilitate field experimentation of development programmes and transfer of technology needed for development as well as inputs for training and research programmes.

The integrated rural development project of CYSD is now engaged in the manifold tasks of non-formal education (NFE), agricultural development, minor irrigation, skill development, development of non-conventional energy resources,

maternal and child health (MCH) and so on. The basic approaches followed by the organisation to initiate any developmental programme have been motivation, mobilisation and group initiative. At the initial stage of its operation CYSD took a few dormant youth clubs of the area to activate them. New associations were also set up for this purpose. The youths of the area were motivated to take up immediate local issues and search for remedies. The area covered by the NFE programme now comprises hundred villages and that covered by the MCH programme consists of two villages. Agricultural development programme through new methods of soil conservation, land management, crop rotation and compost manure making has been launched in two villages which are designed as 'demonstration villages' for field trials. Minor irrigation through percolation of tanks is also undertaken by the project. Rain water harvesting is now being initiated to transform the infertile and dry land to fertile one and make it suitable for double cropping. Along with these programmes skill development programmes for the village masons, carpenters and other artisans have been undertaken to enable them to earn higher incomes. Providing educational opportunity to children within the age group of six to fourteen years has been a priority area of this project. Near about one hundred non-formal education centres are operating in the project area mainly with the help of educated local youths

trained for this purpose. Awareness programmes for the beneficiaries of government's anti-poverty programmes are organised by the project functionaries to facilitate better management and utilisation of assets. Social forestry programmes have been implemented by the project with active participation of the local people. The project has been organising maternal and child-health services, home-hygiene and sanitation campaigns to combat high infant mortality and maternal death.

A separate project for non-formal education is run by CYSD through one hundred centres which covers twelve villages of Delang block in Puri district. The project is intended to design and experiment a practical model for non-formal education at low-cost, test the available materials and evolve suitable methodologies for animators' training and a demonstration-cum-learning laboratory for the functionaries (instructors) of other voluntary organisations.

The NFE programme of CYSD is government sponsored which has been successfully carried out since 1987. The primary target groups of this programme are children in the age group of six to fourteen years who do not have access to formal education. The NFE programme also strives to restore the dropouts to the mainstream education through compensatory teachings and preparation. One novel aspect of NFE programme has been its roots in the community. The NFE centres are initiated only if the local community feels

its necessity, apparently after thorough going motivation and mobilisation programmes. The survey findings and experiences with the NFE programmes reveals that a strong co-relation exists between indifference to education among the rural poor and the economic value of children as bread earners, apart from other reasons.

The children as well as the members of the community, are educated by the animators on health, personal hygiene, sanitation and environment with a view to improve general awareness and foster favourable attitude towards development. The attendance is said to be as high as hundred per cent in some centres. These centres usually operate in the evening which happens to be a convenient time for the otherwise hard-working village people.

Community participation in NFE programme is facilitated by establishing rapport with the villagers through various awareness camps. The community leaders are taken into confidence for determining (a) location of the centre, (b) choice of animator, (c) timings of the centre, (d) choice of learners, and (e) curriculum content. Active participation of girls in the programme has been made possible through women's association and youth club members who consult, urge and advise the community.

Parental involvement through regular contacts has been playing instrumental to sustain the child in NFE

centres. Against an average enrolment of 30.72 learners per centre, the attendance average per centre is said to be as high as 24.65 and the rate of dropout being as low as 103 over a period of six months.

Training of animators[4] has been emphasised by the organisation since they play a vital role not only as educators but also as catalytic agents of development. They have to act as instructors for the children, as counsellors to the parents and as catalysts in mobilising people for community participation for development. The Mobile Orientation and Training Team (MOTT) set up by CYSD has been offering training to the animators at remote villages where NFE centres are located. The basic idea behind mobile training is to make animator's training realistic and purposive by conducting the programme in their work environment. Training materials used by the mobile team includes case studies prepared by MOTT members and other experts, situational and management games, role plays and special notes designed for the centres. MOTT consists of four members in a group both male and female,

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4. The animators are the non-formal education instructors chosen from the local community who play a multifarious roles in various areas beginning with community reconstruction to environmental preservation.

having inter-disciplinary orientations. The group includes two post-graduates in social work and commerce, a diploma holder in non-formal education, and a graduate in education. The MOTT members are trained in making paper-made objects, puppets, low-cost audio-visual aid preparation and training methodology. The team's skill is constantly upgraded to suit situational demands with the help of experts from specialist agencies. As part of the follow-up actions, the team monitors and extensively tours various NFE centres. Post-training follow-up actions include community contact for educating the villagers to make optimum use of the animators' skill, encourage people's participation and improve their awareness.

4) Research:

CYSD has been undertaking research activities on development issues and problems with the assistance of professional volunteers, social scientists and development functionaries. The PRIME[5] unit of the organisation has been involved in planning, research, information, monitoring and evaluation of various developmental programmes. Besides fact-finding, research programmes provide empirical inputs to CYSD's training programmes. Programme evaluation has been a major component of research which has been sponsored from time to time by the government, semi-government

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5. PRIME - Planning, Research, Information, Monitoring and Evaluation.

and international funding agencies. CYSD also undertakes evaluation of its own programmes, programmes implemented by the government and other voluntary organisations. The organisation has already successfully completed evaluation of a number of programmes which include study on pavement dwellers in Bhubaneswar, Fellowship (Bhadrakh) - an income generating programme, Bhagabat Pathagar (Bolangir), Nipeedit (Phulbani), water harvesting project and adult education programme. At the time of reporting, CYSD was just to begin a new programme of evaluation on the government sponsored IRDP (Integrated Rural Development Programme) projects in the state.

CYSD has been assigned a study on development of Chilika lake area under the sponsorship of CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency). The study was at the final stage at the time of reporting which was done through participatory rural appraisal (PRA) method covering twenty one villages of four blocks in and around the Chilika lake. CYSD's approach to this effect has been to involve people in planning since they are the best judges of the situation and can play active role in problem identification and working out possible remedies. The study report has been prepared on the basis of first-hand information given by the local people to the mobile team on various aspects of development. The report has been finalised after rigorous

research activities by the same team which had the intimate experience of conducting the field study. Four major factors looked into in the study were:

a) availability and utilisation of local resources,
b) an appraisal of the socio-economic condition (including status of women) of the people,
c) factors responsible for environmental degradation;
and d) possibility of incorporating People's Integrated Resource Management Plan.

On the basis of this study report, an integrated area plan for development in Chilika lake area would be made by the help of the same study team and the PRIME unit of CYSD. Various development programmes would be implemented on the basis of this plan under the sponsorship of CIDA.

CYSD has been assisting grass-roots developmental organisations by formulating project proposals for availing government and foreign fundings. A 'Service Cell' has been set up for this purpose which is financed by NOVIB[6] and administered by CYSD. One major role of the Cell is project appraisal for assistance from NOVIB. Initially, project proposals are given by the concerned grass-roots organisation followed by a preliminary appraisal by the Cell on the

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6. NOVIB is an international funding agency for voluntary initiatives in the areas of development operating from the Netherlands.

basis of which clarifications are sought, and feasibility and relevance of the proposal are examined in terms of the broad guidelines and policies of NOVIB. The funcationaries of the Service Cell visit the project sites,meet the people and discuss the issues in great detail as part of the appraisal exercise. Whenever necessary, expert opinion on the project is sought to ascertain the viability of the proposals and their various implications; financial and otherwise. Some other objectives of the Service Cell have been:

a) to evaluate proposals for financial assistance,
b) to help counterparts for formulating applications and report properly on activities,
c) to develop yardsticks for each counterpart separately in consultation with the organisation for measuring progress,
d) to evaluate counterpart organisations at mid-term and at the end of the contract period through a consultative process,
e) to encourage the emergence and development of new action groups, and
f) to hold periodic seminars, debates etc. for helping the counterpart organisations -
   - to focus on their problem and to pay heed to their ideas for improving the service.

Bidyut Club:

A recipient of the State Prakruti Mitra Award (Friend of the Nature Award), Bidyut Club has been a pioneer voluntary organisation in the field of rural development. The organisation was set up in 1960 at a remote village called Haladiapara-Lokapal in Puri district. Initially it was established as a village club by a group of youths enthusiastic for rural upliftment. Since then the Club has been growing and expanding its activities thereby transforming itself from a mere youth club to an outstanding grass-roots developmental organisation of the district. The credit goes to its member-volunteers who have been struggling for years together to ensure its survival and success.

Operating from the headquarters on the outskirts of Haladiapara-Lokapal, the activities of the organisation covers 207 villages of Kanas block alone. But its operations have gone beyond the boundaries of Kanas block to the rural areas of Khurda and Bhubaneswar subdivisions.

The organisation strives to promote people's action for development through motivation, mobilisation and group action along the line of development. As part of the integrated approach followed by the organisation a linkage between education, development of functional skills and general awareness of the people has been tried to be established. It envisions to engineer a process of development in rural areas. The organisation runs one hundred and six

(106) NFE centres for school dropouts in the age-group of six to fourteen in Kanas block. About two thousand six hundred and fifty (2650) school dropouts in this age-group engaged as bread earners for their families have been enrolled in these NFE centres, at least 455 of whom have been able to go for high school education. The organisation literature praises the parents for their co-operation and its animators for their hand work and dedication to bring home this success.

A survey conducted by the organisation in 14 Gram Panchayats of Kandas block reveals that there were 7896 male and 12,944 female illiterates in the area. The organisation has initially taken 5 of these 14 Panchayats to achieve full literacy. Out of 7288 illiterates of these 5 Panchayats 4229 adults were made literate by 1990-91. The organisation also runs 200 Jana Sikshya Nilayas for adult education in Kanas block which come under the mass-literacy programme. Besides, there has been a campaign for total literacy in 207 villages of Kanas block to motivate the people for education. Another campaign called 'Gyan Bigyan Jatha' to popularise science was conducted in collaboration with VIKASH, a support service organisation operating in the district.

A library containing more than 25,000 books, 800 periodicals, news magazines and newspapers with a reading room facility for 200 readers has been operating to help the rural readers, literates, neo-literates, school and

college students and research scholars since 1960. As part of the motivation and mobilisation programme, the stepping stone to initiate any development programme; dance, drama, street theatres on socio-economic problems of the area and the society at large (such as education, environment, prohibition of dowry and atrocity on women) have been organised by the organisation.

Mobile health camps for deprived women and children have been conducted by the organisation in collaboration with Rotract Clubs and medical teams. The organisation gives special attention to immunisation during these camps. Besides this, detection, treatment and eradication programmes for tuberculosis, leprosy and eye camps are conducted with the help of other voluntary organisations, clubs and official agencies.

The organisation has been conducting special motivation camps for family planning programmes which help the medical teams for family planning operation. The animators and other development functionaries of the organisation contact and establish rapport with the newly married couples to convince and motivate them for family planning.

The organisation now runs one Balwadi Centre for children in the age-group of three to five years with 25 children belonging to poor families enrolled in it.

This grass-roots organisation claims to have achieved remarkable success in its afforestation programmes. The organisation has the facilities to grow as many as five lakh seedlings in its nursery for free-distribution and plantation under afforestation programme. Bidyut Club has been providing necessary technical know-how, training and maintenance of bio-gas plants as an alternative source of energy. Smokeless Chullahs are upgraded by the organisation to suit the local requirements. Bidyut Club has been making low-cost latrines for the beneficiaries under rural sanitation programme. For this purpose lavatory pans are made by the organisation which are also purchased by the people and other voluntary organisations. A programme for supplying drinking water to the water-scarce villages of Jatni block has been completed under the financial and technical assistance from CAPART. Construction of low-cost houses for people those belong to the lower income group-weaker sections has been a priority for the organisation. In the year 1990 alone some 9079 labour days were generated by this programme. Vocational training-cum-production centres in type-writing, short-hand and tailoring for women are also run by the organisation.

On agricultural front Bidyut Club has a few success stories to be mentioned. It has finished construction of a two kilometres long embankment and four sluice gates

which would work as check-dam for flood protection and facilitate irrigation.

Development functionaries of Bidyut Club participate in training programmes organised by various support service organisations. A special-training wing of the organisation has been working to train the adult-education instructors, NFE animators and other development functionaries on various aspects of rural development. The training wing imparts training to the development functionaries of some other grass-roots action groups.

Association of Social Action and Development (AKSS):

AKSS - Association of Social Action and Development was initially set up as a 'Sanskrutik Sansad' or cultural organisation in 1979 by some enthusiastic local youths who included teachers, health officials, people from other professions as well as educated unemployed youths. Six years ago, AKSS expanded its activities from culture specific to social welfare and development. Advent of a new team of educated unemployed youths, who could devote full-time for voluntary initiatives as professional volunteers, became the propelling force behind such functional change. A change that provided fresh impetus to the otherwise dormant 'Sansad' (as it has been locally called) to expand its activities. AKSS got registration for FCRA (Foreign Contribution Regulation Act-1976) in 1986 thereby enabling it to avail foreign fundings. Since then this

organisation has been involved in various rural development programmes related to health, education, agricultural development, rural sanitation, women and child development and environmental protection.

AKSS has been implementing most of its developmental programmes in the two blocks of Kanas and Krushnaprasad in Puri district. However the organisation has recently expand its activities to Astarang block of the same district, Langigarh block of Kalahandi district and Baipariguda block of Koraput district. Most of the project village of the organisation in Kanas block are adjacent to Chilika lake. About eighteen tiny islands in the lake constitute Krushnaprasad block wherein the organisation is also active. Project villages in Astarang block approach the Bay of Bengal which have been inhabited mainly by the 'Nolias', a fishermen community migrated from the South. Here, fishing is the mainstay of the people, subsistence cultivation being an additional source of livelihood.

Awareness generation among the people has been given prime importance by AKSS as first step towards realising genuine development. Awareness generation programme of the organisation is meant to 'aware, motivate, educate, organise and activate people for their own development. This programme has been carried out to be re-activate Mahila Mandals and Yubak Sanghas with the help and guidance

of the organisation.

AKSS has been implementing women and child development programmes under financial assistance of CAPART through which 30 poor women are already given self-employment to maintain their families. Fifteen children of these women are enrolled in the Balwadi Centre where food, nutrition and health care facilities are provided. Under socio-economic development programme for women (SEDP), the rural women have been educated and made aware of the social evils, injustices and atrocities on them to bring them their rightful place in the society and make them emerge as a major earning force in the family. A training-cum-production programme on applique works and ready-made garment making is just initiated involving 60 poor women from seven different villages of Kanas block. Very soon they would be able to produce various applique goods which have good marketability. Under self-help initiative programme for women at least 30 Mahila Mandals have been reactivated and many other newly formed which have now initiated 'savings and credit' programmes. In five different villages of this block the members of Mahila Mandals have been engaged in palm leave works, paper-made articles, rice processing and fish netting on co-operative basis utilising the local resources.

With the help of female workers and development functionaries regulate contacts with the beneficiaries have been established. Special campaigns on health, hygiene,

nutrition and family planning also have been yielding good response. Fifty villages of Krushnaprasad block and thirty villages from Kanas block have been covered by this programme. Under rural sanitation programme which is assisted by CAPART, about twelve hundred (1200) people families of 18 villages of Kanas block have been provided with low-cost latrines. AKSS helps the medical teams for immunisation under which about thirteen hundred (1300) children covering fifty villages have been immunised. The organisation is also implementing the Creche Programme[7] under which twenty five children of working and ailing mothers have been provided with food, education and medical care.

The organisation runs 45 lower primary, 45 upper primary NFE centres in 50 villages of Krushnaprasad block with the help of 53 animators and 8 other functionaries. One thousand two hundred and fifty (1250) dropout children have been enrolled in these centres to bring them back into the mainstream education. To encourage people's participation for this effort Village Education Committee have been set up in each village to supervise the centres. AKSS runs five adult education centres in five villages of Kanas block. This organisation has set up a tiny library with books, daily newspapers, magazines and a reading room

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7. A child welfare programme sponsored by the Central Social Welfare Board.

facility. The organisation publishes a monthly magazine titled 'Sambhara' on issues concerning social action and development.

With financial and technical assistance from CAPART, AKSS has been implementing a project for construction of low-cost houses with lavatory facilities. Twenty five such houses have already been constructed for scheduled caste families. In response to the twin crisis of fuel and fertiliser, the organisation is recently working to set up bio-gas plants in fifteen villages of Kanas block with the help of OREDA.[8] The 'million well' project meant to provide irrigation facilities where no alternative sources are available has been initiated by the organisation. The organisation was preparing to start another programme under which 500 smokeless chullahs in 10 villages would be provided to low-income group families with financial and technical assistance from OREDA and DRDA.[9]

AKSS has been encouraging farmers' co-operatives for promotion of multi-cropping and other modern facilities. A supervision of the organisation has been working with the farmers to co-ordinate the existing government programmes and incentives on agriculture with their actual needs.

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8. Orissa Renewable Energy Development Agency.

9. District Rural Development Agency.

Kitchen gardening and orchard development have been encouraged through Mahila Mandals which have now started yielding good results.

AKSS has recently conducted a survey on possibility of rain-water harvesting with technical and financial assistance from NAWDA.[10] When the project is completed it would provide drinking water facilities to at least twenty water scarce villages of Kanas block.

A Comparative Analysis

A brief comparative analysis of the above three action groups would reveal some important aspects of their origin and development as developmental organisations. AKSS, as its initial name implied, was set up as a cultural organisation but shifted to developmental activities after some years. Although Bidyut Club is now an outstanding grass-roots organisation of the district because of the untiring effort of its leaders and member-volunteers, it was initially set up as a village youth club. Therefore, both the organisations had their beginning with a relatively limited prospective. However, if not development, social welfare was the basic philsophy behind Bidyut Club's inception. Unlike AKSS which changed its priority from culture specific to development specific,

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10. National Water Development Agency.

Bidyut Club has been guided by the philosophy of voluntary initiatives since its inception. In contrast to these two grass-roots organisations CYSD was set up exclusive as a developmental organisation. Being a support service organisation, CYSD has been characteristically different from the two grass-roots organisations since it is not directly involved to deliver goods in terms of grass-roots initiative.

CHAPTER-III

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANISATION

- Structure of the Organisations
- The Leadership-Vacuum
- Programme Implementation
- Problem of Management
- Key-Leadership
- Building a Second-Rank Leadership
- An Overview

Study on leadership and organisational structure of voluntary organisations is becoming increasingly important owing to the fact that as they grow in size and activity. Their management becomes more complex and hierarchical. Here the basic challenge is how to cope with the problems of formalism and rigidity. Again, a smooth leadership transition has not been possible since most of these organisations have not succeeded in building a second rank of leadership around the key-leadership. It is evident from the leadership patterns of AKSS, Bidyut Club and CYSD that the key leadership of these organisations comprises one or two leading personalities who also happen to be the founders and main motivators of the organisation. In usual practice some offices or positions are attached to the key leadership such as the President, General Secretary or Member-Secretary. But it is not a rigid hierarchy and the key leader is basically a team leader rather than a supreme boss.

Developmental organisations do not have a rigid hierarchical structure and uniform pattern of organisation. But these organisations certainly have their own organisational arrangements,conducive to the specificity of functions.

Each organisation has the key-leader at the top of this structural arrangement who leads the volunteers. Operationally speaking, a leader or a professional volunteer is a person who must sense the felt-needs of the community

being endowed with the ability to work with them. He must possess the ability to lead his fellow-volunteers to realise such needs. The requisite skill and information about rural development is an additional requirement for a leader-volunteer. But his commitment to the cause of rural upliftment remains the foremost requirement.

STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANISATIONS:

Theoretically, it is not possible to work out a uniform pattern of organisation by generalising on any given indicator. This is so, mainly because of the fact that developmental organisations work under diverse situations and differ from each other in terms of their origin as well as nature of activities. However, there are some known or observed phenomena which can be made applicable, but with appropriate flexibility to most of the developmental organisations; as common characteristics.

The assumption that developmental organisations do not follow uniform pattern of organisation proved to be correct in case of all the three organisations. Structural arrangement of a developmental organisation is usually dictated by the nature and extent of work; geographical and otherwise. For instance, CYSD being a support service organisation is primarily engaged in promoting professional excellence in development management and performance

through training and consultancy services. Here, more professional experts are required whereas the other two organisations require more grass-roots developmental functionaries.

Like any other voluntary organisation, CYSD has a general council at the top as the supreme body of governance. But for all practical purposes there is a standing body known as the board of management that formulates organisational plans and policies, maintains liaison with government and other voluntary organisations. The board monitors and assesses programmes and their performances, and introduces corrective measures.

The Chairman of CYSD primarily oversees implementation of action programmes and liaises with the sponsors. The member-secretary looks after support-service activities and overall administrative co-ordination of CYSD. Both chairman and member-secretary are full-time executives of the organisation drawing a honorarium of Rs.5000/- per month. They are the founders and main motivators of CYSD, jointly constituting the key-leadership of the organisation.

The day-to-day office, management at the CYSD headquarters is looked after by the administrative officer who is assisted by an accountant and accounts assistant. A CYSD literature on O&M claims that extensive decentra-

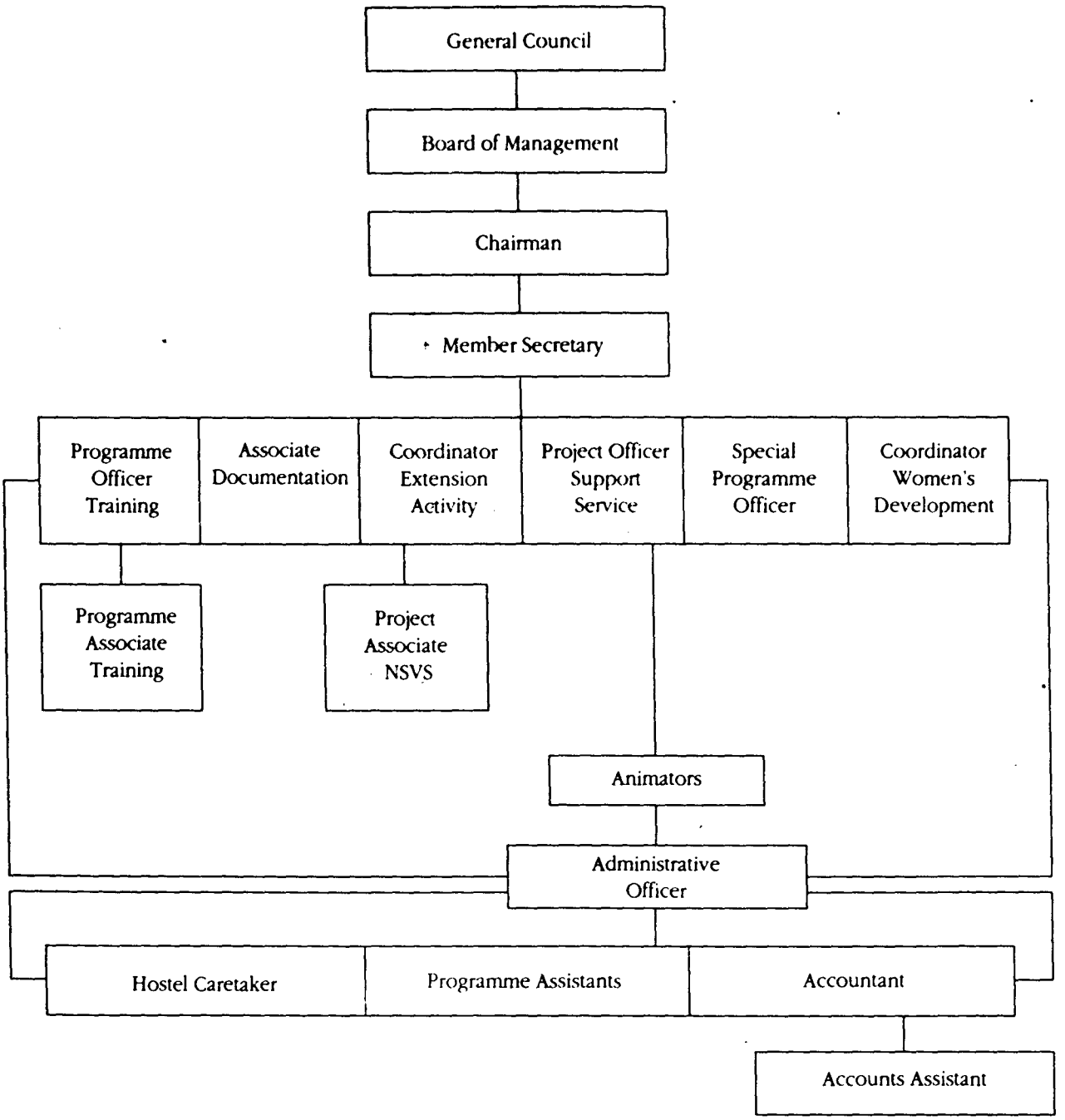

Fig. 2 Organisational Chart of CYSD

lisation has been possible in the organisation since authority proportionate to responsibility is delegated. It facilitates both horizontal and vertical communication among the positional incumbents at various levels.[1] Situational needs take precedence over established rules while implementing the programmes. It ensures flexibility in the place of rigid adherence to rules. But the literature does not mention how or when the authority is delegated below the level of member-secretary. But certainly various departmental units of the organisation which come next to the office of the member-secretary in organisational chart, do not enjoy full functional autonomy.

The organisational chart of CYSD headquarters does not include its field stations or own action project. This organisation runs one slum development project on the outskirts of Bhubaneswar, one integrated rural development project and one NFE project. These are three different model projects operated through field-stations (project office) and co-ordinated by the project co-ordinator stationed at the head-quarters. The field-stations enjoy a degree of functional autonomy and delegated authority proportionate to their responsibility. The integrated rural development programme at Rajbati, Tangi, Choudwar

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1. Youth for Development, Bhubaneswar; CYSD, 1991, p.10.

is led by a project director who looks after the overall functioning of the project.

The project officer of the project assists the director to co-ordinate various functions of the project. Day-to-day administration of the project is vested in the administrative officer who is assisted by an accountant-cum-cashier. The development functionaries those directly involved with action programmes at the grass-roots levels are animators, cluster organisers, social workers, soil conservationist, agriculture officer, engineer, doctor and nurses. Since the project covers many functional areas of rural development such as NFE, agriculture, health core and income generation; the organisational set up is suitably structured to cope with this diversity of work. It facilitates to take integrated approach as well.

While the Rajbati project has been providing an integrated approach to rural development, the NFE project, Delang is established to work in the field of non-formal education only. But the project does not operate as a pure sectoral agency. To overcome the limitations inherent in sectoral endeavour, the NFE animators have been instrumental to integrate education with other social and economic needs of the people. The animators act as instructors to the children, as counsellors to their parents and as catalysts in mobilising people for community work.

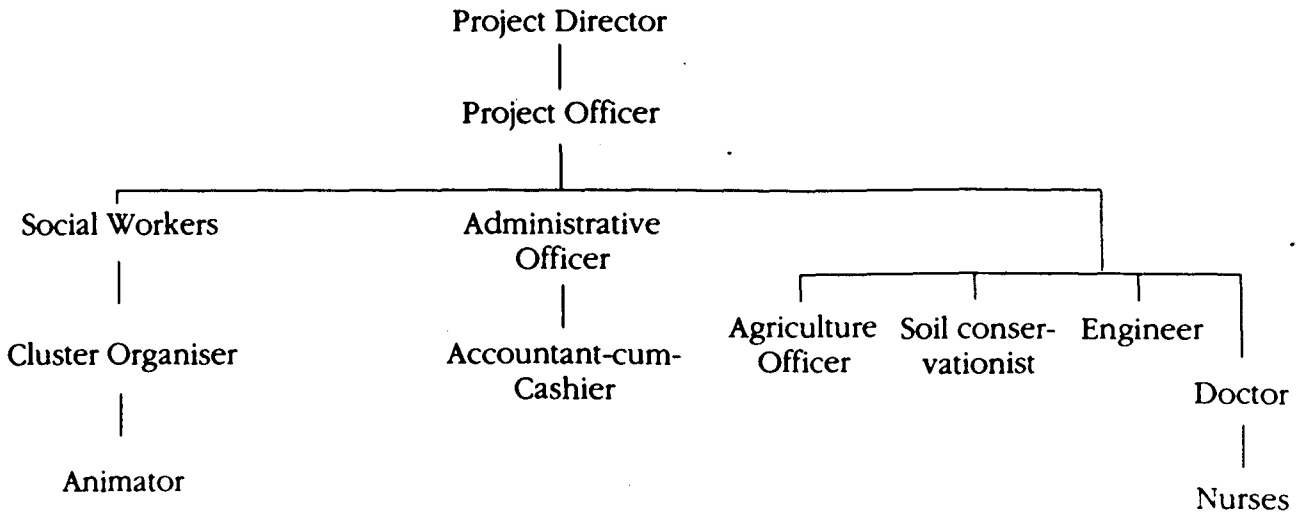


Fig. 3 Organisational Chart of Integrated Rural Development Programme, Choudwar.

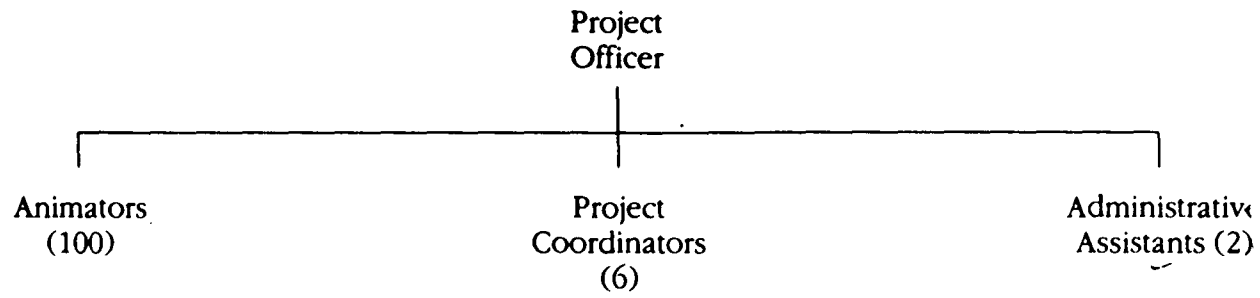


Fig. 4 Organisational set-up of NFE Project, Delong.

CYSD's NFE project, Delang, is led by a project officer who is in the overall charge of the project. He is assisted by two office assistants for day-to-day administration of the project. Six project co-ordinations remain in constant touch with the animators. They supervise the animators' work and extend technical support for NFE programmes. The animators are honorary functionaries chosen from the local community who are paid a nominal honorarium. An animator not only acts as an instructor or incharge of a NFE centre, but as a catalyst of development and motivator for community participation. There were 100 animators, one each for 100 NFE centres, out of whom 55 were males and remaining 45 were females. CYSD leadership takes special care to ensure that all the animators and other functionaries at the grass-roots level are drawn from the local community.

The other two voluntary organisations, being operationally different from CYSD have a slightly different organisational set-up. As in case of CYSD's NFE project, the animators of AKSS and Bidyut Club play multifarious role - as instructors, counsellors and catalysts. It is the animator who establishes rapport with newly married couples for family planning programme and it is he, who is asked to look after the social forestry programme too. In case of these two grass-roots organisations the

organisational set-up seems to be less hierarchical and less complex. Each developmental functionary or animator is accountable to the executives of the organisation who make frequent visits to the work places and not always remain at the headquarters.

Both AKSS and Bidyut Club have their supreme bodies called General Body comprising of all the member-volunteers. The General Body commands the highest authority concerning all organisational as well as developmental matters. It lays down broad policy framework, examines the annual report on performances, receipts and investments; and finalises the programmes for the ensuing year. Budget of the organisation prepared by the Executive Committee has to be deliberated and passed in the General Body Meeting. The Board of Management or Executive Committee is the standing body of these organisations. Executive Committee must be elected or selected by the General Body for a definite period. The Board of Management consists of the President, Vice-President, General-Secretary and secretaries incharge of various functional departments and programmes; and the treasurer. The Executive Committee is empowered to manage the day-to-day affairs regarding both management and development functions of the organisation. While Bidyut Club has the provision for an advisor who is to be selected or nominated by the Executive Committee, the AKSS has an Advisory Board appointed by the General Body; to aid and advise the President and the General Secretary who supposed to be the two key functionaries

of the organisation.

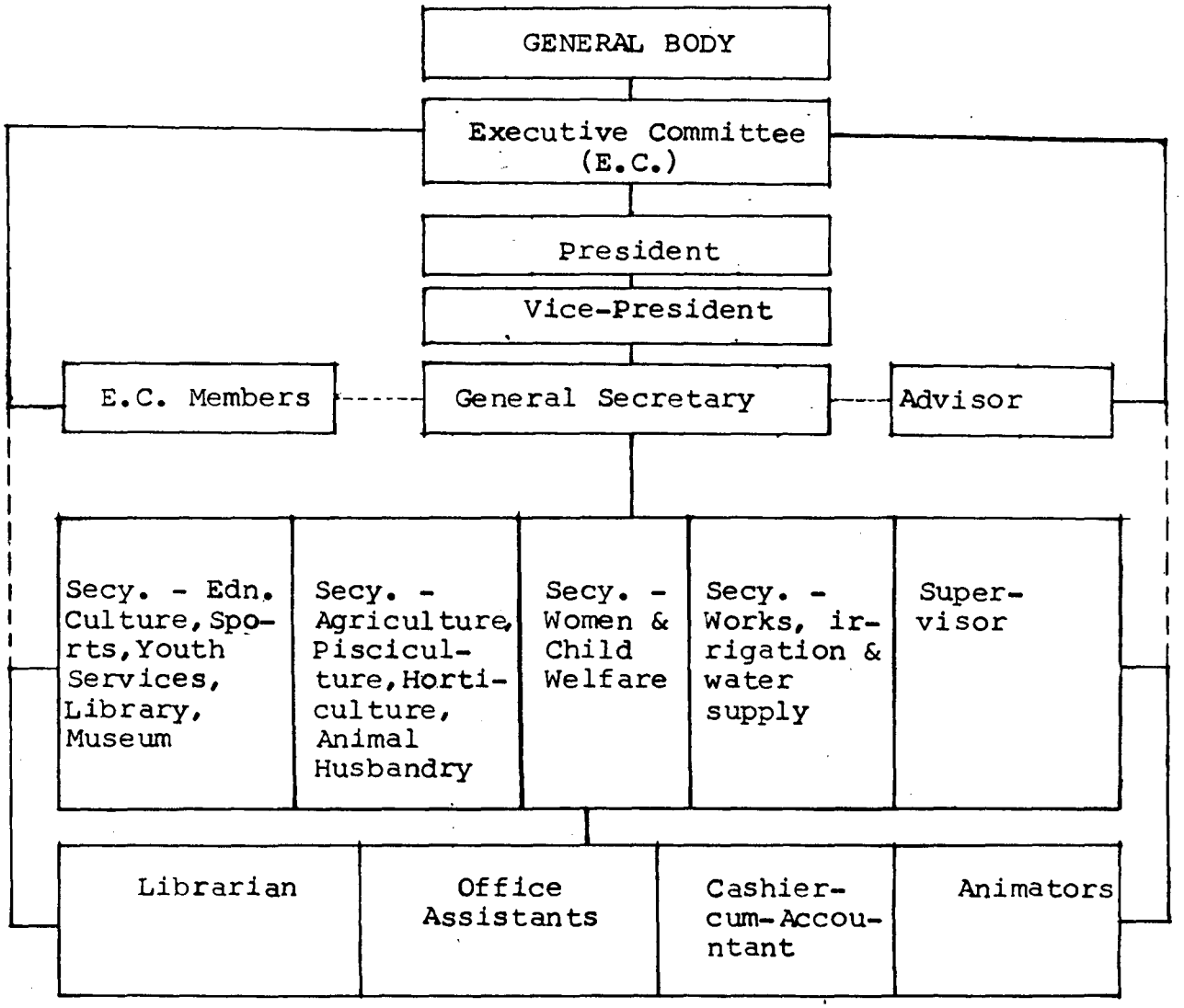
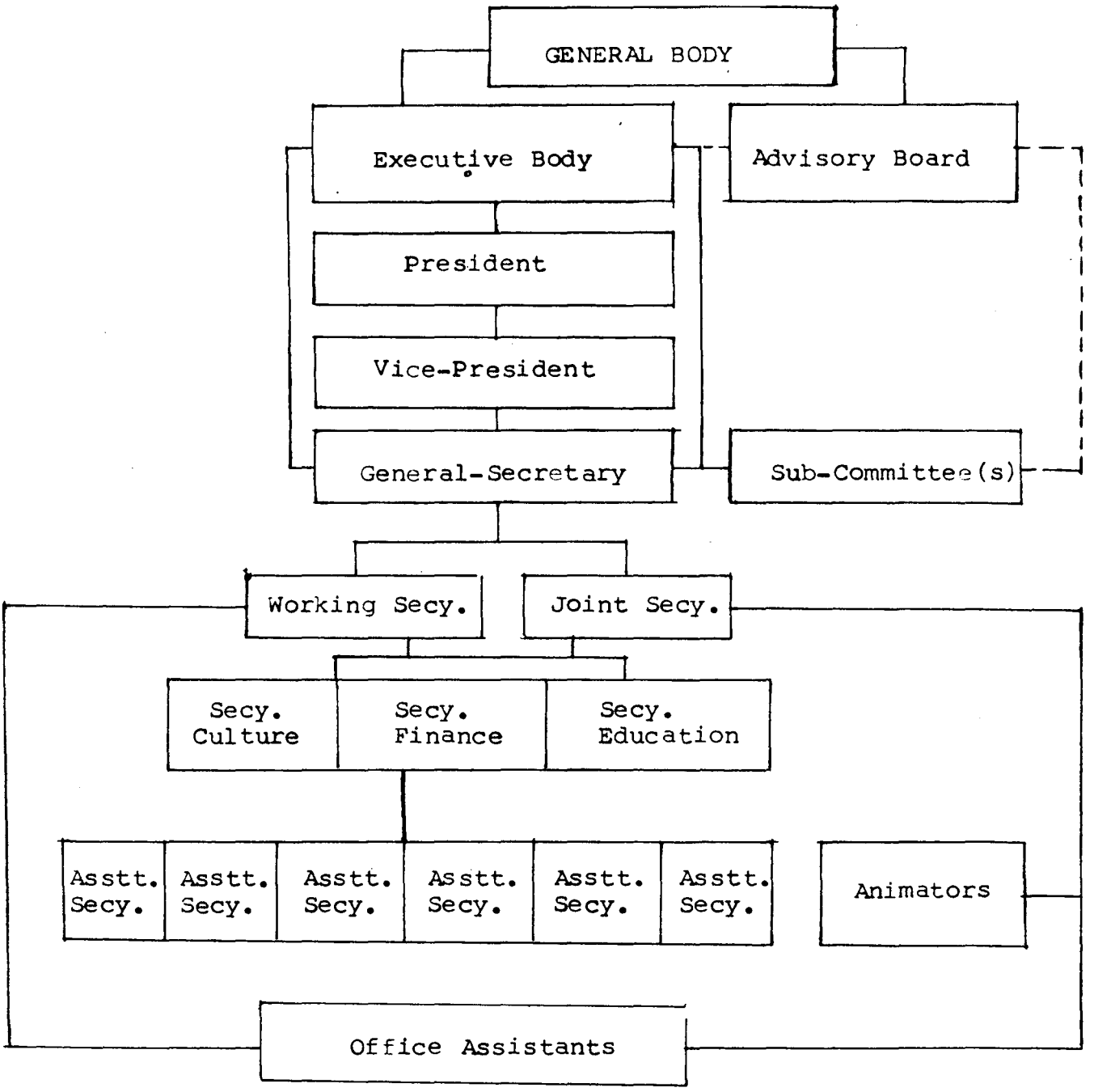


FIG.5
(Organisational Set-up, Bidyut Club)

Both the organisations have secretaries to head various departments and to look after specific programmes under their purview. These functional departments include education, culture, youth services, library, agriculture, irrigation, water supply, women and child development.



(Organisational Set-up, AKSS)

FIG.6

A basic structural difference between Bidyut Club and AKSS lies in additional location of authority, i.e. Advisory Board/Advisor and Sub-Committee. In case of AKSS, emergence of an additional authority parallel to the Executive Body in the form of Advisory Board can create the problem of location of authority. The power and functions of the Advisory Board should have been kept limited to advisory or suggestive nature only. There is every chances of confusion in the rank and file of the organisation since both Executive Body and Advisory Board are appointed by the supreme authority (General Body). But Bidyut Club has an Advisor instead of an Advisory Board, elected or selected by the Executive Committee whose advisory role has been very clearly mentioned in the 'by-laws'.

A comparative view on the organisational set-up of all the three organisations would suggest that organisational set-up differs even between two grass-roots action groups having almost similar functional obligations. Nature of functions being similar this might be so because of difference in perception of the key-leadership and organisational values nurtured by the member volunteers. Yet, nature of work or functional obligation remains the main determining factor for shaping organisational structure of an action group. This can be clearly manifested if basic structural differences between CYSD on the one hand, and AKSS and Bidyut Club on the other are taken for consideration.

THE LEADERSHIP-VACUUM:

Several earlier studies ascribe to the fact that many voluntary organisations either disintegrate or change their course after the founder is disappeared from the scene. In most cases, the founder or main motivator of the developmental organisations are from outside the community and have to retire sooner or later. Thus disappearance of the key-leader creates a leadership vacuum mainly because these organisations usually rally round the leader's personality. All important decisions would be taken by the key-leader with whom the real authority lies. Therefore, such organisations develop a tendency of personification and gradual concentration of authority. Eventual or sudden departure of the key-leader does not facilitate a smooth leadership transition because of absence of a second-rank leadership. The organisation is hardly able to replace the old leadership which invites virtual disintegration or a change in course.

A carefully nurtured inner-organisational democracy is the only remedy which can be safeguarded against the tendency of personification and facilitate multiple location of authority. But there must be clear-cut mention about the location of authority which may otherwise create confusion and disarray in the rank and file of the organisation. Creation of a second-tier of leadership from

among the local volunteers and a sound-infrastructure are two possible remedies which can secure the future of these organisations.

Socio-economic background and community orientation of the leader-volunteers are crucial because it supposed to give shape to the proposed second-rank leadership well as work nature of a voluntary organisation. Bunker Roy's Social Work and Research Centre at Telonia (Rajasthan) which has been offering professional advice and guidance to the farmers on health and hygiene, agricultural production, engineering and marketing with a group of professional volunteers led by Roy himself is a fairly good example.[2] Roy's Centre is a unique case which offers an integrated approach to rural development being endowed with adequate professionalism and dynamic leadership. But its continuity remains somewhat uncertain since the centre has not been able to develop a second-tier leadership. An account on the Musahri Project in North Bihar founded by late Jaya Prakash Narayan reveals how after J.P.'s departure, the project changed its course which no more represented the local people's 'innate impulse' for development.

Continuity or sustained effort is must to realise continual development. Again continuity is required to

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2. Marcus Franda, Voluntary Organisations and Local Development in India, New Delhi: Young Asia Publications, 1983.

generate a 'process of rural development' which the government agencies have so far failed to achieve. The problem of uncertainty can be overcome to a large extent if voluntary organisations are operated less directly by a single leader after an organisation has become resilient or mature enough to withstand any instability. While building a sound base, emphasis should be given to create a rank and file of trained local volunteers. With the initial guidance of the non-local professional volunteers, the local volunteer must operate directly in their respective localities, on their own. Origin of the local activists lies in the community which can help in building a solid infrastructure of voluntarism.

While local rank of volunteers provides greater link between the local environment and development programmes, many problems emanate out of it. First, developmental organisations consisting of local cadres lose their ability to keep themselves away from factional and group politics of the locality. Secondly, an excess dose of localism can hinder the wider purpose of an organisation for which it came into being.

PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION:

Failure on rural development front is attributed to the fact that benefits of developmental programmes do not reach the target group or the deserving masses. It will be the single most contribution on the part of the develop-

mental organisations if they will be able to channelise the benefits to the deserving rural people. But their ability to perform this crucial task remains doubtful. Apprehension about voluntary organisations acting under pressure or for the interests of its leadership thereby complying with the government agencies and politicians is not without evidence. Again class, caste and community affiliations of leader-volunteers might be playing an intervening role in the functioning of a voluntary organisation. Tracing the class and community background of leader-volunteers can be helpful in revealing two important aspects of voluntary involvement. First, it may reveal whether people belonging to a particular social or economic group are more inclined towards voluntary action. Secondly, it might reveal whether it influences the programmes and actions of a voluntary organisation, or amounts to special bias for a particular socio-economic group.

Many scholars have been attacking the prevailing notion that developmental organisations maintain both economy and efficiency while implementing the programmes in actual terms. Their argument is based on the observation that, overhead low-cost of implementing developmental programmes is there not because of cost-effectiveness and efficiency but low-paid staff and relatively small area of operation. This argument would suggest that it is neither motivation nor efficiency but under-payment and limited

area of operation which are responsible for successful implementation of rural development programmes. Paul Chaudhury would describe it as nothing less than creating a 'second-rate social bureaucracy'.[3] But it will be rather arbitrary to take a conformistic approach on this issue. While low-paid staff and limited area of operation might be responsible for low-cost delivery, the motivation and efficiency factors must not be ignored. While the former is found to be the first requirement of voluntarism, the latter is a fact.

PROBLEM OF MANAGEMENT:

As a voluntary organisation enlarges its activity, it grows in size and thus occurs the typical problem of management. There is every possibility of a developmental organisations turning formal and rule-bound like the government agencies. To borrow Robert Merton's concept of 'goal displacement', it is the adherence to rules originally conceived as means that becomes an end in itself, whereby an instrumental value becomes terminal value. It is an acid-test for voluntary organisations to grow and develop, but at the same time remain less formal and less hierarchical as well.

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3. D. Paul Choudhury, Voluntary Effort in Social Welfare and Development, New Delhi: Sidhartha Publishers, 1990.

KEY-LEADERSHIP:

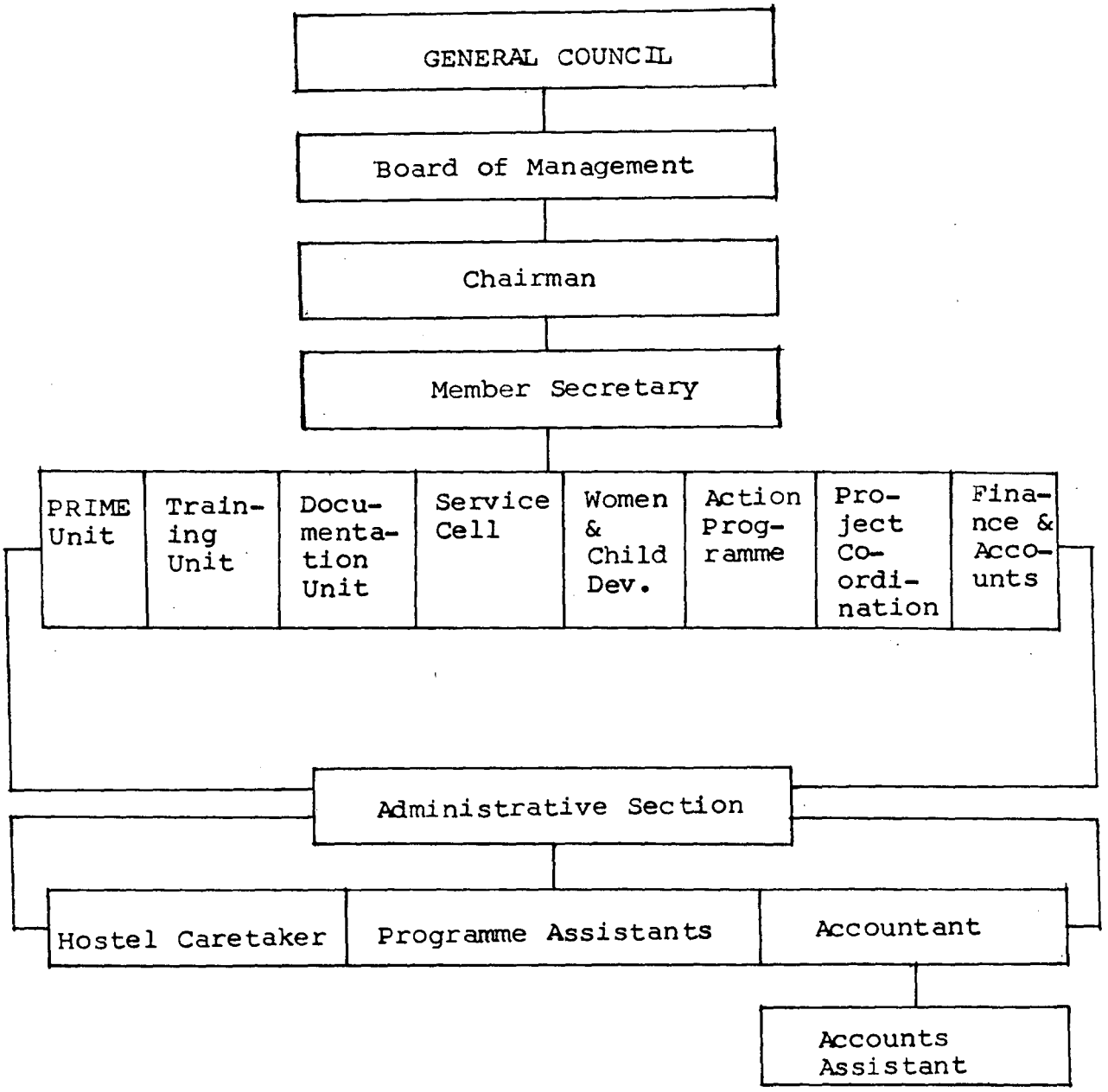
The assumption that the key leadership of a developmental organisation is usually drawn from outside the community has not been found correct in case of any of the three organisations. Both chairman and member-secretary of CYSD who comprise the key leadership are qualified professional activists who belong to the same state - (Orissa). Since CYSD has been engaged in state-wide operation it can claim to have drawn its key leadership from the same community. Similarly the President and General Secretary supposed to be the key leaders of other two organisations. But the real functional authority lies with the general secretary for all practical purposes. General Secretary of Bidyut Club is the main motivator and one of the founder members of the organisation who belongs to the local community. The General Secretary of AKSS belongs to the same locality from where the organisation operates. He acts with the help of a group of local youth activists.

It is to be noted here that in many cases it is not the constitutional head (President) who commands the real functional authority or constitutes the key-leadership, but the office or person who is the main motivator and founder of the organisation. Except CYSD wherein both constitutional head (Chairman) and the Member-Secretary comprise the key-leadership, none of the other two organisations has President or Chairman as their main motivator.

In both instances, it is the General Secretary who acts as key-leader. This happens in actual practice, notwithstanding the constitutional provisions.

BUILDING A SECOND-RANK LEADERSHIP:

The Member-Secretary of CYSD was asked about the existing problem of building a second rank of leadership and the possible leadership vacuum in future. Quite aware of the problem how CYSD leadership was initiating a structural change to ensure inner-organisational democracy and more freedom to middle-level functionaries. Existing structure of the organisation were likely to be changed whereby full functional autonomy would be given to various units such as, PRIME (Planning, Research, Information, Monitoring and Evaluation) unit, documentation unit as well as the field stations. The project offices will obtain full functional autonomy in relation to developmental activities of the project. The project co-ordination unit, which also supposed to be functionally autonomous will co-ordinate between the headquarters and the field-stations as well as between two field-stations. However, administratively, all units will remain under common governance of the organisation and these units will have to act according to the basic objectives of CYSD.



(Organisational Set-up of CYSD Headquarters after likely structural changes)

fig 7

But some existing procedures and practices will remain operative which ensure economy, efficiency and uniqueness in developmental effort.

The unit heads of the organisation are called as co-ordinators and their subordinates or deputies as associates. Professional volunteers appointed for each unit have practical knowledge about programme implementation, their respective programme areas and programmes of the organisation in general. For finance and administrative sections also persons with professional skill are appointed.

The envisaged functional autonomy should help to build a second tier of leadership. But the existing structural arrangement or functional practice in CYSD do not provide enough room for inner-organisational democracy and nurturing a second rank of leadership. Neither of the other two organisations have been able to develop a second tier of leadership. These organisations continue to revolve around the key-leadership. Future of these organisations remains somewhat uncertain in the absence of a successor group. But at their respective levels CYSD and Bidyut Club have established sound base and recognition in the community. A second rank of leadership, base groups and community recognition - these three factors remain crucial for sustenance of developmental organisations with community orientation.

One explanation of why a second rank of leadership has not come up in most of the cases can be traced to the problem of personification. These organisations have been so much personified with the key leadership since their inception that it is almost impossible now to initiate any change to de-personify them. It becomes hard to replace the legacy of the old leadership and to provide a substitute for it. The responsibility of course, lies with the key-leadership which should have seriously thought about the future of the organisation on providing answer to the question - what after them? Multiple location of authority is yet to be established in most of the cases. Like many other voluntary organisations in India, these organisations are yet to get rid off the problem of personification to ensure trans-generation continuity. CYSD's proposed restructuring is a step in the right direction to do away with this problem.

AN OVERVIEW:

Earlier assumption that majority of the volunteers or activists involved in rural development are educated middle class or lower middle class youths has been found correct. Some of the volunteers, activists, even front-rank leaders have been in other professions such as teaching, but involved in social action owing to their own conviction. However, majority of the young activists are engaged in developmental action as full time professional volunteers

with strong motivation. They have readily accepted voluntary action as a career. Family influence has been the source of inspiration for many youth activists. In spite of hardships such as low-payment for overwork, most of them are satisfied with the informal organisation in contrast to any bureaucratic or sectoral set up. Most of the CYSD personnel are highly qualified professionals scientifically recruited and trained. But the two grass-roots organisations have not been able to develop proper method of recruitment for organisational set up.

With its functions enlarging, CYSD is now facing the problem of managing the organisation like many other voluntary organisations in India. But as it is noted earlier, the CYSD leadership seems to be aware of the problem which is initiating a structural change wherein more functional autonomy can be enjoyed by various units and the field stations. AKSS and Bidyut Club have not faced such problem but might encounter it as they grow in size and activity.

It has been a general feeling that the community development programme, the co-operative movement and the panchayati raj experiment failed to yield results because they became vulnerable to the pressures of rural elite-bureaucracy combine. Indian bureaucracy, for that matter bureaucracy in general, has never allowed any non-bureaucratic or autonomous institution to survive over and above

its authority. On the part of the rural elite, it considers more convenient to 'deal' with the official agencies than the voluntary organisations. In this context, a solid support base and infrastructure of voluntary activities in the community seem to be imperative for their successful working in rural environment. It has been more difficult for voluntary organisations those work in various fields of economic development to retain voluntarism in them and fulfil their objectives rather than those movements and action groups which are created around issues which can be projected as demand on the state. It is precisely for these factors, it becomes indispensable for developmental organisations to strive for more and more community involvement.

CHAPTER-IV

FINANCING THE VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

- Government Funding
- Foreign Funding
- Base-Group Contributions
- Funds Raised Through Own Productive Activities
- A Novel Idea
- A Case for Foreign Funding
- Limitations of External Funding
- Public Accountability

Financing or funding has been a major aspect as well as concern of the developmental organisations. Funding has been an important part of study mainly for two reasons. Firstly, unlike the protest groups, organisations involved in economic and productive activities for development need professional skill, trained manpower and funds to invest in such activities. Larger is the area of operation, greater becomes the requirement for funds. Secondly, increasing external funding to developmental organisations amounts to limiting their autonomy, flexibility and their sustenance as agents of alternative development. There are advantages as well as limitations of major sources of funding which cover:

a) government funding,

b) foreign funding
   including funding by the
   international funding agencies,

c) funds raised from the base groups
   which can be procured by either
   i) popular contribution, or ii) selective patronage,
   and

d) funds raised through organisation's own economic
   or productive activities which is procured by
   methods such as income from the sale-proceeds
   of training-cum-production centres.

Both government and foreign fundings have serious limitations involving autonomy, flexibility and ideological base of the organisation. Substantial increase in government assistance since mid-eighties (1985) has created fear of co-option of voluntary organisations in certain quarters. Changes in the Foreign Contribution and Regulation Act (FCRA-1976) in 1985 wherein voluntary organisations those received foreign fundings were now to register with the Ministry of Home Affairs and the proposed National Council for Rural Voluntary Agencies (NCRVA-1986)[1] have been interpreted by many as mechanisms of increasing state control over voluntary sector. There have been apprehensions that the centre would get direct access to the district level and below through these organisations thereby bypassing the state headquarters. Argument from the government side[2] about increasing support to the developmental organisations have been that it intended to recognise the latter as an efficient delivery mechanism in the field of integrated rural development, than any other agency. Besides this increasing government assistance would reduce over dependence on foreign funding which

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1. The proposal was mooted by the Planning Commission in 1986 to set up a NCRVA akin to the existing Press Council or Bar Council of India, which would regulate the rural voluntary agencies; met stiff resistance.

2. Government means the Union or Central government, unless otherwise mentioned.

has been definitely a growing trend having its own implications.

GOVERNMENT FUNDING:

One major limitation of government funding is its availability only for pre-designed government programmes. Many of these programmes often end up being irrelevant for the beneficiaries. No doubt, increase in government assistance has helped voluntary organisations to expand and diversify their activities, but in the long run they have been over-dependent on government help. Many of these organisations have even abandoned their effort to raise funds from the base groups and through their own productive activities. Many other organisations have come up only to misappropriate government funds in the name of social action and development.

Government's claim for realistic accountability to it in terms of accounts, audit and reporting stands valid. Accountability to government in this connection, cannot be rejected while ensuring that it should not hamper an organisation's accountability to the base groups or encroach upon the imperatives of its organisational autonomy. In relation to foreign funding, there has to be some monitoring on the part of the government.

FOREIGN FUNDING:

Notwithstanding many criticisms, the fact remains that foreign funding gives a 'lifeline' to many voluntary

organisations in India. Prakash Karat and many other writers have been attacking foreign donor agencies vehemently for pumping up funds as nothing but a part of the 'global imperial conspiracy' for capitalist penetration.[3] On the other hand there has been a strong argument in favour of globalisation of basic developmental issues common to the mankind in which every human being has a right to bear with. But the issue of foreign funding is more complex than what it appears to be. The Karat type of argument is not without substance. The kind of situation that has occurred in Bangladesh wherein NGOs have emerged as a major power bloc with millions of dollars and huge manpower in their possession thereby threatening the authority of the state is a glaring example of such developments.[4] But Karat's observation might be an over reaction to the working of a group of voluntary organisations in India which cannot be extended to every voluntary organisation in the country. It is often argued that there have been many cases wherein foreign funding agencies subvert or distort national priorities. If the argument is true, then it has serious repercussions on the society, economy and polity of the country. Distortion

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3. Prakash Karat, 'Action Groups/Voluntary Organisations: A Factor in Imperialist Strategy', Marxist, Vol.II, April-June, 1984.

4. D.L. Seth, et. al., Representations and Reality: NGOs Sector, ICSSR Third Survey Research in Public Administration, April, 1989.

of national priorities will amount to a 'stereo-type' model of development thereby creating grave social, political and economic discontents among the populace. Distortion of national priorities poses potential threat to sustenance of voluntarism in the long run. External funding very often compels the developmental organisations to implement specific and pre-designed programmes alien and irrelevant to the local community. If foreign funding agencies are really bent upon their own model of development, then it will create two major difficulties for genuine development at the grass-roots. Firstly, it will create a stereotype or abstract pattern of development alien to the community. Then, it would be no less than let loosing naked violence on the community in the name of development. Secondly, it would reduce the implementing voluntary organisations into mere contract agencies of the foreign donors. Besides, availability of easy funds makes the voluntary organisation unwilling to explore other sources of finance. It kills the concept of voluntarism altogether.

An uncontrolled flow of foreign funding can alter the basic relationship between the organisations receiving these funds and the community. Ironically, those who vehemently oppose foreign funding in India do not support state monitoring of it either. The state has to retain the right to monitor the flow of foreign funding into the country, but that must not encroach upon the freedom of voluntary

organisations. One revealing fact is that Christian missionaries and their related organisations are deeply entrenched in the South. This has led to inflow of maximum foreign funds to the four southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.[5]

BASE-GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS:

Therefore, the best option before voluntary organisations is to raise funds through their own productive activities and public contribution. But there are many constraints in collecting funds from the base groups. A large part of the public contribution to these organisations comes from the middle class sympathisers, and not from the rich people. Since middle class in India is now struggling for its own sustenance in the face of inflation, price rise and many other effects of a transitional economy, it is difficul to expect any substantial rise in contributions from this source.

Selective patronage by the rich and influential people of the area has its own limitations. The big business houses and industries often launch their own 'voluntary-oriented' development programmes and do not share their 'charity' with the action groups. Under such situation, these organisations rely on the easier ways of

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5. Shriram Maheswari, 'Voluntary Action in Rural Development in India', IJPA, Vol.XXXIII, No.33, July-Sept., 1987.

government and foreign funding.

But one would insist that developmental organisations must not abandon collecting funds from the base groups. Funds collected from the base groups might be inadequate but precious. It is precious in many ways. To retain their autonomy and ensure that they do not compromise with the interest of the community, it is of immense importance to seek people's participation. According to Rajkrishna, an exponent of voluntary initiatives, those few organisations have been able to retain an independent support base have managed to remain autonomous.[6] Recognition of a voluntary organisation among the people is another vital contribution of public patronage. Participation through donations creates a sense of responsibility among the donors and makes them involved in the developmental activities of the organisation. On the other hand it ensures accountability of the organisation to the base groups. Thus these are some advantages of public patronage in terms of participation and accountability. Especially the grass-roots developmental organisations must take all care to raise at least a part of their financial requirement from the base groups. Weaker the support base of an organisation lesser the degree of autonomy it can retain in the face of external pressures.

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6. Raj Krishna, The Centre and the Periphery: Inter-State Disparities in Economic Development, Bombay: Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, 1980, p.25.

FUNDS RAISED THROUGH OWN PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES:

Funds raised through own economic and productive activities remains the most desirable source of finance. It can be a motivating factor for the rural people because they are very much practical and can be best motivated for developmental actions if voluntary organisations spearheading these actions are engaged in economic and productive activities. It also enhances the freedom and autonomy of an organisation with its own funds to initiate innovative projects. Voluntary organisations can generate income through sale-proceeds from the training-cum-production centres. Own productive activities make the developmental organisations familiar with productive and market forces of an area. It makes them know about the possibilities and problems of production and marketability of the produce in that area. So, own economic and productive activities can be helpful for a developmental organisation in various ways. It can be helpful for a greater understanding of the developmental problem of the area. It safeguards the autonomy, innovativeness, recognition and community orientation of these organisations. But unfortunately, barring a few, most of the developmental organisations stand on the shaky foundations of external funding with a little or no finance of their own. The greatest limitation of otherwise developed and efficient organisations like CYSD is, they have almost no own funding. This is not an argument for or against institutional funding but certainly against the anti-voluntary trend prevalent in almost every

voluntary organisations whereby they would always go for the easier way of institutional funding. This is said to be an anti-voluntary trend, for it affects their autonomy, organisational dynamics, community orientation and recognition among the local people.

There are rare examples such as Chipko Movement in the Garhwal Hills and Apiko in Karnataka which receive no institutional funding. In case of Chipko movement, the hill community has sustained entirely on its own for the last two and a half decades in their struggle against the forest department, private forest contractors and liquor dealers. But for that matter these are reformative or protest groups and the same is not possible in case of the developmental organisations. Developmental activities require adequate funds, technological support, professional skill and trained man-power.

As a support service organisation, CYSD has been channelising funds from various funding agencies to the grass-roots action groups. This organisation acts as the sole agent of NOVIB in Orissa and recommends funding after feasibility assessment and project appraisal. The applicant organisation has to go through CYSD for NOVIB funding. As it is mentioned earlier, CYSD does not raise funds through its own economic and productive activities. Primacy is given to human resource development in terms of training, develop-

ment of professional skill and expertise, efficiency etc., for developmental functionaries of the grass-roots organisations. Except three model projects mentioned earlier, which have been running mainly to impart and acquire practical knowledge about developmental operations, the organisation has no direct output in terms of production. CYSD has been carrying its activities depending largely on foreign funding, partly government funding and almost no own funding.

In this respect Bidyut Club takes a lead on raising funds through own productive activities. It has been earning near about 25 per cent of its total annual receipts (as per the audited account of 1990-91)[7] on its own. Sale-proceeds from lavatory pans, agricultural and horticultural produces, fish and plants etc. had added Rs.4,83,223 to the organisation's account during the year 1990-91. More importantly, these activities have been involving rural youths, women and artisans those have no asset or capital to generate employment and produce goods. Sale-proceeds from these activities go to the organisation's developmental account to be invested in organisation's own innovative projects. It has been also used as matching contributions for ungoing projects. But AKSS has not been successful in

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7. Annual Report of Bidyut Club (1990-91), Haladiapara, Gokapal, Bidyut Club, 1991, pp.2-3.

this respect. However it gets a small part of its annual receipts through sale-proceeds from brick making and agricultural products. This organisation has just initiated a production-cum-training centre for applique making which should increase its income from the sale-proceeds. The items produced by Bidyut Club and AKSS are made available for sale or distribution to the public and other developmental organisations. Certain items such as lavatory pans, bricks and plants are also used in programmes implemented by the organisations themselves.

A NOVEL IDEA:

To ensure beneficiaries' involvement in development both Bidyut Club and AKSS have been following a novel approach. These organisations receive nominal contributions from the beneficiary for programmes such as low cost housing and latrines. They receive this contribution not by cash or kind but in terms of labour. Manual labour volunteered by the beneficiary for constructing his own house or latrine enhances involvement and responsibility on the part of the beneficiary. Bidyut Club has been procuring around 20 per cent of the total cost of a project through manual labour from the concerned beneficiary. Beneficiary's contribution facilitates greater participation as well as an intimate meeting between the 'benefit' and the beneficiary. For instance, in case of projects like social forestry, certain numer of plants are

allotted to each beneficiary who would look after them and own its products at a later stage. Leader-volunteers of both the grass-roots organisations were categorical to mention that they received no contribution in cash or kind from the beneficiary except his manual labour. This has become a novel plan for community participation which the bureaucracy has failed to ensure.

Leader-volunteers of both Bidyut Club and AKSS answered in negative while asked whether they enjoyed selective patronage of rich and influential people of the area. However Bidyut Club library has been receiving contribution from individuals and institutions in terms of books and old collections.

A CASE FOR FOREIGN FUNDING:

These endeavours notwithstanding, government and foreign fundings continue to be the 'life line' for all the three organisations. So far as CYSD is concerned, it almost completely depends upon government and foreign funding. Functionaries of all the three organisations were equivocal to mention that foreign funding was more convenient and suitable for them than the government funding. Main problem with government funding has been its pre-designed nature which is often irrelevant for the beneficiaries. Except a few autonomous and semi-autonomous funding institutions, formalism and delay involved in the

funding process and adverse deal from the bureaucracy have compelled these organisations to go for foreign funding. There are reasons to believe that formalism involved in government funding which is again a creation of the official bureaucracy, in any case is absent in foreign funding. Immediate funding after feasibility assessment of the project proposal, timely monitoring of programmes and quick response on progress reports have prompted these organisations to go for the 'better'. In some instances, it took a couple of years for government agencies to complete project appraisal, feasibility assessment and releasing the funds whereas a foreign funding agency could do it within a couple of months! Biggest problem with government funding has been the specific guidelines attached against each programme which often make the programme itself irrelevant or impossible to implement. Government funding agencies insist on strict adherence to both, purpose of the programme and method of implementation. A leader-volunteer of Bidyut Club narrated how a specific guideline attached to a CAPART programme for low-cost housing to use tiles and burnt bricks created problems of implementation and cost-effectiveness. These two building materials are not produced in the locality therefore cost more than the laterite rocks which are available in plenty. The guidelines were modified only after the organisation persuaded and finally convinced the funding

institution that it would cost less, if concrete roofs and support walls built with laterite rocks were preferred to tiles and burnt bricks. Therefore, by and large it is the flexible nature of foreign funding which has been attracting voluntary organisations towards it.

Notwithstanding many accusations and arguments against foreign funding, it has been preferred by the developmental organisations. The leader-volunteers of the two grass-roots organisations would rather insist that it is the government funding which restricts their innovativeness, curtails freedom of options, hampers autonomy and affects flexibility. Foreign funding according to them is too flexible to affect either of these qualities of a developmental organisation. Foreign funding agencies give the much required freedom of options in relation to planning and implementation of the programmes. There used to be some broad objectives cited by a foreign funding agency and it is upto the implementing organisation to plan the programme and work out the method of implementation. In this context CYSD professionals referred to the SIDA[8] project on development of Chilika lake area for which the organisation was preparing a detailed plan on the project, with full freedom and autonomy. The accusation that foreign funding agencies are hell-bent on imposing their own model of development has not been found correct, at least in case of these three organisations. The client organisations are provided with full freedom for preparing the

8. SIDA - Swedish International Development Agency.

project proposals. Therefore complaints about distortion of national priorities by the foreign funding agencies seem to be an overreaction to the trend prevailing in some parts of the country. It might be true in case of some voluntary organisations which are either very much vulnerable to such funding agencies or have extra-territorial affiliations with them.

LIMITATIONS OF EXTERNAL FUNDING:

Irrespective of its indigenous or foreign nature, external funding has been making voluntary organisations less innovative and least responsible to the community. Earlier assertion that availability of easy funds makes voluntary organisations parasitic and unwilling to explore alternative strategies is a realistic one. It is observed that, an organisation which has managed to realise at least a part of its financial requirement through own productive activities and contributions received from the base groups, has been more innovative and accountable to the people while others have been suffering from parasitic dependence on external funding.

In this context, Bidyut Club has been able to retain a relatively more independent support base among the local people cutting across party line as a mark of its sustained effort. But neither of these three organisations has ever involved in fund collection from the base groups. They have been trying to get recognition and build support base through

concrete achievements over programmes undertaken, camps and campaigns. The programmes and campaigns include social, economic and health problems of the rural people. There happen to be some difficulties in collecting funds from the base groups in Puri district. Majority of the rural population in the district belongs to lower middle class and the poor who have been living on subsistence economy. It becomes next to impossible for these people to save money for these organisations who cannot afford to send their children to schools only because they use them as bread-earners, or they are unable to purchase reading materials and clothes for them. Besides, quite a few people are suspicious about integrity of some leaders and volunteers, thereby reluctant for cash contribution. The salaried class is usually out of the village at the work place which seldom helps voluntary initiatives in the village. But ironically, some of these salaried people, most of whom are teachers; have been the core group of volunteers to keep voluntary initiatives alive in rural areas.

On the part of the developmental organisations, they have been choosing the easier option of external funding. None of the three organisations seems to have given serious thought about their base groups and public accountability except that of involving the beneficiaries in development through voluntary contribution in terms of their labour. Among the grass-roots organisations of the area, Bidyut Club takes a lead on this front which has managed to gather

an intimate understanding of developmental problems, production and market opportunities in the area. Various agricultural productions, making of lavatory pans, processing of building materials, seedlings for plantation etc. have been providing employment to rural women, youths and artisans which must be appreciated.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY:

All the three organisations have been maintaining detailed account of receipts and expenditure. These organisations undergo both internal and external audits, report of which is placed before the General Body or General Council of the concerned organisation. It is only after the annual report is being placed that expenditure for the ensuing year can be discussed in the General Body Meeting. Besides this annual exercise, both government and foreign funding agencies are provided with progress-reports of ongoing programmes. In some cases even quarterly reports are sent to the funding agency. Detailed audited account attached with performance report is provided after completion of the programmes.

Unless public accountability of voluntary organisations is ensured Bangaldesh type of situation is going to be repeated in many parts of India. Even in Orissa, many developmental organisations are least bothered about their public accountability and community involvement. The key-leadership of Neelachal Seva Pratisthan, an organisation

operating in the same area wherein Bidyut Club and AKSS have been working, simply refused to allow an academic oriented study on the organisation, leave alone its public accountability! Many organisations like NSP have been helping none but the corrupt bureaucracy and political leadership to encroach upon the voluntary sector. In majority cases the bureaucrats are bribed or politically pressurized to grant favour to these organisations. Sheer bribing and political sychophancy take the place of public accountability and independent support base. One revealing fact during the study was how developmental organisations operating in the same locality were busy in lobbying at various government departments and approaching the corridors of power.

Thus all the three organisations, more or less have been depending on external fundings. While Bidyut Club has managed to raise one fourth of its annual receipts through its own productive endeavours, CYSD, the most developed and efficient among them has almost no funding of its own. If mode of funding is taken as the sole criterion then CYSD can be termed as an agency-type of developmental organisation or group. But interestingly, in spite of almost hundred per cent external funding it has been innovative in its approach.

The earlier assumption that foreign funding agencies impose their own model of development has been found

incorrect at least in case of these three organisations. Instead, these funding agencies provide maximum freedom and flexibility to the implementing organisation. These agencies are equipped with better monitoring system and quick to response to the progress reports, thereby avoiding delays which is a normal practice in case of government agencies. But irrespective of its indigenous or foreign nature, external funding has been making voluntary organisations less-innovative and least responsible to the community.

In pursuit of easy money and advantage over other competing organisations, quite a few voluntary organisations have been complying with the interests of official bureaucracy and the politicians. Resource, manpower and precious time have been wasted for lobbying and 'approaching' at various levels which often ends in inter-organisational rivalry and personal feuds between the leaders and volunteers of various organisations. This restricts and minimises the effort on development.

CHAPTER-V

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS

- Relationship with the Government
- Relationship with the Political Parties
- Relationship with Other Voluntary Organisations
- Relationship with the People (Public Accountability)

Since the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90), government has been increasingly supporting the voluntary organisations working in various fields of rural development. Massive government funds have been pumped up into the sector. Government has now recognised these organisations as an effective channel which can successfully motivate and mobilise the people along the line of development. But this liberal attitude on the part of the government has created apprehensions in certain quarters as a motivated gesture. Since no intermediate rung is left between the state and society, more so after the decline of political parties,[1] it is a new move on the part of the government to use voluntary sector as an intermediate rung to fill this gap. The above argument is substantiated by the existing relationship between government and voluntary organisations. Organisations those are not averse to play an intermediary role and akin to implement government plan face no opposition from the state. On the other hand,

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1. Recent literature on state, society, governability and party process in India deal with this topic ascribing to the fact that organisational base of political parties has been weakening. Political parties are now facing the crises of legitimacy and recognition in society. Their larger political role and responsibility have been reduced to the extent of achieving the narrow objective of capturing state power instead of acting as agents of modernisation and development. Recently, political parties in India have been trying to fulfil their objective by any means - through electoral numbers game and further fragmentation of the society.

organisations those suggest any reform or challenge the existing pattern of development face pressures from the state. So, the state continues to decide 'not only what issues are crucial but how they ought to be tackled! This could be a mechanism to bring the state function within the parametres of civil society.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOVERNMENT:

Relationship of voluntary organisations with the government is marked by both conflict and co-operation. The proposed National Council for Rural Voluntary Agencies (NCRVA-1986) which attracted strong opposition as an attempt for state encroachment can be an instance of such conflict relationship. On the other hand, National Technology Mission constituted around the same time which envisaged to give voluntary organisations a leading role in non-formal education, immunisation, drinking water facilities etc., bears the symbol of co-operation.

In the light of recent development, it has become imperative to understand whether developmental organisations are going to be the new mediators between the state and society. Is it the search for a new intermediate rung that has prompted the state to develop a working partnership with the state? Viewing from a macro perspective, their fragmented and intermittent character do not allow to reach at a definite conclusion on this issue. But an appropriate answer to this question largely depends on the

status of voluntary organisations in society. In other words, it depends on to what extent these organisations can represent or reflect the interest of the community. In some cases they have been the genuine voice of the community. But many of these organisations have come up to misappropriate the easy money available to them in the name of development. As it is mentioned earlier, many developmental organisations have been establishing nexus with the government bureaucracy and the politicians for this purpose. Initiating community participation and public accountability is meaningless for such organisations. This act on the part of some voluntary organisations has created apprehensions of bureaucratic encroachment which is discussed earlier in the last chapter. This type of organisations work as mere contract agencies to the donor agencies. These organisations lack the ability to work out alternatives when the existing solutions are either irrelevant or counter productive.

The fact remains that the voluntary organisations cannot constitute an intermediate rung between the state and the society unless the former represent or reflect the latter. Another issue interlinked with their status in society is their accountability to the base groups. Constitutionally, all of these organisations appear to be democratic and accountable to the people. But in actual practice even the most successful organisations have so

far failed to give an institutional basis to their relationship with the base groups. But these organisations have been trying to ensure people's participation in various ways. In this connection, CYSD's SIDA planning on development of Chilika lake area is a final example wherein local people are consulted by the professional volunteers before any possible strategy or planning is worked out for their socio-economic development. Bidyut Club has been consulting the beneficiaries as well as the affected people before initiating a particular programme. Village meetings, yatras, street plays, campaigns, karsevas and regular contacts through developmental functionaries and animators on various problems of the rural people such as health, sanitation, environment; have been the key approach of both AKSS and Bidyut Club to ensure people's participation in development. AKSS and Bidyut Club consult the elected local bodies on developmental issues wherever they come to exist. Besides, the local people often come to the leaders and volunteers directly to lodge complaints or give suggestions on issues which affect them intimately. But the relationship between the voluntary organisation and the community remains fragile and unclear owing to the fact that it lacks an institutional basis.

Voluntary organisations are in a better position to reflect on the issue and problems of the community provided they have no other interest behind each act.

But it is their proximity and accountability to the base groups that ultimately determine the status of a voluntary organisation in the society.

Relationship between voluntary organisations and the government is unclear and ambivalent owing to various reasons. Organisations acting in conformity with government programmes have a smooth existence than those pursue innovative and alternative strategies. Many organisations have been turning conformists to the existing pattern of development. It makes such organisations indifferent to public concern and produce stereotype developments. However, none of the three organisations turned completely conformistic because they receive funds from other sources too. A relatively independent support base can also ensure freedom of options for these organisations which has been found in different degrees in all the three organisations. But in case of government funding these organisations more or less act in conformity with the government programmes. The earlier instance of CAPART's insistence on using tiles and burnt bricks reveals the rigidity and conformity involved in government funding. There are many organisations who have been thriving on government funding. These organisations have certainly turned conformistic. This type of organisations fail to identify emerging problem areas and alternative solutions for them. Unfortunately, many developmental organisations fall into the category of

contract agencies which do not have any role in the new system envisaged for alternative development. A single block in Puri district from where AKSS and Bidyut Club have been operating has more than six such organisations which thrive on government funding and act as mere contract agencies. These organisations have come up only to appropriate easy money through various schemes and exclusively depend on the government fundings. These organisations will obviously, lack in independent thinking and concern for the community. On the other hand they will certainly contribute to the creation of a new group of social bureaucrats.

The AKSS and Bidyut Club leadership appr ised that their organisations had been given no role either in planning or evaluating the government programmes which they were asked to implement. Developmental organisations are often asked to implement pre-designed programmes wherein government agencies insist, even on the method of implementation. But recently the government seems to have changed its earlier approach. Two evaluation projects assigned to CYSD by the H.R.D. Ministry bears symbol of this changed approach.

Except CYSD, the other two developmental organisations have yet to develop proper mechanisms and skill to monitor and evaluate the programmes. But they have been monitoring and evaluating their own programmes with whatever skill and expertise they have at their possession. In case of AKSS and Bidyut Club the Board of Management and Executive Committee perform this task respectively. After completion of

each programme the evaluation is made which is based largely on the beneficiaries' response to the programme and partly on the experiences of the developmental functionaries. These organisations take corrective measures to overcome such limitations on the basis of evaluation which were prevalent in earlier programmes. CYSD has developed a separate PRIME (Planning, Research, Information, Monitoring & Evaluation) unit for this purpose. The PRIME unit has been evaluating not only CYSD's own pilot projects but programmes implemented by other voluntary organisations and government agencies also. During the year 1989-90, the Ministry of Human Resource Development had assigned CYSD for evaluation of Awareness Generation Project (AGP) for women in Orissa and West Bengal and Adult Education Programme in Orissa.[2] Besides, CYSD has a project monitoring and evaluation system for the grass-roots developmental organisations. But AKSS and Bidyut Club are yet to set up such special unit for programme monitoring and evaluation.

It is the foreign funding agencies that have been providing full freedom to the developmental organisations in terms of planning, implementing and evaluating the programmes. The initial requirement for getting foreign funding is the project proposal prepared under the broad

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2. CYSD Annual Report, 1989-90, Bhubaneswar: CYSD, 1991.

guidelines given by the funding agency. Then an organisation gets go ahead signal if the proposal is accepted after an feasibility assessment with immediate release of the first instalment of funds. Here the plan or project proposal originates from the buttom unlike the government sponsored programmes wherein it stems from the above with detailed guidelines. However, in both the cases, it is the implementing organisations that identify beneficiaries and select the target groups. Again, it is a government programme some specific guidelines on selecting the target groups are attached to the programmes. For instance, according to a detailed guideline attached to CAPART's low-cost housing programme beneficiaries belonging only to scheduled caste and scheduled tribe families can be included in the target group. In no case an implementing organisation can have the choice to deviate from these guidelines.

Notwithstanding many ideological debates, relationship between the developmental organisations and the government must be co-operative as well as critical. Voluntary organisations must work in genuine areas of public concern. They must represent the interest of civil society while maintaining positive relationship with the state. There seems to be no reason why developmental organisations should hesitate to work with the government, provided the latter stands for the interest

of the community. It precisely means, not on every issue voluntary organisations should comply with the government. It is the interest of the community which must determine and shape the relationship.

One important task before voluntary organisations is to identify new and emerging problem areas in rural development. But present status of these organisations in terms of their relationship with the government will lead to nowhere. Most of the developmental organisations are only at the receiving end. Earlier they had no role in planning or assessing the programmes. Recently, some selected voluntary organisations like CYSD have been entrusted with the task of programme evaluation. But the implementing organisations at the grass-roots level still have no role in planning, monitoring or evaluating the programme they have been asked to implement. Nor the government agencies have any appropriate or efficient monitoring and evaluating mechanisms. Thus the flaws in earlier programmes go uncorrected and benefits unassessed. On programme implementation front, government continues to dictate even the detailed methods of implementation. In many cases developmental organisations are simply asked to pre-designed government programmes without considering diverse ground situations. This not only leads to failure of such programmes but reduces the implementing organisations into mere contract agencies. These organisations can be made real partners in development only

when endowed with adequate freedom and autonomy to decide which method will suit to a particular environment. While broad outlines on objectives of the programmes must come from the government, it is the implementing organisation which must be left with the choice of how to implement them.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES:

Development organisations have a very uncertain and limited relationship with the political parties. Usually it depends on to what extent issues taken up by these organisations can be made politically viable or electorally gainful for the party. A change in the earlier stand taken by the Orissa State Janata Dal on Movement Against Missile Test Range at Baliapal after the party was elected to power substantiates this argument. When the Dal was in opposition both in the state and at the centre it provided overt support to the movement and promised the activists of changing the location of the test-range if Dal won the ensuing election. The Dal leadership extracted maximum political mileage out of the movement but did not fulfil its promise when came to power.

Antagonistic attitude of political parties often shown towards the voluntary organisations emanates from a feeling of insecurity on the part of the political parties. As a developmental organisation grows in size and activity,

the local units of various political parties treat them as an encroachment upon their established influence and credibility in the locality. On the part of the developmental organisations, many of them also contribute to this type of situation. Leaders of such organisations are in good relation with a particular political party or platform which invites antagonistic attitude from others. Even political affiliations of some leader-volunteers cannot be denied.

For developmental organisations, there is fear of being co-opted by the political parties. Agents of political parties often try to take advantages of the acquired credibility and resources of a developmental organisation for party interests. The credibility and clout of the leader-volunteers is often manipulated by political parties. This is done usually by involving or identifying leader of a voluntary organisation directly or indirectly with a political party. However, this is a problem to be tackled by the voluntary organisations with strong determination and base-groups support.

Developmental organisations are not electoral contenders of the political parties. Still a feeling of fear and insecurity has been haunting among the local politicians. This feeling makes them antagonistic towards the voluntary organisations. An organisation successful in its activities

attracts antagonism from politicians because the latter feel it would make them irrelevant before the community. None of the three organisations has overt political affiliation or inclination. The leader-volunteers opined that they were trying their best to keep-off from political parties. AKSS leadership revealed how the local politicians had been trying to intervene either by persuading or pressurizing in organisation's activities especially when the question of choosing the beneficiaries came. It revealed how an M.L.A. of a neighbouring assembly segment obstructed his organisation's work in Brahmagiri block by pressurizing the government funding agency to withdraw the assignment from the organisation. The other reaction from a political party is to co-opt or at least identify the leader of an organisation with the party in a way which can be helpful at the hustings. Both the reactions, i.e. the feeling of insecurity succeeded by antagonistic relationship and co-opting the leaders; happen to be an outcome of the crises faced by the political parties in recent times which is mentioned earlier.

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The youth activists of AKSS were quite apprehensive about their career prospects as professional volunteers. A feeling of insecurity, economic and otherwise has been forcing many volunteers to join the rank and file of political parties. The leadership of AKSS revealed that they were even planning to contest the elections to the local

bodies! If this really happens then perhaps that will be the most unfortunate development which will link voluntary initiative with political mission. Certainly, that will be the end of voluntarism for AKSS altogether.

The crux of the problem is to what extent developmental organisations can keep themselves away from the political parties and not from politics. They cannot be hundred per cent non-political which will reduce them into mere 'cog in the machine'. Nor their activities can be made value-neutral, since development itself is a value-laden activity. But unlike political parties, rural development must not be a political mission[3] for developmental organisations.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS:

Relations among the voluntary organisations has not been satisfactory. Proliferation of easy money from the government and foreign funding agencies has aggravated the situation. Reflects of this antagonistic relationship can be felt even at the official corridors of the funding agencies and institutions. Exclusive outside funding can also change the ideological underpinning of a voluntary organisation. It might alter the basic relationship

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3. In this context, political mission means using developmental organisations as a platform or corridor for political interests and power politics such as elections.

between the organisation receiving such funds and the community at large. In the larger interest of the community and for sustenance of voluntary organisations themselves healthy competition and co-operation must replace the now prevalent rifts and conflicts among these organisations.

Horizontal co-ordination or co-ordination among the grass-roots developmental organisations must be developed to avoid wastage, overlapping and duplication of developmental effort. Likewise, vertical co-ordination or co-ordination between grass-roots organisations and the organisations rendering support service is required to ensure efficiency, economy and expertise. The support service organisations help in imparting training to the local activists for acquiring proficiency in developmental activities.

i) Horizontal Co-ordination:

The degree of co-ordination between AKSS and Bidyut Club and among other grass-roots organisations active in the area is very low and sometimes non-existent. Fight for easy money and personal feuds have created an environment contrary to the traditions of healthy competition and positive relationship. The AKSS leadership admitted this while ascribing that there was a lack of co-ordination among various grass-roots organisations of the area thereby leaving no room for co-operation and reconciliation in conflict situation. Except occasional meetings, seminars, workshops and business transactions no systematic provision

or network for horizontal co-ordination has been worked out. There have been continual fights for availing more and more external fundings which in their perception would prove an organisation's supremacy over the other. Rifts and 'cut-throat' activities to outmanoeuvre the other organisation by getting clearance for a particular programme often end in wastage of money, manpower and time. More importantly, it encourages inter-organisational rivalry. The lust for fame and aggrandisement has spread to other areas also. AKSS and Neelachal Seva Pratisthan both operating from the same locality have established higher secondary and degree colleges. Bidyut Club has joined recently in this fray by establishing another college. These organisations have been trying to outmanoeuvre each other by getting government recognition or affiliation for their colleges. This extra-manoeuvring certainly involves extra-voluntary activities - lobbying, bribing, pressurizing the government officials and establishing nexus with the political leaders. Three colleges are operating now with hardly six kilometres of difference in distance between them where establishment of a single college would have a mark of co-operation, a much larger effort and a collective endeavour.

Lobbying around the corridors of powers and government funding agencies has certainly helped the otherwise helpless power brokers and corrupt bureaucrats to 'share' developmental funds in terms of percentage. Here, the

problem lies with the proliferation of easy money from external fundings. Funds raised by an organisation by its own effort would have been spent in a cautious and responsible manner than the way the easy money has been spent. Then, this sorry state of affairs is largely motivated by the lust for aggrandisement and less political in nature than what it appears to be.

ii) Vertical Co-ordination:

There is a relatively high degree of vertical co-ordination (between the grass-roots developmental organisations and the support-service organisations). The latter includes the whole range of organisations and agencies rendering support-services to the grass-roots organisations in the form of technical assistance, imparting training, financial assistance and professional expertise. Besides the support service agencies which provide only financial assistance, a new group of organisations have recently come up to cater to the growing need of support services for grass-roots developmental organisations. Such organisations have been operative at various levels starting from the sub-division level to the national level. AKSS and Bidyut Club gave an exhaustive list of such organisations from which they have been getting assistance. These support services include financial assistance, training, preparation of project proposal, performance appraisal and evaluation of programmes. The two grass-roots organisations have been

working also with government sectoral agencies such as medical services and with other voluntary organisations like Rotary and Rotract Clubs for conducting eye camps, family planning programmes and awareness generation programmes on various socio-economic problems. Some support service organisations like CYSD have been engaged in the difficult task of network formation through various publications, newsletters and information bulletins. Network formation enhances the possibility of co-operation and sharing of information thereby increasing the chances of the voluntary sector for emerging as an autonomous alternative.

Co-operation among the voluntary organisations which is rare in any case is having immense importance for creating a solidarity-platform of these organisations. It can be effective against encroachment upon their freedom and autonomy. It can act as a shield against adverse situations and circumstances which have made these organisations vulnerable to pressures. In brief, coming together will help in overcoming possible isolation, localism and fragmentation inherent in these organisations. It can clear the path for wide network formation and mutual trust thereby transferring them from 'collective inability' into a really 'vibrant sector'. However the optimism and interest for building a solidarity platform at least at the block and district levels is nowhere to be seen. Being beset with localism, voluntary organisations continue to remain an isolated

and fragmented lot owing to fights for easy money and narrow-centric approach of aggrandisement. They still remain a 'collective inability' and emergence of a 'vibrant sector' is too futuristic to predict.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE
(Public Accountability):

Relationship with the people, or in more accurate term accountability of the voluntary organisations to the base groups is quite unclear and fragile. Unlike the protest and reformative groups, developmental organisations have not been successful to give an institutional basis to their relationship with the base groups. It is vital especially for the grass-roots developmental organisations to forge relationship with their base groups whom they have been directly involved with. Relationship with the base groups is essential for these organisations to retain the very character of their being grass-roots organisations. Unless and until accountability to the base group is ensured the whole idea of voluntary sector emerging as an independent alternative for development will prove to be exasperating.

CHAPTER-VI

STRATEGY REAFFIRMED

- The Prime Concern
- A 'Collective Inability'
- Functional View
- Structural View
- People's Participation
- External Funding
- Planning and Evaluation
- Relationship Studies
- An Assessment
- Alternative Plan Model
  (The Single-Circular Continuum)
- Alternative Development Model
  (Micro-Setting)

PRIME CONCERN:

The prime concern of this study has been to assess the possibilities and constraints of developmental organisations for emerging as the catalysts of alternative development. Thus the main argument remains, whether these organisations can really facilitate an alternative course of development while replacing the existing one. Each and every question or issue raised in this study has been revolving round this basic argument. A brief, critical review of both strong and weak points of the argument can, hopefully provide a final analysis. The following points are touched upon in this concluding chapter which have been derived from the main hypotheses of the study:

1) Status of the developmental organisations in terms of their ability to influence the national agenda on development.
2) Organisational structure and pattern of leadership.
3) Support-base of the organisations.
4) Problems of finance.
5) Role of developmental organisations in planning and evaluation.
6) Relationship with the government, political parties, other voluntary organisations and the people.
7) A functional assessment of their likely role in alternative development.

A 'COLLECTIVE INABILITY':

In recent times voluntary organisations have come up in various parts of the country. But organisations which have been really interested in alternative development are numerically few and spatially scattered. Presence of such voluntary organisations has not been evenly felt. It remains a major constraint on accepting these organisations as catalysts of alternative development.

Voluntary organisations in India continue to remain a 'collective inability since they lack a national outlook and feeling of solidarity among themselves. A number of attempts had been made in the past to form a solidarity platform of voluntary organisations at the national level. The basic idea behind such an effort was that it would not only provide voluntarism strong bargain power and clout to deal with the government and foreign funding agencies but enable them to raise resource on their own. In this context, Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) was set up in 1958. More than a hundred major voluntary agencies of the country formed this private consortium which was seen as a 'common platform and clearing house for voluntarism'.[1] But these attempts have failed to yield results. Developmental organisations have not been able to influence the national agenda on development since a common platform in actual terms is yet to be realised.

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1. Marcus Franda, Small Is Politics: Organisational Alternatives in India's Rural Development, Delhi, Wiley Eastern, 1978.

FUNCTIONAL VIEW:

Considering from functional point of view, neither of the three developmental organisations were found to be pure 'agency type' developmental group, since they depended on various sources for finance. However, all the three organisations rely on government assistance in one way or the other. Among these three organisations, CYSD can be classified as a 'near agency type', but only in terms of funding.

STRUCTURAL VIEW:

From structural point of view it is clear that each organisation has its own organisational set up suitable to meet its functional obligations. Being a support-service organisation CYSD has more professional and technical experts in its rank than the other two organisations. In latter's case development functionaries and animators are more in number who have been playing major roles in implementing the programmes. A review of the organisational set up of these three developmental organisations would reveal that certain structural differences exist between two different organisations. The structure differs even between two grass-roots organisations having almost similar functional obligations. Yet nature of work remains the chief determining factor that shapes the organisational structure of a voluntary organisation.

Close contact between the headquarters and the field stations has been a functional specificity of developmental specificity of developmental organisations. The top

functionaries stationed at the headquarters make frequent visits to the work place which is absent in case of the official bureaucracy. More importantly, it imparts practical knowledge about the programmes among all functionaries.

All the three organisations are governed by their own 'by-laws'. These organisations were found less hierarchical and less formal. Unlike the official agencies, the top functionary of a voluntary organisation is not the supreme boss, but a team leader. He attracts obedience or commands authority more because of his leadership quality, personality and his followers' faith in him rather than his official position. It can be termed as a a perfect example of authority.

However, many down-to-earth compulsions make developmental organisations complex and hierarchical. Rigidity involved in external funding and growing complexities in rural development gradually create the 'typical problem of management. As an organisation grows in size and activity it develops a tendency of bureaucratisation. Although these three organisations are more or less free from this tendency, this problem may crop up in the future.

On leadership front none of the three organisations have succeeded in building a second-rank of leadership. Thus these organisations fall into the category of many other voluntary organisations in the country whose conti-

nuity after the departure of their founder-leader remains uncertain. Continual effort is must to realise succeeding rounds of development. More importantly, it is necessary to generate a 'process of rural development'. In other words, CYSD, Bidyut Club and AKSS are yet to ensure their future continuity.

Absence of a second-rank leadership owes much to the overshadowing personality of the key leader who also happens to be the founder and main motivator of the organisation. The key leader of a voluntary organisation commands authority mainly because of his charisma and personality. Nothing is thought or seen beyond the key leadership. This personification seems to be a major impediment to develop second rank of leadership. Once a voluntary organisation is personified in its key leadership it becomes very difficult to de-personify at a later stage. It becomes hard to replace the legacy of the old leadership for giving a trans-generational continuity to the organisation. Of course, the fault lies with the key leadership itself which has not initiated such structural change or facilitated such functional practice which would have strengthened inner-organisational democracy. But the member secretary of CYSD apprised of a recent move to restructure the organisational pattern of CYSD whereby functional unity would be given to every functional unit. Then the unit co-ordinators and senior functionaries will enjoy functional

authority proportionate to their work which will gradually lead to making of the second-rank leadership.

In terms of their class, community and educational status, majority of the leaders as well as volunteers fall into either middle class or lower-middle class category. Some of them have been in other professions such as teaching and medical services. But majority of the youth activists are full-time professional volunteers. Though salary (honorarium) is not always proportionate to their work, a high-degree of motivation for voluntary action has been found among these youth activists, not found in any other type of organisation. Most of these young volunteers are satisfied with the informal organisation of their organisations. The nature and target of various programmes show that none of these three organisations has any special bias for a specific socio-economic group. The leadership belonged to no particular caste or community which would develop such special bias. But political interference in developmental activities especially while selecting the target groups or beneficiaries was reported by the AKSS leadership. In this context, a sound support base and viable infrastructure seem to be imperative for successful working of voluntary organisations in rural environment. While Bidyut Club and CYSD have become successful to some extent in this respect, AKSS is yet to acquire it.

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION:

Both Bidyut Club and AKSS have been following a unique method of involving people in developmental process. These two organisations receive nominal contributions from the beneficiaries in the form of manual labour volunteered by the beneficiaries for their own benefit. Suppose one low-cost house is to be built for a beneficiary, then the latter volunteer his labour to work with the builders and the carpenters for building of his house. It enhances involvement as well as responsibility on the part of the beneficiary.

EXTERNAL FUNDING:

The pre-conceived notion that foreign funding agencies impose their own model of development is found incorrect. Instead, these agencies allow maximum freedom to the implementing organisation to prepare project proposals and work out the method of implementation. The allegation that these funding agencies distort national priorities is proved to be a false one, because it is the implementing organisation that prepares the detailed project proposal and sends it to the funding agency on the basis of which funds are provided. None of the three voluntary organisations' leadership felt that programmes were imposed on them. Foreign agencies are better equipped with monitoring system and quick to release the next instalments of fund after receiving the progress report.

But irrespective of indigenous or foreign nature external funding has been making these organisations less innovative and least responsible to the community. The assertion that availability of easy funds makes voluntary organisations indifferent and unaccountable to the community happens to be realistic one.

In their pursuit of easy money and dominance over other organisations, quite a few voluntary organisations have been playing into the hands of the bureaucrats and the politicians either by bribing them or complying with their interests. Thus lobbying and bribing take the place of public accountability. It not only affects a particular organisation because of its leadership's compliance with the politicians or bureaucrats, but it makes other voluntary organisations vulnerable to bureaucratic encroachment and political pressure. Voluntary organisations working in the same region or same field waste huge money and precious time over lobbying in various government departments and approaching the corridors of power. Back home, at the inter-organisational level, it has led to personal feuds and inter-organisational rivalry thereby obstructing the developmental effort. This phenomenon of aggrandisement must be differentiated from healthy competition between grass-roots organisations which is non-existent in any case.

PLANNING & EVALUATION:

On planning and evaluation front, CYSD takes the lead. Support service being its primary function, the organisation has developed a special PRIME (Planning, Research, Information, Monitoring, and Evaluation) unit to acquire fresh inputs for its training and other support service programmes as well as evaluation of programmes implemented by the government and other voluntary organisations. It has successfully completed evaluation of the Awareness Generation Programme for Women (in Orissa) in 1990, which were assigned to it by the Union Ministry of Human Resource Development. The PRIME unit has also facilities for project monitoring and evaluation to cater to the needs of grass-roots developmental organisations. But AKSS and Bidyut Club are yet to develop appropriate systems for programme monitoring and evaluation.

RELATIONSHIP STUDIES:

Relationship of voluntary organisations with the government is marked by both conflict and co-operation. Since the mid-eighties government has been taking a positive approach towards voluntary organisations. The Seventh Plan described these organisations as an effective channel to mobilise and motivate people for development. But critics view it as a new move on the part of the state to use developmental organisations as contract agencies since now it is facing the crises of performance and legitimacy. Developmental groups which have been implementing only

government programmes certainly act as contract agencies. The assertion that the state is interested to use voluntary organisations as an intermediate rung between it and the society can be true but only in relation to these agency type of voluntary organisations. There have been organisations which have not been always complying with the government guidelines. These organisations are quite innovative and assertive to work out alternative ways of development. It is only this latter type of developmental organisations that possess the potential to act as agents of alternative development.

Developmental organisations have a very uncertain and limited relationship with the political parties. The relationship depends on to what extent the works undertaken by a voluntary organisation can be made politically viable or electorally gainful. A feeling of insecurity has been haunting the political parties and the politicians - the fear of losing influence and relevance in the community as an organisation enlarges its developmental activities. This happens eventhough developmental organisations are not electoral contenders of the political parties. A political party may react over this situation in two different ways. First, it might take an antagonistic approach towards a particular developmental organisation. On the other hand it develops good relationship with other voluntary organisations working in the same area. In many cases leaders of voluntary organisations are responsible

for such type of relationship. They develop relations for convenience or owing to their political affiliations thereby inviting antagonism from other political parties. Secondly, a political party might co-opt leaders of these organisations for electoral gain, material help, or political mileage. The AKSS leadership revealed how politicians were trying to influence its activity, especially when the question of selecting the beneficiaries comes.

Proliferation of easy money from external sources has created an antagonistic environment wherein one developmental organisation tries to outmanoeuvre the other. The study reveals, they can go to the extent of even obstructing one another's activities by bribing or pressurising the government agencies. Thus horizontal co-ordination is practically non-existent among the grass-roots organisations. But co-ordination between grass-roots organisations and support-service groups (vertical co-ordination) has been relatively high owing to the emergence of new professional, technical and managerial support service organisations to cater to the needs of grass-roots organisations. In case co-operation among the voluntary organisations is rare which happens to be a major reason why these organisations have not been able to build solidarity platform. On the other hand fragmentation and alienation have made these organisations a 'collective inability'.

Relationship of voluntary organisations with the people or the community has been very unclear and fragile.

These organisations have almost failed on the public accountability front. They have not succeeded so far to give an institutional basis to their relationship with the base-groups.

AN ASSESSMENT:

Despite many limitations some developmental organisations have shown remarkable success in implementing rural development programmes. This has been possible mainly because there happens to be a basic difference between their and government agencies' approach to development. The difference emanates from the fact that approach of the government agencies is often irreconciliable to the actual needs and genuine demands of the community. Their approach differs from that of the community's even though the goal remains the same. It is evident from the fact that of the community's even though the goal remains the same. It is evident from the fact that many voluntary organisations have been successful on human resource development front, in the fields of integrated rural development and rural technology. There are wider possibilities that these organisations can act as catalysts for taking the benefits of development to the deserving rural masses.

Human capital formation or human resource development is now given added importance to achieve continual development. Development, in any case cannot be taken

as a purely economic activity because social and political aspects of rural-life are also involved in it. Even if rural development is taken in its pure economic sense, not only the demand side but supply side of the labour or quality of human is considered vital for agricultural as well as industrial productions. The success of the Republic of Korea bears the importance of investment in human resource development for genuine and sustained development.[2] Investment in human resource development might not appear to make an immediate and direct impact on rural development but yields tremendous result in the long run. Human capital becomes increasingly vital as the process of development accelerates. Formation of human capital is indispensable to bring about both qualitative and quantitative improvements in rural scenario. Unlike the material resource or the physical or financial capital which remains highly concentrated in terms of its ownership, human capital involves distribution wide across the rural population, which would result in a gradual, though indirect reduction in inequality.[3] Thus greater effort on human resource development means sustained and continual rural development.

There happen to be strong and positive co-relations between rising rate of literacy and voluntary birth

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2. Montek S. Ahluwalia, 'Policies for Poverty Alleviation', Asian Development Review, Manila, Vol.8, No.1, 1990, pp.111-32.
3. This interpretation is based on the theoretical perception of Mr. Montek S. Ahluwalia, see ibid.

control. Literacy rate also has bearing on issues such as infant mortality, fertility and status of women in rural areas. Literacy and functional education can be made useful in spreading consciousness and building skilled labour. It can help in generating awareness for sustainable development and ensuring citizen participation in rural development. Being characteristically different from formal education, non-formal education if made conducive to their needs, can be a great help to the rural folk.

Rapid growth of population has been a major impediment to achieve economic growth with equality. Faster population-growth means slower growth in per-capita income on any given growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), thus resulting in slower rate of development in terms of rise in the standard of living of the people. Demographic pressure is disproportionately greater in case of the rural poor families leading to a correspondingly greater dilution of per-capita income among the rural poor than the national average. Secondly, high growth rate of population increases the already existing excess pressure on agricultural land. The families of marginal and small farmers, and the land-less agricultural labourers suffer the most because of this pressure. It can inferred from the above analysis that reduction in the growth-rate of population should ensure an overall improvement in standard of living by 'disproportionately' benefiting the rural poor.

But government agencies entrusted for this task have not been successful in arresting the population growth. In majority of the states family planning programmes have failed to yield result mainly because of inability on the part of the government agencies to induce people for voluntary birth control. Such a socially and politically sensitive programme needs greater voluntary participation on the part of the people. In this respect, the sectoral agencies have failed to give a socio-psychological touch to family planning programme. Voluntary organisations can bring about a nexus between voluntary participation of the people and family planning programme.

In this context, population education has to be an integral part of rural development. Eventhough not many organisations can offer clinical services owing to various limitations such as lack of expertise and equipment, they can certainly assist the medical teams by providing the crucial services of information, education, motivation, and other non-clinical services. But success of family planning programmes depends much on supplementary programmes for income generation attached to the affected families. Many developmental organisations have been successfully implementing these programmes.

Venturing in to the market economy will not necessarily bring prosperity to the rural poor, especially in a country like India, wherein the burden of demographic

pressure is disproportionately high on the rural poor families. A huge illiterate, untrained and poor rural populace will have no role in the new market. It is precisely this segment of population consisting of country's eighty per cent work force, unorganised and scattered as it is; will be crushed and further impoverished by the new market mechanisms. To avoid this shocking state investment in social sector must be given top priority. This is the reason why, even the capitalist countries like U.S. and South Korea have been spending major part of their national resource on social sector. From the Indian experience it is evident that an uncontrolled population has been a major impediment to rural development. On the other hand a controlled population is not anti-thesis to development. But it should be followed by massive investment in the social sector. An educated, healthy and trained population is certainly an asset for development.

Many voluntary organisations have been involved in rural education which assists in developing people's attitude and orientation towards development. It helps to overcome apathy and ignorance as well as encourages greater participation in development. Libraries have been set up by the voluntary organisations which are providing follow-up facilities to the literates and neo-literates. Rural education has been playing a vital role to convice and motivate the people for adopting new production methods.

Functional literacy and training in agriculture, agro-based village industries, handicrafts, health care, sanitation and environmental protection through voluntary effort have been proved to be more suitable in a rural setting than the government agencies. Imparting vocational education relevant to the needs of the people can enhance their skill and increase productivity. Many developmental organisations have been working in this field. Quite a few voluntary organisations are also involved in innovation, experimentation, learner-evaluation and action research programmes. Although belatedly, the government is now taking steps to encourage these initiatives. National Literacy Mission is pioneering rural education through voluntary organisations.

Women and child development is another key area wherein developmental organisations are actively involved. Health care, nutrition and immunisation programmes involving both mother and child have been implemented by these organisations more effectively than the official agencies. Imparting education to the rural women makes multi-pronged impacts on the success of voluntary birth control. Besides, education generates awareness which in return helps the rural women to assert their status in the society and to fight for a rightful place.

Developmental organisations are sensitive towards the impact of development on the community. Their intimate

understanding of the 'other-side' of development is certainly an asset for realising the goal of sustainable development. But these organisations must not act as mouth-piece of the government or foreign funding agencies. Many voluntary organisations have been working in the fields of social forestry, dairy farming, dairy husbandry, kitchen-gardening, horticulture, water harvesting and water management. They have been playing pivotal role to inform and educate people about energy conservation and alternative energy resources, as well as provide them the material resources and technical support for this purpose.

Technology transfer for rural development requires a close understanding between society, technology, economy and agro-climatic conditions. The present trend of developing technology in response to imaginary needs in alien setting must be checked. Traditional technology of the villages is time-tested and should not be ignored. It can be developed while expensive foreign technology can be made accessible to the average cultivator through indigenous research and production. But alternative technology made conducive to a specific agro-climatic setting remains the most desirable option. Hopefully, developmental organisations will play an active role in this direction.

An integrated approach to rural development has been the key to success. This was the opinions of leader-volunteers of all the three organisations while asked about their perception on why developmental organisations

were succeeding where as bureaucracy failed to deliver goods. There happens to be a difference between government's approach integrated rural development and that of voluntary organisations. In former case, it is the same corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy which is asked to implement these programmes with the help of sectoral agencies. These programmes are planned from above and lack in co-ordination between various sectoral agencies at the implementation level. But in latter case developmental organisations themselves formulate plan and implement it with intimate knowledge and participation of the community. However, additional factors such as team effort and strong motivation on the part of the volunteers must not be ignored. Even specific programmes such as non-formal education and family planning attract an integral treatment by the developmental functionaries. The entire socio-economic and environmental factors are taken into account in course of solving the individual and group problems. For instance, in normal course an animator should be concerned only about the performance of his/her Non-Formal Education (NFE) Centre. But in actual practice he has a multifarious role to play as instructor for the students, counsellor to their parents and as catalyst of development in the area. While implementing the programmes, these organisations adhere to the strategy of motivating and mobilising the people for the programme. The basic

objective is to induce in them a positive attitude for development. Another factor which contributes so much to their success is their root in the community. Many developmental organisations like Bidyut Club have specific guidelines in their constitutions to this effect. According to such a law in the constitution of Bidyut Club, a member volunteer must be a resident of the area where the organisation has been operating. The developmental functionaries and the animators are drawn from the community. Most of them are educated unemployed local youths having intimate knowledge about problems and prospects of development in the area.

However, these organisations have not been able to assert themselves as catalysts of alternative development. They continue to remain a 'collective inability', fragmented and intermittent as they are. These organisations lack a common outlook for co-operative endeavour. A national platform and platforms at state and district levels at least in the form of a loose confederation can change these organisations from a 'collective inability' to a vibrant sector.

Proliferation of easy money has led to intra and inter-organisational squabbles. Excess dose of external funding have made many organisations less innovative and least concerned about the interest of the community. However, some organisations have been able to maintain relatively independent support base in contrast to the agency-

type developmental groups. But weak organisation and infrastructure have made them vulnerable to group and party politics. And last but not the least, these organisations have not succeeded to remain accountable to their base groups. Relationship of voluntary organisations with their base groups is quite fragile and unclear. Most of these organisations stand on the shaky foundations of external funding and personification. Most of them have failed to evolve either the mechanism such practice which would have facilitated the emergence of second rank leadership. Inner-organisational democracy is still awaited even in case of much developed and well-knit organisations like CYSD! And the optimism of their 'coming together' to form a solidarity platform to tackle external pressure and minimise vulnerability is nowhere to be seen.

Still there is hope. Hope lies with developmental organisations which have been operating successfully despite inadequacies and limitations in them. Many of these organisations have established sound infrastructure and a degree of recognition in the community through concrete achievements in terms of successful completion of projects. In many cases developmental organisations have succeeded in planning, implementing and evaluating their own programmes. But qualitative difference in terms of output will always be there since not all voluntary organisations

possess same degree of skill, same extent of resource and scope for these activities. For small grass-roots organisations it must be considered as a commendable job since they have been doing it with limited resources, skill and manpower. But pre-designed government programmes remain a major problem for organisations which really intend to work on the genuine problems of the community.

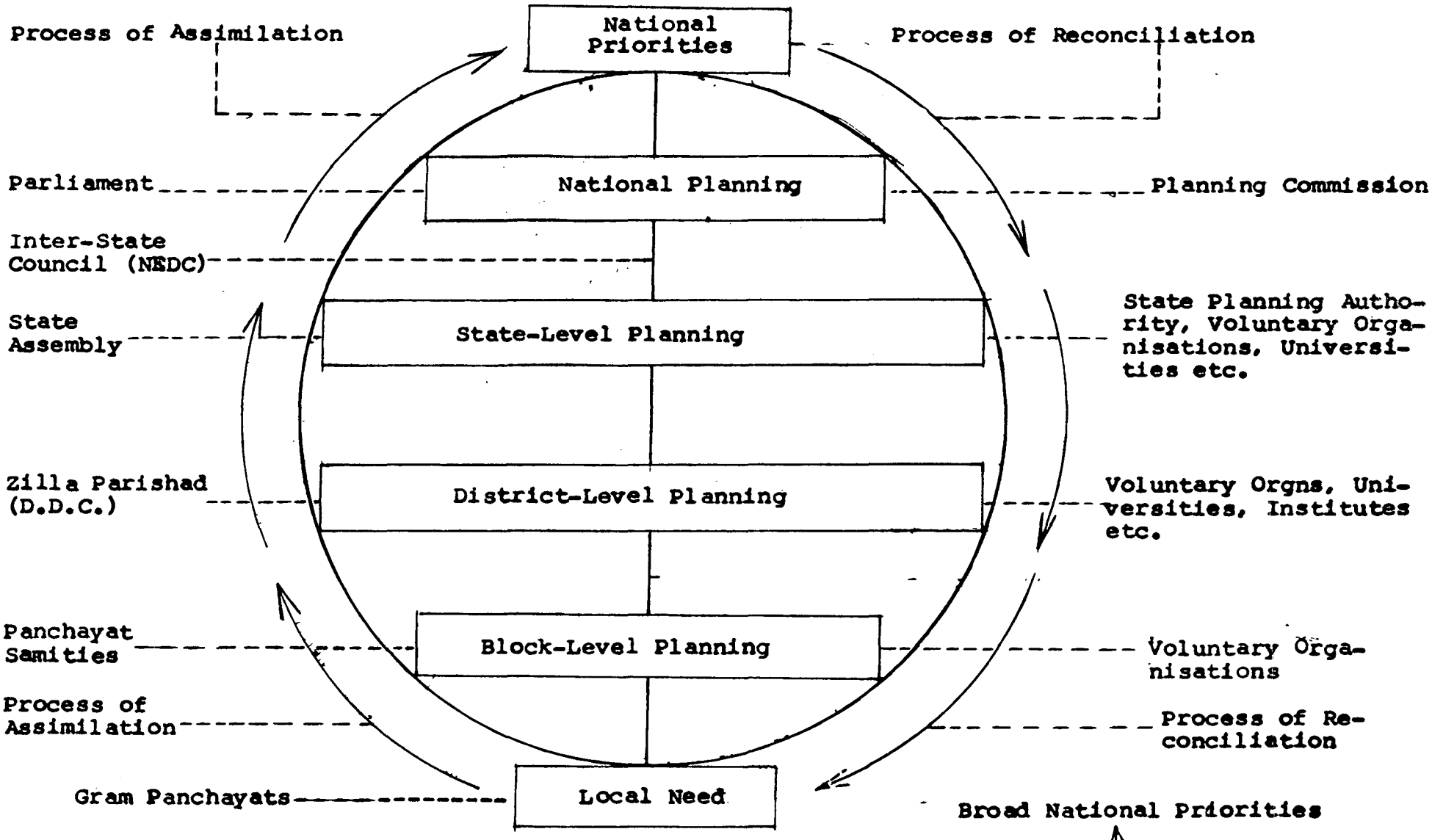
ALTERNATIVE PLAN MODEL (The Single-Circular Continuum):

There can be alternatives to the existing practice of imposition from the above. Developmental organisations must be provided with a broad view of national priorities and not detailed operational guidelines. Again these national priorities must emanate from the local priorities. Planning in-detail and operational part of the programmes should be left with the developmental organisations. It is necessary to cope with the local needs and possibilities of a specific socio-economic and agro-climatic setting. Broad national priorities and specific local needs are not necessarily contradictory but complementary if viewed as parts of a single circular continuum. Both can be reconciled and consequently reflected in the actions of developmental organisations. But a concrete shape to the circular process of assimilation and reconciliation of national priorities and local needs can be given only when the local planning becomes a joint effort of the

revamped PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) and developmental organisations. In this context, organisations like CYSD have shown enough competence, especially in the field of area planning. This organisation has invented a more practical approach of development linking training and research programmes with developmental activities at the field. Three model projects are under operation for field trials accompanied by training and research facilities. The area planning sponsored by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) on Chilika Lake Area mentioned earlier in the second chapter would be a perfect example of how efficient the developmental organisations can be in this regard.

The professional volunteers attached to the PRIME and other relevant units of CYSD who possessed practical field experience were in regular touch with the local people of the lake area. After ascertaining their views on problems and possibilities to meet local developmental needs an integrated area plan has been prepared by the same professional volunteers who were working at the field. Now a detailed plan is being formulated on the basis of which programmes would be initiated. Four grassroots organisations including AKSS will be entrusted to implement integrated development programmes in two blocks adjoining the Chilika lake and one more block comprising the tiny islands in the lake.

ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM - 1



Alternative Plan Model (The Single-Circular Continuum)

FIG.8

The Single-Circular Continuum can be seen as an improvement on various available models such as area planning, resource-based planning, multi-level planning and grass-roots planning. To be noted here, none of the above plan model is operative till now. The same centralised planning originated at the top and initiated through a formal approval of the National Development Council to be enforced upon down to the grass-roots by the C.D. blocks continues to hold ground.

Instead of originating at the top, plans in the envisaged circular model will originate from the bottom. Here lies the basic difference. Plans will originate from the Gram Sabha level on the basis of specific local needs which are to be given a concrete shape at the block level, or at least undergo a process of assimilation through various levels to finally reach at the national level. It will constitute the national priorities which will be a conglomeration of the earlier priorities. Then these national priorities will be given a concrete shape at the Planning Commission and the proposed National Economic and Development Council (as suggested by the Sarkaria Commission under Article 263 of the Indian Constitution[4]) levels in the

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4. The Sarkaria Commission (1988) recommended that the National Development Council (NDC) should be renamed and reconstituted as National Economic and Development Council (NEDC) which would be the supreme inter-governmental body for all matters related to socio-economic development of the country. It should have constitutional sanction under Article 263 of the Constitution while retaining adequate flexibility

contd...

form of national planning. But then, there is no finality and the process of reconciliation begins to facilitate consensus between local and national priorities and between priorities at other levels.

The voluntary organisation (which also include research institutes, universities, colleges and support-service organisations) can take an instrumental role in plan formulation of block, district and state levels under the general supervision of the local bodies. A three-tier structure of PRIs as suggested by the Balwantray Mehta Committee (1957) would be appropriate to make this alternative plan model operative.

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT MODEL (Micro-Setting):

In contrast to the existing model, an alternative development model in micro-setting can bring about a qualitative change in plan-formulation as well as programme implementation the grass-roots. Failure of rural development programmes is attributed partly to unsuccessful implementation. Community Development (C.D.) blocks are the main implementing agencies at the grass-roots level. Planning at this level is non-existent and there is no provision which can accommodate specific local needs and possibilities of the block. The only task before C.D. blocks has been to enforce whatever schemes are imposed from the above. Such schemes are bound to fail owing to

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contd...
and a measure of authority. The Commission also recommended that there should be sufficient guarantee for commitment to the decisions of NEDC (Report of the Commission on Centre-Relations - Part I, 1988, p.382.

various factors such as homogenising nature of the scheme which might be unsuitable for a particular agro-climatic or socio-economic setting; corruption and red tapism inherent in bureaucracy. To be brief, C.D. blocks in India have virtually turned to be centres of corruption.

Therefore, the local bureaucracy has to be kept as a subordinate support system to the PRIs. There will be procedures whereby local bureaucracy will help and co-operate voluntary organisations in their developmental effort. The PRIs will also have the power and authority for general supervision over developmental activities of the voluntary organisations. But this supervision must be general nature and never be particular. It means the PRIs as representative bodies of the people, must place priorities and ensure that the suggested priorities are taken for plan formulation. It implies that PRIs will play an important role in plan making and programme evaluation. Two separate but inter-linked bodies, one for plan formulation and another for programme evaluation can be formed with PRIs and voluntary organisations as their joint constituents. It has to be a co-operative endeavour between these two constituting units. In all cases, bureaucracy will have only one role, i.e. acting as subordinate support system to cater to the needs of this joint-venture.

The PRIs will certainly have the power and authority of general supervision only over the developmental

ALATERNATIVE PARADIGM - 2

Alternative Development Model (Micro-Setting)

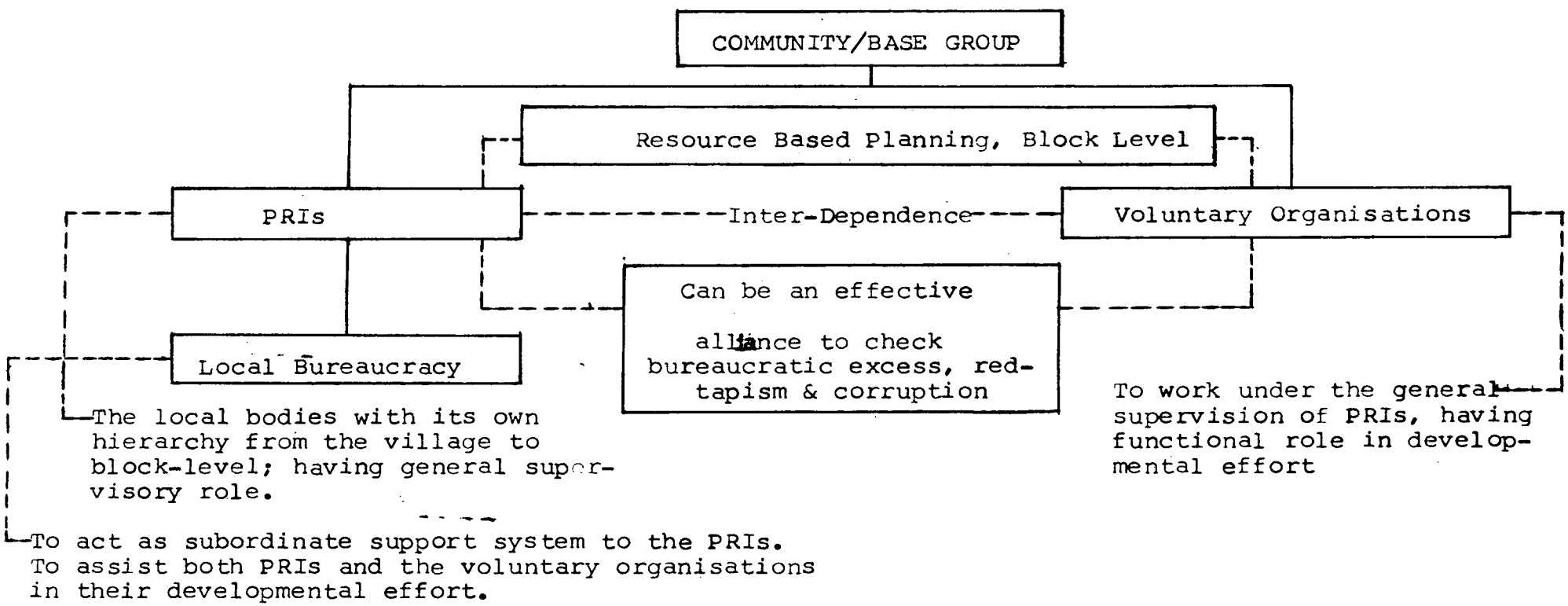

FIG.9

activities of a voluntary organisation, not over the organisation itself. In no case this is to be allowed since it will kill the essence and relevance of a voluntary organisation altogether. The developmental organisations have to be fully autonomous and free from any external pressure. Again PRIs will have no role in going into about the methods and technicalities of programme implementation. With all these pre-conditions met, the local bodies and the voluntary organisations can hopefully form an effective alliance against the 'new despotism'.

A fragile relationship between the voluntary organisations and the base groups necessitates the PRIs to enter the picture. PRIs can provide the necessary link between the base-groups and the voluntary organisations in relation to developmental activities. The proposed general supervisory role of PRIs will hopefully provide an institutional basis to this relationship.

With all hopes and aspirations, appreciations and apprehensions; it remains to be seen what role voluntary organisations are going to play in ushering a new era of confidence and prosperity for the rural masses.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE HYPOTHESES FOR THE STUDY

Hypothesis-1:

Being familiar with the problems and possibilities of development in the locality, voluntary organisations are better equipped to match developmental effort with the genuine problems and needs of that people.

Hypothesis-2:

Voluntary organisations are capable of motivating and mobilising people along the line of development.

Hypothesis-3:

Voluntary organisations can play an instrumental role in taking technologies to the villages.

Hypothesis-4:

Voluntary organisations have the potential to successfully work on human resource development front thereby accelerating further development.

Hypothesis-5:

Developmental organisations have been sensitive towards the effect of development on the community (sustainable development).

Hypothesis-6:

In case of majority of the voluntary organisations, decisions are taken by the key-leadership thereby leaving

no room for inner-organisational democracy and emergence of a second-tier of leadership.

Hypothesis-7:

Majority of the volunteers are the educated middle-class and lower middle-class youths, who have been inspired either by their own conviction or family influence, or the main-motivator of the organisation who is usually drawn from outside the community.

Hypothesis-8:

Most of the voluntary organisations choose the easier option of receiving external fundings which hamper their autonomy, flexibility and innovativeness.

Hypothesis-9:

Voluntary organisations are only at the receiving end. They have no role in planning and evaluating the programmes which they have been asked to implement.

Hypothesis-10:

Voluntary organisations are vulnerable to group and party politics. Some of the organisations are even being used as platforms for group and party politics.

Hypothesis-11:

Network and co-ordination among voluntary organisation have been very poor which often lead to overlapping and wastage. Many of these organisations' leaders

are even engaged in inter-organisational feuds owing to proliferation of easy money as well as group and party politics.

Hypothesis-12:

Relationship of the voluntary organisations with the base groups is fragile and unclear. These organisations have been so far failed to give an institutional basis to this relationship.

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