

CHAPTER TWO**2. CONCEPTUALIZING DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF NGOS IN DEVELOPMENT.****2.1. INTRODUCTION**

The chapter entitled Conceptualizing Development and the Role of NGOs in Development tries to make an honest effort in putting forward a simplified meaning of development by substantiating it with various interpretations and definitions for gaining clarity on the subject. Section (2.2) tries to unfold the meaning of development under the banner of Understanding Development. This has been followed by Section (2.2.1) that tries to define this mega topic. Section (2.2.2) is dedicated towards demarcating a distinction between growth and development which in ordinary terms is generally confused as one. We have tried to outline a brief history of development in Section (2.2.3) which is followed by Section (2.2.4) that deals with the changing dimensions of development. In doing so, one cannot forget the core elements that comprise the idea of development which can be regarded to be the core components. This has been neatly dealt in Section (2.2.5) of this chapter. We have moved further by providing a distinction between development and social welfare in Section (2.2.6) Section (2.2.7) is an attempt to explain the role and importance of culture in the process of development. We have gradually moved on to the meaning and impact of the non-governmental organizations in development under Section (2.3), by delineating the NGOs from the voluntary organizations in Section (2.3.1). The changing dimensions of the NGOs have been taken up in Section (2.3.2), its nature (2.3.3.), on a global forum (2.3.4), and at the Indian scenario in Section (2.3.5). The rise of the NGOs is studied in Section (2.3.6) and its role is taken up under Section (2.3.7). We then move forward with the non-governmental organizations and development in Section (2.4) which is followed by the introduction of tribal development in India in Section (2.5). The relation between the non-governmental organizations and tribal development in India has been carefully linked up in Section (2.5.1). The understanding of development would be meaningless without the participation of people who are aimed to be developed in the development process. Therefore, a serious attempt has been made to decode the term development in the language of the scheduled tribe themselves of the study area. Hence, Section (2.6) tries to link up development with the tribal people's idea of development. Finally, the chapter arrives at the conclusion in Section (2.7) that provides us with a short insight of the entire chapter in a compact and simplified version.

2.2. UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENT

The idea of development is multidimensional in nature that cannot be confined to economic growth alone, but on the other hand addressing the humane factor in it or human development stands to be of equal importance. Although economic growth is a primary component of development, yet the other variables such as social upliftment, political betterment and overall empowerment in a holistic manner cannot be ignored as well. When we address the question of, development for whom and how, it provides us with the ultimate answer to the inner meaning of this mega term because development of one variable has a definite impact upon the development of the other. It simply lies upon ones prioritization of ideas that likewise lay emphasis on the core elements of development accordingly. The lense of viewing the subject provides us with the framework where in the variables are categorized according to ones needs. However, in simplifying this prioritization process one cannot underestimate the changing phases of development paradigm that has assigned a unique position to each variable according to the need of the hour, with its core always revolving around the economic dimensions. The western model of modernization was proposed for and implemented on the poor countries after the era of decolonization which was followed by the Basic Needs Approach and then the Participatory Development Approach. Culture was not left behind because it reflected ones identity. Therefore, a special phase was dedicated to the Culture and Development Approach. However, the major focus of attention after witnessing the depletion of natural resources as a result of excessive exploitation of nature was laid upon Sustainable Model of Development. The present era is seen to lay emphasis upon the well being and happiness as an important variable of societal development goal.

The conceptualization and significance of development has witnessed a constant change with the passage of time. The idea of economic growth oriented development has now been clubbed together with the human factor in it. Scholars like Mahbub Ul Haq (1996) strongly advocate the inclusion of the human aspect to development as in better standard of living, betterment of the opportunities to a good living, freedom to choose the life which one values, the granting of the exercise of human rights and not to forget the implementation of the right to development as human right. The understanding of development has shifted its focus from the study of the Per Capita Income to the Human Development Index (HDI). Therefore, the crux of development has transcended from economic growth to welfare policies. This obviously did take a long span of time to evolve which was followed by the formation of international peace keeping and developmental organizations such as the United Nations

Organization, the World Bank and many such international bodies. After the end of the Second World War, the globe has witnessed a phenomenal growth in the development discourse that affected almost all the philosophy based subjects especially with the acceptance of the notion of the evolutionary stages of development standing parallel to the conceptualization of society from the barbaric age to the age of civilization. Development was therefore viewed by scholars like Iqbal Narain (1989) as something both inevitable and desirable. The idea of development in the social interpretation of the betterment of social life is a process marked by continuous growth bearing its origin to the framework of western thinking making it completely ethnocentric in its base. Mention must be made about prominent scholars such as Spencer, Durkheim, Tonnies, Morgan, who have extensively contributed to the establishment of this concept.

The post war era witnessed a sharp turn towards a welfare model of development where culture was regarded to be an integral part of it. This was seconded by the active participation and the strong international vigil of the UNO. The historic declaration of the mighty body in understanding and making the member countries understand the significance of world peace, harmony and brotherhood by welfare policies can be regarded to be the guide for all such actions towards human development. It was then that eminent scholars like Paulo Freire (1970) who strongly advocated for participatory model of development where the local problem would be selected and addressed to by the local people. They were against the idea of top to bottom trickle down approach.

The United Nations in its first proposal for action of 1960-70 also considered as the development decade stated that development should be understood as growth along with change in all aspects of human life i.e. social, cultural, qualitative and quantitative with its key element resting on the improvement of the quality of the life of the people. The Declaration of Cocoyoc of 1974 emphasized on the development of human beings and not of things thereby stressing on the need for diversity for following different roles to achieve the goal of self reliance in the process of development. UNEP – UNCTAD (1974). In 1975, the UNESCO propagated human centered development with its emphasis on the multi relational process that includes all aspects of the life of collectivism, of its relationship with the outside world and of its own consciousness. UNESCO (1977).

Development today has occupied the base line of all modern thinking in the contemporary era be it in the field of science, technology, ethics, values, social organization and democracy that

has been fused into the ultimate aim of producing a better world. ‘In its strong sense, development means using the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people. In its weaker sense, development means more of everything for everyone in the context of a lot more for a few; which in itself is expected to take place through the trickle down process adopted in the developmental approach.’ Peet and Hartwick (2005).

Although economic independence is definitely the core of development yet the narrow meaning of development as economic growth and expansion has been extended to incorporate the widening choices of people as a fundamental freedom in order to fulfill the criteria of basic human rights. In doing so the human development factor has added more meaning to this multidimensional interpretation of development. Human development refers to the extension of the choices of the people that help in their enhancement of capabilities and functioning that require technological betterment, social upgradation along with the improvement of creativity in human beings. The achievement of these qualities will definitely result in economic growth but here as well one cannot equate the growth of gross domestic product (GDP) with the expansion of capabilities. Griffin and Knight (1990) regard these two areas as closely linked but not identical. The only point of difference here lies in ones interpretation about the importance of one variable that determines the other. In the earlier records, it was believed that economic growth would directly or indirectly lead to the enhancement of capabilities. However, in the contemporary era it is seen from the opposite direction. Opinions have been raised stating that the betterment in the capabilities of individuals with the help of extension of freedom directly or indirectly leads to economic growth.

According to the UNDP, “Human Development is a development paradigm that is about much more than the rise or fall of national income. It is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. People are the real wealth of nations. Development is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value. And it is thus about much more than economic growth, which is only a means – it a very important one – of enlarging people’s choices.” (www.hdr.undp.org/en/humandev). Griffin (2006) explains it further by stating that the above mentioned idea of the UNDP cannot be equated to a formula that can be mechanically applied, but on the other hand it contains those ingredients that distinguish it from commodity centered approaches to development.

2.2.1. DEFINING DEVELOPMENT

In the terms of the British Dictionary, development is defined as the process in which someone or something grows or changes and *becomes more advanced*. The Business Dictionary furthermore adds to it by defining it as the process of economic and social transformation that is based on complex cultural and environmental factors and their interactions. (www.dictionary.cambridge.org).

Development aims to bring about betterment from a single humanitarian perspective by incorporating the modern advances made in the fields of science, technology, democracy, values, ethics and social organization. Development therefore denotes the utilization of the productive resources of society for the improvement of the condition of the poor. On a less significant note, development means ‘more of everything for everyone in the context of a lot more for a few.’ Peet (2005).

Development in general terms means the use of productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people. In its loose sense, development means a more of everything for everyone in the context of lot more for a few. Peet, R. (2005). Though economic growth is an important component of development, yet it cannot be taken to be the whole of it. Other aspects such as human development, environmental development, capacity building and sustainable development, welfare based development and equitable distribution of wealth all of which are generated as the vectors of economic growth occupy a place of strategic significance in the understanding of the concept of development. Stemming from Enlightenment notions of the use of the modern scientific mind for improving existence, development entails human emancipation in two senses: a) liberation from the vicissitudes of nature through advanced technology and b) self – emancipation i.e. control over social relations, conscious control over the conditions under which human nature is formed. In both senses development refers to economic, social and cultural progress including finer ethical ideals and higher moral values. In other words development means the improvement of the complexly interlinked nature, economy, society, culture and political conditions.

According to Anand Kashyap (1998), Development of a society instead of being a monolithic and linear process of creating economic abundance is a holistic process of social transformation from less creative to greater creative participation of its members at the individual and collective levels. Emphasis on creative participation implies minimization of

disorderliness in social system and maximization of creativity so as to achieve a symbiotic transformation of *man- nature and society relationship*.

Development is considered to be an internal, social process taking place within every country, where the basic requirements of the people are fulfilled by the wise and durable application of the country's resources. Economically, the definition of development suggests the nation's fulfillment of people's needs, employment, and the improvement of national wealth. As a matter of fact, "Development Theory by itself has little value unless it is applied, unless it translates into results, and unless it improves people's lives" (Lewis T. Preston, Former President, World Bank, Quoted in Todaro 2000). The Positivist school of thought begins with the understanding of the concept of development as something closely related to "Value Judgment". Very often the idea of development is regarded to be a normative issue, a synonym for improvement.

Using the Marxian Analysis, one can regard economic development to be the base of all forms of development. Hence, the focal point of economic development is the economic condition of developing countries regarding economic matters and the development of policies that improve a nation's position economically, socially and institutionally.

Consequently, social, economic and political aspects are included in theories of economic development, which apply different models related to different key concepts (Martinussen 1997; Roberts and Hite 2000).

Several definitions exist for development and offer different focal concepts. For instance, Modernisation Theory stresses the cultural features of each society, such as political, religion and culture. On the other hand, World Systems Theory and Globalisation seek to evaluate external relationships and to define different points in the development of countries.

2.2.2. GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

It is seen that generally the term growth and development are used interchangeably. Simply bringing about growth in terms of the economic achievements does not qualify itself to be termed as development because there is a thin line of demarcation between growth and development. Growth is a short term as well as a narrow concept which only looks upon the figurative assumptions deciding on the level of betterment of human beings only on the

calculations of Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Product by tabulating the Per Income Capita of the people. In doing so, it fails to look into the human aspect of development because the ultimate question to be answered here is development for whom? The obvious answer to this question would be the development or the betterment of the lifestyle of the people. Technically, development differs from economic growth in the sense that development lays emphasis on the condition of production and the betterment of this condition. The condition referred to means the environment affected by the economic activity affecting up to the social consequences like income distribution and human welfare. On the other hand growth in general and economic growth in particular emphasizes on the increase of economic productivity. Development indicates betterment/ transformation or improvement of working condition while growth refers to increasing the size or getting bigger. While development incorporates physical, social as well as psychological change, growth includes only physical change. Similarly, while development indicates both qualitative as well as quantitative transformations, growth generally indicates only the quantitative transformations. Therefore, it can be stated that development affects the skill, values, human capabilities, and the human behavioural pattern towards betterment. There are different types of growth out of which economic growth holds to be significant. Economic growth and economic development are interrelated. The rise in the Gross Domestic Product of a country symbolizes a rise in the economic growth. The tools to measure the economic development of a country are the life expectancy rate, infant morbidity rate, poverty rate, literacy rate and the overall health condition level. Therefore, it becomes clear from the above given compartmentalization that for assessing the improvement of any nation, emphasis must be laid on development and not on growth alone.

Development advocates human emancipation in two ways. The first one being freedom from the miseries of nature with the help of advanced technology and the second one being self emancipation which means control over social relations so as to achieve a controlled human nature. Development therefore stands for the overall improvement of the complexly inter linked areas such as human nature, economy, society, culture and political conditions. On the other hand, developmentalism means the faith or the belief in the possibility and the desirability of the above discussed method of economic progress. (Richard Peet in his book *Theories of Development* argues that development is a complex contradictory phenomenon.)

The measurement of development in the capitalist society is conventionally done purely on the size of the economy by looking at the Gross National Product (GNP) i.e. “the total final

output of goods and services produced by an economy”. (World Bank 1989:291)- Where the higher the growth of GNP, the more rapidly a country is assumed to develop. An alternative measure that takes into account and emphasizes on the cultural and social dimensions as equally important to the economic aspect is the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is calculated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The HDI takes into account the development variables such as access to knowledge, nutrition and health services, leisure hour, security, political and cultural freedoms, life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate, income sufficiency rate etc which helps in understanding the level of development as a social progress. In order to assess the different dimensions of human development, the UNDP also calculates the “Human Freedom Index” (HFI) that measures the rule of law, political participation, non discrimination and freedom of expression. Therefore, Development occupies a holistic understanding as compared to growth because development cannot be studied as a one-dimensional concept. It is an interrelated idea which has its strong base in the economic, social and political dynamics of life.

2.2.3. OUTLINING A BRIEF HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT

The phenomenal growth of the development theory is a phenomenon of the post Second World War period although its inception can be seen in the ancient sociological as well as anthropological studies. Dube (1989) has pointed out four distinct phases of the development studies. In the **first phase** the meaning of development was confined to economic development alone where the focus of attention was on economic growth, capital formation and the growth in infrastructures. However, this was challenged when the impact of this growth rate did not match the distribution of the surplus amongst the deserving which was completely left to trickle-down process that was slow and none egalitarian in nature. The **second phase** was marked by the relationship between economic development and social change. It was believed that the institutional factors hindered economic development and technical change for which the modification of the institutional framework of the society would definitely accelerate the process of economic development. This phase gave birth to the modernization paradigm where scholars resorted to case studies in pointing out the hindrances created by the institutional structures which needed alteration following the developed model generally of the West. The **third phase** represented a strong reaction against the insufficient earlier paradigms of modernization and development which is why it

has been described as the reactive and responsive phase. It aimed to find out the key to successful praxis of development by stating that the faulty institutional structures cannot be regarded as the sole responsible factor behind underdevelopment, dependency and neo-colonialism. Therefore, a call for better access of common men to the planning process in bringing about human centered development was highlighted. The **fourth phase** is also regarded to be reflective phase where equal emphasis was to be given to both the national and international order with the formation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) for the development of the developed, developing and the underdeveloped.

As has been stated above, the historical understanding of the source of development stands to be multifaceted. However, many scholars are of the opinion that intellectual understanding of development can be traced to the European Enlightenment of the eighteenth century that is characterized by progress, modernity and rationalism. The modern day thinking about development revolves around the core concept of economic growth. With the passage of time mechanization and industrialization became an integral part of development which therefore broadened its meaning to encompass the idea of modernization. Here economic growth was paralleled with political modernization engulfing in itself nation building alongside social modernization developing entrepreneurship and target achievement orientation. This was followed by the dependency theory where capital accumulation and economic growth occupied the centre stage which was followed by the other dimension of dependency that led to a large scale development of underdevelopment i.e. increase in the number of dependent bodies. The alternative understanding of development which was proposed later on was on the focus of community development, social development and in turn human development. The idea of ‘human flourishing’ which had a strong hold in the 1980s relied largely on Amartya Sen's works on capacities and entitlements that ultimately implied the development of human capacities. The central idea of development in the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme is the ‘enlargement of people’s choice’. Pieterse (2010).

Around the same time, two major radically different perspectives on development emerged. The first being the *neoliberals* who disregard the developing economies to be a special case. The disorders in economic terms must be done away with only by the market forces and no other agencies like the government should intervene in fixing up the problems of the developing economies which otherwise would lead to market distortion. Instead, the ultimate aim of economic growth must be achieved through deregulation, liberalization and

privatization. Therefore, the agency of development change hands from the State to the market. 'Accordingly, neo liberalism is an anti development perspective.' Pieterse (2010). The perspective was that propounded by the *post development* thinkers. They also propagate the 'anti development' perspective in the sense that they accuse the state of possessing authoritarian mechanism which lead to the repudiation of economic goal and therefore ultimately results in the disaster of the majority population. (Rahnema and Bawtree 1997)

The chronological understanding of development is that of a mixed one. It starts with the application of science and technology to the collective organization and also tries to manage the changes that arise out of the application of science and technology. Virtually from the outset development ranges from infrastructural works to industrial policies, welfare state, new economic policies, colonial economics and ultimately Keynesian demand management. This implies that there are different connotations to the understanding of the term development. The first is to look at it as a part of the development critique i.e. deconstruction of development. The second is to treat it as a part of the historical context carrying a different meaning under different circumstances, thereby serving as a reflective mirror under different situations.

Tracing the history of development, Paul Hopper (2012) in his mega work Understanding Development Issues and Debates, has categorized the issue into six phases. These can be listed as follows-

1940s and 1950s

The development of the idea of development started after the Second World War with the creation of the United Nations Organizations with specialized agencies like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that was specially crafted to enhance post war reconstruction and the economic stability at the international forum. It must be noted here that the approaches and policies of development that were applied in the 1940s and 1950s were in fact already outlined in the 1920s and the 1930s which remained unimplemented due to the Great Depression and the Second World War. Some even trace the origin of developmental practice to the colonial era precisely to the passing of the Colonial Development Act 1929 and the setting up of the Colonial Development Fund where small amount of British funds were distributed among the colonies for the purpose of economic development. Similar activities also took place in France in a parallel fashion. However some scholars like Uma Kothari (2001) stand skeptical to the claims made by the imperialist

countries about the efforts of economic development in the colonies. In tracing the relationship between colonialism and development, various motives stand out to be pertinent out of which two are very much prominent. The *first* one being that the outwardly efforts of economic development brought about by the developed nations on the colonies were actually an effort to make the latter the partners of trade which would in turn enhance the economy of the former and not the latter. *Secondly*, countries like Britain and France by using such policies were in fact trying to veil themselves as benevolent powers to surpass the international criticisms against the practice of colonialism which was viewed as an exploitative, extractive and a questionable practice.

1960s

The 1960s were defined by the modernization theories that were clubbed together by the writings of prominent scholars of the South such as Samir Amin (1976), Andre Gunder Frank (1996) and Arghiri Emmanuel (1974) which criticized the fact that the economic growth had failed to materialize the countries who were witnessing economic growth including the South. They advocated about the unfair terms of trade between the North and the South and also the dependency that had been generated where the South became dependent over the North in terms of international economic relations.

1970s

1970s witnessed the strengthening of the dependency theory due to the deepening of global inequalities. International agencies like the World Bank and the International Labour Organization focused on the vital issues such as ‘redistribution with growth’ and ‘basic needs’, thereby catering towards the need of the poor. This decade also witnessed a change in the focal point from growth towards the role of gender equality in development. Alongside it also emphasized on the growing environmental awareness as that propagated in the UN Stockholm Conference on the human Environment.

1980s

The remarkable feature witnessed in the 1980s was the debt crisis faced by the developing countries specifically Africa and Latin America facing a decline in the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) due to the unfavorable lending conditions in the international scenario. Many of the developing countries sought to financial assistance from the international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank. The statist theories of development

received a jolt due to the collapse of the socialist states in Eastern Europe leading to the development of neo liberalism in the main line orientation of development. This was verified by the fact that SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programmes) or the financial assistance programmes for the developing countries was conditioned upon the fact of participation in the global markets. The concept of sustainable development also received increased acceptance in the developmental circles in this decade which was guaranteed by the holding of the World commission on Environment and Development and the drafting of the famous chapter nine i.e. Our Common Future in the Brundtland Report.

1990s

In this decade, alongside the neo liberal perspective to development orientation, the post development dynamics entered the stage which very much questioned the former. The major focus of attention was shifted to culture and indigenous knowledge. “Indeed, culture became an increasingly important theme within development.” Schech and Haggis (2000). Parallel to this event, the fossil fuel driven economic growth in China and India was also on the rise. The signing of the Kyoto Accord 1997 testified the rising significance of environmental conservation under the aegis of development dynamics. Due to the widespread criticism of the SAPs, the employment of local vocabulary and participation of the local people for poverty reduction was implemented. “This shift was reflected in the World Bank’s promotion of Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs), which places the onus upon developing countries themselves formulating their own development approaches based on local consultation. Hopper, (2012).

2000 and Onwards

With the passage of time and the changes witnessed in the understanding of development, the meaning of development today stands to accommodate in it the major ideas like neo liberalism, participatory approaches, post development perspectives and sustainable development in order to fit in the context of rapid population growth in the world form, day to day environmental degradation and globalization. These are aided by the issues and debates on international trade terms, debts, role of foreign aids, good governance, human security and environmental conservation. In this regard, it becomes very important to understand the conceptualization of development from the stand point of the United Nations Organisation. This is because the UN provides the institutional framework within which the contemporary debate on development takes place. The United Nations was created to in the

aftermath of the Second World War in order to address the development and other related issues. In doing this, various minor organizations under the banner of the United Nations Organisations were brought into existence to cater to the in detail micro developmental aspects.

2.2.4. CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

The classical understanding of development was equated to *growth in economic terms* i.e. the Gross National Product or per capita income. It was presumed that a progressive quantum of growth and development would succeed in bringing about socio political benefits to all the sections of the society. Over the passage of time, the idea of development has undergone distinct changes in its connotation. In India, development practices were geared towards growth and stability in the 1950s and early 1960s with the basic thrust being for industrialization, agricultural modernization and expansion of infrastructure, education and mass communication. However, the result of such an approach led to an increased level of poverty, illiteracy, ill health, class inequality, because of which the entire policy was reoriented in the 1970s to incorporate the philosophy of *social justice* in the development discourse. With the adoption of social justice as the guiding force, emphasis was laid on the development of ‘the weaker sections,’ ‘underprivileged,’ and the ‘deprived and marginalized groups’ to bring them into the mainstream socio economic developmental process. In the 1980s and 1990s the state oriented development strategies revolved around the concept of *empowerment*. This phase believed in the idea of ‘sharing power’ and was against the pre existing unequal structural organization. Unlike the earlier phase where the marginalized sections were looked upon as the beneficiaries, this phase recognized the marginalized sections as ‘partners of development’, laying emphasis upon the idea that ‘human person is the central subject of development’ United Nations (1985). It is noteworthy to point out that this perspective has given recognition to the fact that ‘economic development must be a means to bring about human development whereby empowerment of the people (women, the young adults, poor and other marginalized groups) has been visualized as the surest strategy to contribute to economic growth and thereby to social development.’United Nations (1996). The change in perspective has witnessed the incorporation of globalization in terms of structural adjustments like the reduction of state expenditure in the social sectors like health, education, food security etc and the encouragement of privatization. “Thus the state has

emerged as central to economic and social development not as direct provider of growth, but as partner, catalyst and facilitator.” World Bank (1997). Thinkers like David Ray Cox & Manohar Pawar (2012) are of the view that there is a strong link between globalization and marginalization because in a free market world situation caused by globalization, the economically powerful nations tend to control the decision making capacity of the economically subordinate nations. This in turn leads to the weakening of the periphery states in the economic, cultural and political sense of the term and at the same time also leads to the fragmentation of the society due to increased inequality. In order to curb this newly created marginalization, Cox suggests the state to take charge and generate a feeling of collective identity among the citizens with the help of active civil society and effective state system.

Empowerment however does not confine itself to the mechanical process of sharing, distribution and redistribution of power but demands a drastic change in the economic, political and social set up. Singha Roy (2001) points out that such changes should be directed towards-

- a) Creating new social identity of the marginalized sections in order to demolish the pre existing unfair social order.
- b) Providing a required space for the expression of the opinion of the marginalized groups.
- c) Providing an access to knowledge, ideology and resources for their material and social well being.
- d) Generating a social environment free from inequalities and discriminations.
- e) Ensuring policies towards making the marginalized people self reliant.

Suggesting an alternative perspective to development, Jaganath Pathy (2001) is of the opinion that “there is a need to move away from the linear to the systematic model, shift from economic efficiency to *self reliant and participatory* development, from dependencies to sustainable development through balanced interaction between nature and technology, from anthropo – centric to ecological harmony, and finally to ensure the empowerment of social actors and groups so as to transform economic accumulation for the satisfaction of the fundamental human needs of marginalized groups.” Pathy, Jaganath (2001). The alternate development model must focus in bringing about an improvement in the peoples quality of life by making them self reliant using participatory tools aimed at holistic and sustainable development.

History testifies that such changes oriented towards empowerment of the marginalize sections standing against the existing social structure succeeds only when supported by grass root mobilization, social movements, intervention of the civil societies like the Non Governmental

Organizations and well articulated policy formulations followed by a committed and determined political execution for addressing such imbalances. In the process of bringing about development with empowerment, the role played by the government and the NGOs is very much strategic in nature. In advocating this, the India Country Paper reads out as follows- *“The nongovernmental/voluntary organizations can provide great help in this process, particularly providing the support structures needed for such groups, and associations and liaising between them and the government that both the groups and the government are sensitized to an organized approach to development”* (Ibid). Therefore, it is a matter of great interest to understand whether the institutional initiatives taken up by the state stand enough to bring about development or are the mechanisms of state simply not sufficient to empower the marginal sections. In such a situation what would be the role of the Non Governmental Organizations in bringing about the development of the marginalize groups and what are the loopholes that need to be addressed would be an interesting area to be looked into. Mahbub Ul Haq (1996) in his work Reflections on Human Development is of the opinion that people are both the means and the end of economic development. It has been witnessed that the developmental policies of some of the societies simply based on economic terms generally do not achieve the desired output if they fail to address the vital issues such as human skills, human capital and human capabilities

Development of a society, instead of being a monolithic and a linear process of creating economic abundance, is a holistic process of social transformation from less creative to greater creative participation at the individual and collective levels. Emphasis on the ‘creative participation’ implies minimization of disorderliness in a social system and maximization of ‘creativity’ so as to achieve a symbiotic transformation of ‘man- nature and society relationship’ without generating any anti thesis or conflicts between them. Kashyap, A.(2003).

The focal point of economic development is the economic condition of developing countries regarding economic matters and the development of policies that improve a nation’s position economically, socially and institutionally.

Theories of Development were stimulated by the situation in the mid 20th century when decolonization occurred and the economic disparity between European and underdeveloped nations became obvious. Others believe that it is more accurate to evaluate development economics as a general provider of organized systems. Todaro (2000). Consequently, social,

economic and political aspects are included in theories of economic development, which apply different models related to different key concepts. Martinussen (1997); Roberts and Hite (2000).

One effective method through which the differentiation between various theories can be recognized is by their classification based on the primary concept of each theory whether internal or external economic development. Several definitions exist for development and offer different focal concepts. For instance, Modernisation Theory stresses the cultural features of each society, such as political, religion and culture. On the other hand, World Systems Theory and Globalisation seek to evaluate external relationships and to define different points in the development of countries. Consequently, every theory, having identified a driving concept, then proposes specific strategies which should be applied (Olson 1963; Parsons 1964) to achieve economic development. Dependency Theory and World Systems Theory, with an external focus, rely on external reformation policies that deal with relations between dependent and independent countries (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979; Szymanski, 1982). With the understanding of each theory it becomes pertinent that the dimension of development also gradually change and incorporated many different elements suitable for the better development of human beings through welfare policies.

2.2.5. CORE COMPONENTS OF DEVELOPMENT

The understanding of development demands the embracing of the major socio economic objectives and values that is strived for in a society. Goulet in 1971 made an extra ordinary attempt to distinguish the three basic core values or the core components in extracting the wider meaning of development. These core elements are: life – sustenance, self esteem and freedom which can be elaborated as follows-

- **Life- Sustenance:** The provision of the basic needs for the sustenance of human life is very much essential to bring about development. The basic needs approach to development was initiated in the 1970s by the World Bank. A country cannot claim to be developed if it fails to provide to all its citizens the basic needs such as food, housing, clothing and minimum education. Therefore, the major objective of development must be to eradicate primary poverty and raising the standard of their living by providing the basic needs to them.

- **Self- Esteem:** This basically points out to the exercise and enjoyment by the people the feeling of self respect and independence. The prevalence of exploitative relationship in a country cannot boast itself of being developed. Goulet is of the opinion that the developing countries seek development for the enhancement of self esteem, the eradication of the feeling of dependence and dominance that is generally associated with an inferior economic status.
- **Freedom:** The idea of freedom here means the liberation from the evils of ‘want, ignorance and squalor’ which will thereby enable the people to choose their own future that they value. A person cannot be considered to be free if he is debarred from the right to choose which in turn is affected by the level of education and the skills imparted upon him.

It is to be noted here that all the three core elements are inter related. “The lack of self esteem and freedom result from low levels of life sustenance, and both lack of self esteem and economic imprisonment become links in a circular, self perpetuating chain of poverty by producing a sense of fatalism and acceptance of the established order – as what Galbraith (1980) calls it the accommodation to poverty.” Thirlwall (1999).

The economic development must be expressed in terms of the expansion of the capabilities and the entitlements. It is to be noted that although for most of the people entitlement depends on their ability to sell their labour and on the price of the commodities, yet besides the market mechanism the power relationship existing in the society is one such pertinent factor that affects the due entitlement of an individual.

2.2.6. DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The early 21st century development discourse incorporated the human well being i.e. meeting the physical and material well being of the people in its helm. This era was marked by the flooding in of the issues of egalitarianism, democracy, participation, ethics and human rights paralleled by the major support from organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations Organization strongly advocating the moral dimensions of development. “Rights based development as a concept and as a policy directive, have also gained strength through the rethinking and critique of neo liberalism and its agents.” Manzo (2003). In other words, although the issues of human dignity and well being in development are not new to the study

yet, the proper conceptualization of these problems in terms of human rights and freedom stand out to be afresh. Furthermore, the traditional ideas of human rights now shifted its attention towards civil, political and legal rights.

Cornwall (2005) states that, “At the dawn of the 21st century, calls for more active engagement of poor people in development have come of age. Participation in development has gained a new respectability and legitimacy, and with the status of development orthodoxy.”

The advocates of Participatory Democracy state that the process of the so called normal development is characterized by biases, Eurocentrism and top-downism which ultimately led to disempowerment mainly because it sidelined the non expert local resources thereby resulting in limited benefits. As a mark of resentment, eminent scholars like Paulo Freire (1970) in the year 1970 advocated participatory action research creating a new environment for people to learn, express and achieve development. Robert Chambers argued that ‘putting the last first’ was necessary for rural development.

Participatory development focuses upon the grass root level of development that permits plurality of goals to be achieved as well as giving access to the local communities the right to self determinism that they require. Here, the role of the Non Governmental Organisations stands out to be prominent. Besides, the prominence of indigenous knowledge was also granted much more significance to by bringing it parallel to the scientific knowledge. Chambers explains that ‘the essence of participatory rural appraisal is change and reversal – of role, behavior, relationship and learning. Outsiders do not dominate and lecture; they facilitate, sit down, listen and learn. Outsiders do not transfer technology; they share methods which local people can use for their own appraisal, analysis, planning, action, monitoring and evaluation. Outsiders do not impose their reality; they encourage and enable local people to express their own.’ Chambers (1997).

2.2.7. CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

The importance of cultural development is severe in the understanding of development dynamics. The blanket idea of modernization or westernization stands to be no longer acceptable in the polycentric globe constantly striving towards cultural identity. In such a situation, one can state that culture has taken the role of prominence in the overall

conceptualization of development. Thinkers like Long and Villarreal in the year 1993 state that the cultural factor enters the development arena in a retreat like situation from the macro level structural approaches to micro level actor oriented approach. Therefore, if priority is granted to the agencies over the structure such as the national economy and the state, the meaning of cultural actors becomes significant variables. The nexus between the conceptualization of culture and power stands to be very important.

In theorizing power and culture the two major theories of power must be kept in mind. The national culture perspective which follows a deductive approach and which advocates culture to have been originated from macro social powers. On the other hand, the local culture perspective follows an inductive approach very much influenced from anthropological culturalism and populism. However, the major criticisms levied against this theory are that although it makes an attempt to explain cultural differences, it fails to address the issues such as inequality, misinterprets popular culture with tradition and also decontextualises the local culture.

The Culture and Development discourse tries to incorporate the conventional anthropological tools like the participant observation method well fitted to the development culture of projects. The attempts towards simplification by this discourse are not free from loopholes such as- it fails to reproblematised development. It can be stated that in order to make development effective, one needs to make it participatory. In this context the Dutch development corporation policy document- *A World of Difference* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1991) stated that 'culture must be the basis of sustainable development' and development must be 'embedded in culture'.

Having clearly understood the idea of development, we move further with an attempt to understand the non-governmental organizations

2.3. UNDERSTANDING THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

A Non Governmental Organization is such an organization that is based upon non-profit motives that are generally free of governmental and international organizations in its functioning. Non-governmental organizations are known by different nomenclatures, such as, voluntary agencies, not-for profit organizations, civil society organizations, community based organizations, charitable organizations, the third sector organizations and the like. Depending

upon the nature of activities that such organizations undertake, the forms of non-governmental organizations also vary accordingly. Some of the different varieties of NGOs stand to be as follows –

- i. Advocacy NGOs that campaign for specific issues.
- ii. Consultancy/ Research organizations that work for social and developmental activities.
- iii. Training and capacity building organizations that focus only on the capacity building activities of target communities and other NGOs.
- iv. Networking NGOs that create network opportunities for other NGOs in specific fields.
- v. Mother NGOs that work as fund raisers and distributive agencies, clearing house, evaluator and encourage participation of NGOs for some specific projects.
- vi. Grass roots organizations that work directly with the under privileged target communities.
- vii. Self-help groups that work for the benefit of specific groups like women.
- viii. Religious NGOs that work as the protagonist and protectors of some religious ideas.
- ix. City based organizations whose work and activities are confined to the cities alone.
- x. National organizations which are the NGOs bearing national character and presence.
- xi. International organizations which have international linkages that basically performs the function of receiving and disbursement of grants to other such NGOs. www.indianngos.com/ngosection.htm, (2015)

Most of the non-governmental organizations are funded by international donations while some are run on the charity of the volunteers. NGOs are highly diverse groups of organizations engaged in a wide range of activities, and take different forms in different parts of the world. Some may have charitable status, while others may be registered for tax exemption based on recognition of social purposes. Others may be fronts for political, religious, or other interests.

Defining a non-governmental organization is a difficult task because the term NGO does not have a constrained scope of utility which therefore finds its applicability in different

dimensions of its functioning thereby carrying a wide scope in its definition. The Indian Express in its edition of 1st August, 2015 stated that there are thirty one lakh NGOs in India which happens to be more than double the number of schools in the country, 250 times the number of government hospitals, one NGO for 400 people as against one policeman for 709 people. This information happens to be collected by the CBI from all the states (excluding Karnataka, Odisha and Telangana) and union territories on the basis of their registration in the Societies Registration Act. (<http://indianexpress.com>)

It is important to understand the institution of the non-governmental sector (NGOs) whose role in the public service framework has seen to be increasing specially in the areas of health, education and rural development. Campaigning and advocacy of the grass-root development within public policy at local and international levels have been the major tools in the growth of the non-governmental sectors. It has been seen that the governments alongside the non-governmental organizations have started working together as partners for achieving the goal of all round development by complimenting on each other efforts. The term “NGO includes many different types of organizations from small local groups operating on a largely voluntary and informal basis, to large private development agencies with multi-million dollar budgets in thousands of paid professional staff”. Lewis, (2008). In simple words, NGOs can be defined as “special governing, private, not-for profit organizations that are geared to improving the quality of life for disadvantaged people.” Vakil, (1997). It can be rightly pointed out that the number and profile of NGOs has witnessed a rapid growth in the past decade both in the developed zone of the North characterized by high level of industrialization with the ultimate concern of the NGOs on poverty and social justice, and the lesser developed South where the NGOs play the role of potential partners along with the government for bringing about development. The importance of non-governmental organizations have increased manifold so much so to the extent of conceptualizing it as the **third sector** of institutions, a **voluntary sector** of uncoerced action and as a **civil society** for upholding the dignity of the citizens.

2.3.1. DELINEATING NGOS FROM VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

“The term NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) seems to be deceptively simple. It may overlook the enormous variety and differential capabilities of NGOs. In fact NGOs offer a Kaleidoscopic collection of organizations, varying in origin, size, programmes, ideology and

control.” Jha & Mishra, (2008). In understanding the meaning of the NGOs, we need to address the philosophy, programme, policy, role, funding, strategy, management and its evaluation to have a clear vision of it because paramatizing it on a single platform would give a mistaken overview of the subject. Originally, voluntarism was the chief doctrine behind the formation of the Non-Governmental Organizations that existed with the sole principle of surviving at its free will and action. Such voluntary efforts of providing services to the needy existed independent of the state. To throw light on the meaning of voluntary organization, Stephen Hatch (1980) in his work *Outside the State* provides a few important characteristics that define and differ it from other organizations which stand as follows – i. The non-payment of participants is a character of many voluntary organizations which are typically not shared by commercial organizations; ii. With regard to the objective of the voluntary organizations, it can be argued that the VOs are all to some degree charitable which otherwise is not the objective of other such organizations; iii. In the formation of a voluntary organization no such statutes and enactments are required thereby making it an independent organization. However, in case of other profit making association it is very important for it to find a place inside a governmental statute; iv. The aim of a voluntary organization is never on the lines of profit maximization and is therefore dependent and satisfied with private fees thereby making it completely different from the profit oriented organizations; v. With regard to the behaviors of the voluntary organization, its major striking feature happens to be the nature of the organization, commitment of the organization and the involvement of the participants in accomplishing a non-profit task to the best of their abilities which places it a class ahead of the other organizations; vi. The size of the voluntary organizations is comparatively much smaller – generally comprising up of a nucleus and twenty participants while the other organizations have a much large size. Thus, these are the chief characteristic features of voluntary organizations as suggested by Hatch. However, after having studied Hatches’ work, to place the typical NGOs working in the Indian context under the banner of voluntary organizations would problematize the subject on technical grounds. This is because when we study the non-governmental organizations on the above lines then it has some sharp contrasts to the very essence of voluntarism as provided by Stephen Hatch. However, under informal grounds and from a layman’s point of view the two terms i.e. the non-governmental organizations and the voluntary organizations are used interchangeably. The researcher, however, prefers not to confuse the two terms and therefore, chooses to use the term Non-Governmental Organization in conducting the research, because we intend to find out the actual role played by the NGOs in the development of the tribal population of the Dooars

highlighting both on its strength and flaws, keeping aside the debate on the nature of its voluntarism. D.C. Korten (1990) firmly believes that over the years the functions of the voluntary development organizations have changed to i. Relief and welfare; ii. Community development; iii. Sustainable development and iv. Peoples movement. However, scholars like Cernea (1988) states that voluntarism in association are a key to all NGOs.

2.3.2. CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF THE NGOS

There has been a massive growth in the number and size of the non-governmental organizations in India especially after the adoption of the LPG or the Liberalisation, Privatization and Globalisation policies. In recent years, massive changes have been witnessed in the non-governmental sector leading to both its criticism and acclamation for its behavior and functioning. In the areas where a diversity of population is present a common idea or an agreement on a particular issue is hard to achieve – be it the functioning of the state policies or the non-profit organizations. In such a situation the non-governmental organizations have definitely provided an alternative mechanism for proper services to the grass-root level (especially in the areas of health, education and empowerment). The World Development Report (1991), points out the importance of the non-governmental organizations by looking into “their ability to involve communities and grass-root organizations more effectively in the development process in addressing poverty.” ‘The current policy climate arguably requires NGOs to play the role of innovator more than ever in order to find real relevance in addressing issues of poverty, inequality and social change’. Lewis & Ravichandran, (2008).

There are a multiple theoretical considerations that have supported as well as criticized the functioning of the NGOs in achieving the welfare of the marginalized grass-root communities. Ravishankar Kumar Singh (2003) in his work *role of NGOs in Socio-Economic Development* has listed the following significant **operational advantages of the non-governmental organizations** in the context of development –

- i. Due to the small and informal organization of the non-governmental organizations, it becomes very easy on their part to respond to the need of the hour and opportunities on humanitarian and developmental grounds within a short time span.

- ii. NGOs can provide grass-roots services and dynamism in the remote areas inhabited by the poor communities where the developmental agencies and the government find it difficult to reach and work on. Robertson, (1989).
- iii. The non-governmental organizations are seen to be more responsive to the social, cultural and other aspects of development that generally stands to be ignored by the technical development specialists.
- iv. The considerable experiences of the NGOs in supporting the projects, strategies and programmes for both the urban and rural poor sections have earned them another feather in their hat.
- v. The non-governmental organizations fulfill to major roles of identifying the need of the community and mobilizing a broad and active participation to bring about support for the development at the local levels.
- vi. Besides, the non-governmental organizations portray a willingness to initiate new approaches, techniques and experiments for development that may be of significance in the broader context.
- vii. The operation and fulfillment of any particular project can be undertaken by a non-governmental organization at comparatively much lower cost than the governmental sector because the NGOs have a strong unit of low overhead, volunteers and workers that provide their services at a much lower cost thereby making the best out of the available resources.

After having discussed the advantages of the non-governmental organizations it is very important for us to understand the **operational disadvantages** that it carries along with itself which can be listed as follows –

- i. Due to the diverse variety of the non-governmental organizations clubbed together by its comparative small scale, size and burdened by unrealistic aims and operational activities, it is seen that many of the non-governmental organizations in fulfilling its developmental roles find it extremely difficult to collaborate with the other agencies and organizations of development.

- ii. The problem of weak management of the non-governmental organizations because of its informal and voluntary nature and the scarce resources generally lead to a lack of control over operations and the limited accountability for funds.
- iii. Due to the presence of individual efforts alone without a broader strategy, working relationship with other institutions and long term focus, the functioning of the non-governmental organizations are severely hampered.
- iv. Some of the non-governmental organizations operate on religious and political lines with its objectives not matching with that of the government and other development organizations leads to a massive hamper in the functioning of the organization.
- v. It has been seen that some of the NGOs drift away from their voluntary and participatory spirit, flexibility, independence and innovation which acts as a serious disheartening factor.

David Korten (1990), in his study *from Relief to Peoples Movements* has classified the pattern of evaluation of NGOs under four generations namely –

- i. First generation – Relief and Welfare
- ii. Second generation – Community Development
- iii. Third generation – Sustainable Development
- iv. Fourth generation – Peoples Movement

Diwakar Chand (1991) has classified the non-governmental organizations into three levels on the basis of its size –

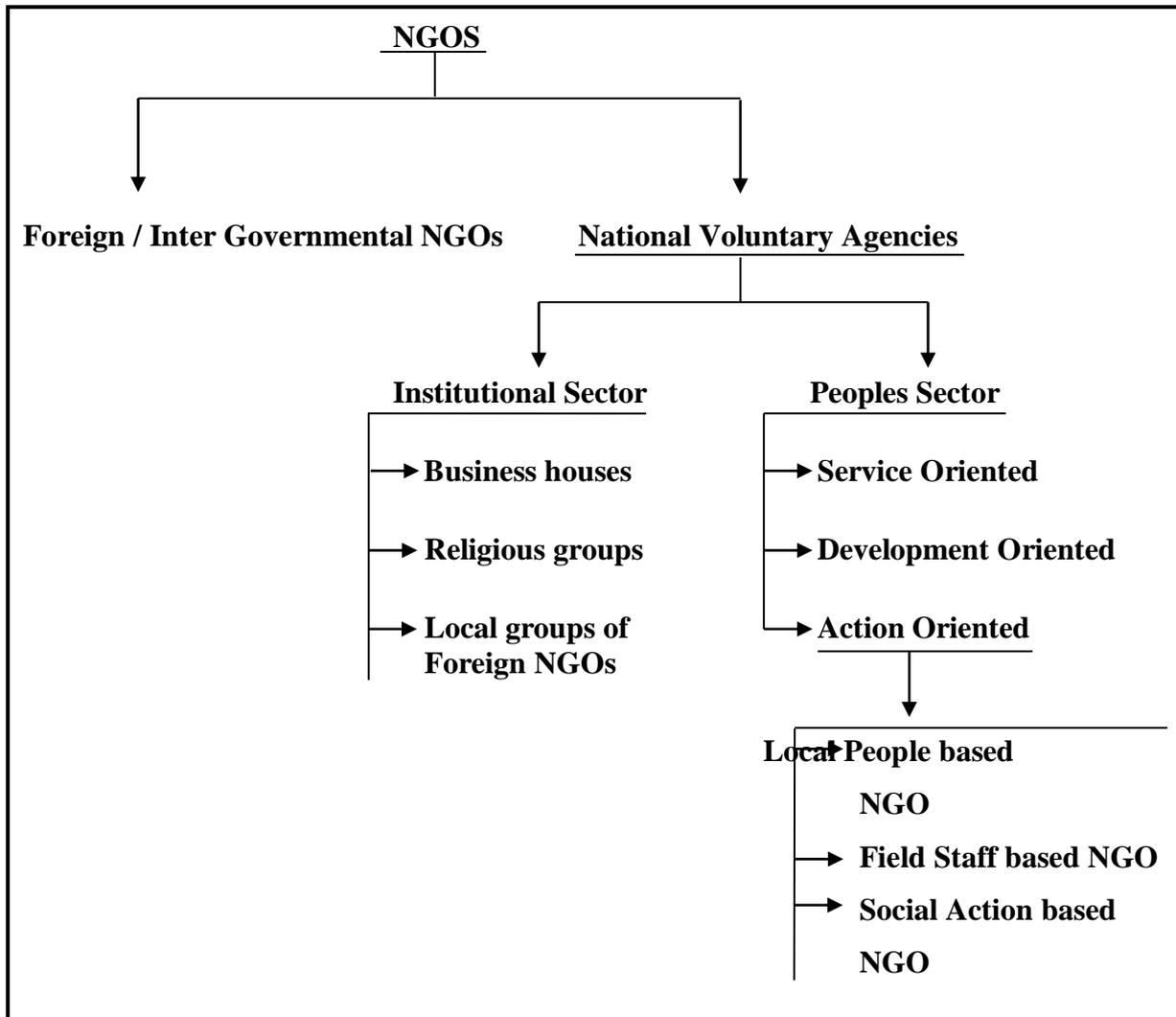
- i. Local level NGOs with a minimum of 21 regular members.
- ii. Regional level NGOs with a minimum of 151 regular members.
- iii. National level NGOs with a minimum of 501 regular members.

2.3.3. NATURE & TYPES OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The meaning, dimension and nature of the non-governmental organizations have undergone a massive change with the change in time. As has already been discussed in the earlier chapters that development is a dynamic change oriented subject and that both the government and the non-governmental organizations work for developmental purposes especially in the developing countries; this proves it enough to support the former argument. As the role of the government has changed from policing (vigilance) to welfare, so has the role of the NGOs changed from policy implementers to agencies of self reliance. Not to forget the historical origin of the NGOs in the Indian context as voluntary organizations, with the advent of state, society and civilized life the nature of the NGOs have also witnessed change. Today, to what extent is a non-governmental organization a voluntary organization is left open to the scholars to debate on. With regard to the philosophy and purpose of the NGOs, C. Venkataiah (2009) states that “they come to carry out the social service oriented or development oriented functions; regarding their programmes are concerned they may perform single programme or variety of programmes (2009).” The non-governmental organizations on the basis of their typology may be compartmentalized into two broad categories **i.** Foreign/inter-governmental agencies and **ii.** National voluntary agencies. The national non-governmental organizations can be sub-divided into two groups – **i.** The institutional sector and **ii.** The people sector. Under the institutional sector, the groups of NGOs that work are business houses, religious group and local groups of foreign NGOs. Under the people/individual based sector, NGOs are basically **i.** service oriented, **ii.** Development oriented and **iii.** Action oriented. Furthermore, the action oriented groups are further divided into **i.** local people based NGO, **ii.** Field Staff based NGO and **iii.** Social action based NGO. Sashi Ranjan Pandey, (1991).

V.D. Deshpandey (1986) states that ‘for carrying out the activities , voluntary agencies pool up financial resources either from their own source or from general public, donors(internal, and external-foreign) and from government. It is but natural that for extending financial assistance the governments, both central and state, generally recognise such NGOs which are legal entities, whose activities are open to all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, creed, sex or race; which are not specially for the benefit of any particular individual or community other than women, SC/ST and backward communities; and which are working in an area not included under any corporation, municipality, notified area committee of town or panchayat.’

The following chart will help us understand better the different typologies of the non-governmental organizations.



After having closely analysed the nature of the non-governmental organizations, we now proceed to the understanding of the NGOs at the global and national level, from the lense of the Indian prespective.

2.3.4. THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ON A GLOBAL FORUM

The existence of social work on voluntary basis is a universal phenomenon that cannot be confined to any single country or a particular region but is instead entangled with human habitation from the ancient era. However, the tone and tenor of voluntarism have seriously changed with time where helping the helpless and the destitute have been replaced by

structural reform measures especially in the socio-economic spheres. The era of (LPG) – Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization followed by the establishment of the United Nations Organization alongside its agencies like the World Bank, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund have strongly supported the agenda of globalization. This phase particularly marks an encouragement in the growth of the non-governmental organizations particularly in the Third World countries to fill up the vacuum created by the policies of liberalization demanding a restriction in the role of the state. There is a strong linkage between the emergence of globalization and an increased role of NGOs in the field of development. This is because the New Right School of thought, the Chicago School of Economics headed by Milton Friedman and the Public Choice theorist under James Buchanan (1975) and William Niskanen (1971) who laid the intellectual foundation for liberalization maintained that, ‘the state involvement leads to increasing monopoly, increasing budget and suppressing of entrepreneurial behavior, limiting choice, over production of unwanted services and encouragement to waste and inefficacy.’ Gary & Jenkins, (1995). The World Bank Report of 2000-01 suggests that accelerated poverty reduction will require faster growth which in turn demands liberalization.

In the due process of globalization, the global actors in the form of International Government Organizations, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization have started exercising more power and influence as compared to the rest of the actors because globalization itself advocates an increased accessibility to opportunities, borderless countries, more freedom, individualism, plural democracy and free enterprise. Therefore, in such a situation the NGOs are used as agents of change and development in order to promote capital formation alongside capital accumulation in the lesser developed countries. In order to curtail the negative effects of globalization the emergence of strong Civil Society movements and the non-governmental organizations are very important. R.K. Sapru (1998) in his monumental work *Development Administration: Crisis and Continuities* (1998) puts forward two major arguments in support of the non-governmental organizations/civil society organizations. The **first** being failure of “market oriented economic development to protect some segments of society from abject poverty” and **second** being the possibility of “excessive government intervention leading to counterproductive in practice”. Sapru suggests the development of partnership between the private sector and the non-governmental organizations in the implementation of developmental projects, policies and programmes so as to balance the weaknesses and strengths of these two mega sectors.

Although, the idea of global civil society traces its origin to the very recent 1990's, it is interesting to note the fact that serious efforts in order to institutionalize global civil society were made in the beginning of the twentieth century. The ultimate effort being the protection of the interest of the disadvantaged sections of people of the backward regions thereby enabling them to object against the exploitation of one country by another. 'The creation of central office of International Association founded in 1907 by Nobel Laureate Henri La Fontaine (1907) which was later on renamed as the Union of International Association is a major step towards achieving the above goals i.e. linking together the non-governmental groups working in different parts of the world. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of NGO coalitions to advocate on specific issues such as the international women's association, labour unions and associations for the promotion of world peace. Soon, it was evident that the non-governmental organization sector began to fill the vacuum left by both the corporate sector and the nation states in international relief and development activities. Venkataiah, (2009). The role of the NGOs is extremely significant with regard to global governance. This can be proved by the fact that the position of some NGOs like Amnesty International, Red Cross, Green Peace and World Women Federation (WWF) are much more powerful both in terms of staff and financial position than some international organizations such as the U.N., Human Rights Commission, WTO, UNCTAD and UNIDO.

2.3.5. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE INDIAN SCENARIO

Since the end of the Second World War, the developing countries have witnessed an enormous economic and political turmoil characterized basically by a remarkable economic growth rate followed by a complete failure in the provision of distributive justice to the vast majority of population especially the rural poor. Bongartz, (1970). The chief characteristic feature of most of the developing countries happened to be rampant poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition and high mortality rate in spite of the existence of developmental programmes for improving the situation. 'This has given momentum to search for more adequate and appropriate strategies for improving the living conditions of the poor population and started a good deal of discussion about the systematic alternative development strategies, such as the integrated development approach; the basic needs approach, community participation, self help and self reliance concept.' Ravishankar, (2003). Such concepts, approaches and

strategies constitute the basic element behind the large scale development of development in the number of NGOs around the globe highlighting on people centered developmental agenda for bringing about justice, sustainability and self reliance.

During the 1990's when India adopted the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG), the balance of payment crisis happened to be the major reason behind it. In such a situation, the importance of the non-governmental organizations began to grow because of the shift in the focus from the traditional 'trickle down approach of the bureaucracy to the people centered participatory approach along with human development and economic growth (UN, Human Development Report, 1993)'. Ramesh K Arora (2001) prefers to visualize this changed conceptualization of government system as that where the significance of the people have moved to the centre from the periphery. 'Thus, in the era of globalization, people centered governance, depends increasingly on Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Voluntary Bodies, Local Self-Governance Institutions, Castes, Religious and Ethnic Association and other Civil Society Organisations'. Arora (2001). According to the World Bank Report 2000-2001, 'the NGOs shows the poor people how to make a difference if they are organized themselves to defend their rights to take advantage of market opportunities and protect themselves from risks'. World Encyclopedia, (2015).

2.3.6. RISE OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

It is very difficult to estimate the exact number of NGOs operating in India because of a long tradition of voluntarism in the state. The different houses of registration furthermore complicate it because not all the NGOs are registered under one particular authority. They are spread in terms of registration under the Societies Act as NGOs, religious institutions like churches, sports associations, private hospitals, educational institutions and neighbourhood clubs not to forget the unregistered associations claiming themselves to be the torch bearers of social service in the society. According to Human Development Report, 2002, India had more than one million non-profit organizations. Dhabi, (2003). The major reason behind the emergence of the non-governmental organizations at such a massive scale signifies its importance in the contemporary society of India. There are some vital factors that have contributed to an increase in the number of NGO sector in India posing it to be an alternative

strategy for social reform, change and transformation. Some of the **noteworthy reasons** for an increase in the growth of NGO sector in India can be listed as follows –

- i. Philanthropic attitude of people advocating on the lines of service to mankind as service to God, charity and goodness. Such idealistic commitments backed by humanitarian sentiments and religious values for the development of all especially the uncared people have led to a large scale growth in the number of the NGOs.
- ii. The incorporation of industrialization, urbanization and in turn westernization has had a serious impact on the interest of the marginalized village craftsmen. The failure on the part of the governmental efforts in the direction of protecting the interests of these vulnerable groups has acted as a motivating factor for the NGOs to work for the upliftment of the former.
- iii. It has been witnessed that the government has failed to protect the constitutional safeguards guaranteed to the people of the nation especially of the down trodden communities especially in areas of poverty, inequalities and social justice. This has called for an active involvement of the non-governmental organizations to work on the line of activism thereby empowering the weaker sections to demand for their rightful share from the state.
- iv. With the advent of globalization, the market economy has failed to protect and meet the needs of the poor and the unorganized sections especially in the rural zones thereby leaving the platform open for the emergence and functioning of the non-governmental organizations.
- v. The implementation of the structural adjustment programmes thereby encouraging liberal economy with private enterprises has largely diminished the role of the state which has been reduced to mere regulator and facilitator of development – development being left to be considered as a collective effort of individuals, private sectors, public sector and non-governmental organizations.
- vi. Lastly, the constant encouragement of the governmental policy especially in the implementation of Five Year Plans for the working of the non-governmental organizations have led to a rise in the number of number of non-governmental sector in India. Venkataiah, (2009).

Thus, the above mentioned points may be regarded to be the chief reasons for the rise of the non-governmental organizations in the Indian domain.

The area of study that we will be focusing on i.e. the Dooars of North Bengal also houses many varieties of non-governmental organizations working in different dimensions of development. The mushrooming of non-governmental organizations that has been witnessed in the post Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation era has left no stone unturned to find a place of itself even in North Bengal in general and the Dooars in particular. Before discussing and analyzing the role and the functioning of non-governmental organizations in the Dooars, it becomes an ardent responsibility of the researcher to first and foremost introduce the area of study i.e. the Dooars of North Bengal, problematize the area of study and then finally look into the non-governmental organizations working in the area to address the problems of the former. Therefore, in the next segment, we devote our focus of attention in understanding the area of study i.e. the Dooars of North Bengal which will be followed by the working of the non-governmental sectors in the area.

2.3.7. ROLE OF THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

With the change in the role of the government from a police state to a welfare state or a development state, it has been witnessed that the role played by the non-governmental organizations have also undergone serious changes from relief and charity to development and empowerment. Some of the major developmental roles played by the NGOs in the present day context of India have been summarized by Rai &Tandon (2008) as under –

- i. Planner and implementer of development programmes.
- ii. Mobilization of local resources.
- iii. Catalyst and innovator.
- iv. Builder of self reliant sustainable society.
- v. Mediator between people and government.
- vi. Supporter and partner of government programmes in activating delivery system by implementing rural development programmes.
- vii. Agent of demystifying technology.
- viii. Facilitator of development in education, training, health etc.

The non-governmental organizations performed the above mentioned roles by motivating the people, mobilizing the resources, initiating leadership and by participating in development programmes for self reliance. Prasad, (2008).

2.4. NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) AND DEVELOPMENT

Although the term NGO (non-governmental organization) may appear to be very simple yet one cannot overlook its largely scattered presence and capabilities in its definition. The non-governmental organizations provide us with an exorbitant range of organizations that vary in size, origin, ideology, programmes and the area of control thereby engulfing innumerable areas of work under its purview. Therefore, it can be stated that no standard definition can define a non-governmental organization but instead can only provide the chief characteristics of it working in different dimensions. Cernea (1988) believes that voluntarism in association is the key to all non-governmental organizations.

The World Bank defines the non-governmental organizations in terms of its basic characteristics in the following lines – "The diversity of NGOs strains any simple definition. They include many groups and institutions that are entirely or largely independent of government and that have primarily humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives. They are private agencies in industrial countries that support international development; indigenous groups organized regionally or nationally; and member-groups in villages. NGOs include charitable and religious associations that mobilize private funds for development, distribute food and family planning services and promote community organization. They also include independent cooperatives, community associations, water-user societies, women's groups and pastoral associations. Citizen Groups that raise awareness and influence policy are also NGOs".

The diversity of activities of the non-governmental organizations makes it difficult for providing a single suitable definition in terms of defining them. Pokhrael (2000) believes the non-governmental organizations to be a welfare organization working in terms of voluntary services while Sundaram (1986) regard them to be the non-profit organizations that deal with the problems of the exploited and the poor people. Korten (2000) feels that the non-governmental organizations strive towards promotion radical self organization at the individual level while Prabakarn (1992) defines it in terms of its structure that can be both: structured or unstructured, organized or unorganized. Bhoose (2003) opines the non-governmental organizations to be a collective of the people that participate in the development process. Chand (1991) is of the view that the non-governmental organizations are both supplementary and complementary organizations created to deal with the diverse needs of the community. The operational definition of the NGOs sector adopted by Najam

(2000) states that “NGOs includes the broad spectrum of voluntary associations that are entirely or largely independent and that are not primarily motivated by commercial concerns. These organizations are primarily motivated by the desire to articulate and actualize particular social vision and they operate in the realm of civil society through the shared normative values of their partner and clients”.

Heinz (1989) states that the developing countries have experienced enormous political and economic change after the end of the Second World War where although successful industrialization in such third world countries were witness, it miserably failed in providing distributive justice especially to the majority population of the rural poor. With the decline in the role of the state in social service and welfare programmes, the non-governmental organizations have increasingly gained attention and importance whereupon they are looked as an alternative agency in promoting development, change and awareness in the society. This however does not give us the license to underestimate the role of the State. Generally, the voluntary action group is known by the terms such as the non-governmental organizations, the voluntary organizations, the grassroot organizations and the action groups. The approach of the non-governmental organization towards the development of the people is based upon an important idea of people’s participation without which development cannot be perceived. This approach is in sharp contrast to the top down approach of the state where on the other hand the needs of the people are assigned topmost priority by considering the people not as objects but as subjects possessing the knowledge and ability to bring about change in the desired direction.

“The NGOs are the not-for-profit organizations that are independent of government and business and have been at the forefront of participatory development because their mode of operation places them in close contact with local communities. They are a response to a wide array of humanitarian, economic, social, political and environmental concerns, and consequently their aims and approaches are extremely diverse. NGOs also differ with regard to their respective stakeholders, resources and influence.” Vakil (1997). It must be noted here that the role and functioning of the international NGOs termed as the INGOs with worldwide programmes such as Save the Children and Oxfam vary significantly in terms of their structure, funding and work pattern from the indigenous community level NGOs that function at the local level projects.

Since the early 1980s there has been witnessed a sharp increase in the number of the NGOs ranging from 1,700 in 1981 to 4000 in 1988. OECD (1988). The major reason behind the growth in the number and activities of the NGOs happened to be the financial difficulties confronting many southern countries in the 1980s and the rise in the number of fragile states followed by the complex emergencies of the 1990s. The end of the Cold War furthermore removed the military and ideological constraints enabling the intervention of the NGOs in humanitarian areas. Furthermore, due to the active participation of the media in the era of globalization, the plights of the poor people of the developing world have also pushed the NGOs to work in the required areas. The rise in the prominence of the NGOs can be witnessed from the fact that in the recent years, the various agencies of the UN and the World Bank have started religiously consulting with the NGOs in the process of policy formulation. 'In March 2009, there were 3172 NGOs in consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and some 400 NGOs accredited to the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), a subsidiary body of ECOSOC.' Hopper (2012). The large scale incorporation of the NGOs in this manner is looked as a strategy of the World Bank to bring about participatory development from the mid 1990s onward. This was clearly evident in the fact that in more than 50% of the projects of World Bank of 1994, the NGOs were seen to be actively participating.

One of most important reasons behind the rise in the number and prominence of the NGOs is because it performs the function of **advocacy** especially for those who fail to express their opinion in the power relation structure. Generally, the NGOs work towards lobbying, campaigning, education and policy research as an attempt to bring about humanitarian and development awareness amongst all. "In particular, NGOs seek to influence public opinion, governments and IGOs on issues like debt relief, child labour, the nature of international trade and human rights based agendas and approaches by development NGOs." Nelson and Dorsey (2008). Those NGOs that are oriented towards advocacy seek to develop the position of the world's poor by challenging the international economic and political structures that contribute to their subjugation. However, scholars like Edward and Hulme in 1992 criticized the NGOs for not being able to provide an alternative to the existing system and of only complaining about the present condition.

In closely analyzing the role and functioning of the NGOs one can opine that the neo liberals stand positive about the existence of the NGOs because according to them, the NGOs and other voluntary organizations are locally oriented which brings them in a better position to

understand and deal with the local problems. The critics of neo liberalism on the other hand believe that the NGOs behave in the manner in which their donor agencies want them to behave therefore leaving no scope for addressing the grass root problem of the people. In defending the position of the NGOs some supporters argue that they serve multiple purposes like filling in of the gap of social welfare which the state fails to address, tackle poverty through food distribution, provides training and education and credit in the form of micro credit facilities.

The non-governmental organizations are dependent and influenced by the State, national and international funds and other socio-political environmental factors which in the long run paint them in terms of their ideology of development as well as fund raising programmes; but at the same time it tries its level best to cling on to participation of the people for development. The direct impact of globalization and liberalization has posed a serious threat to the livelihood, culture and eco-system by the market forces of the West that ultimately aim to bring about homogenization of the diverse cultures. In such a situation the non-governmental organizations can mediate between the State, the Multi National Corporations, the International Organisations such as the WTO and the World Bank by acting as a buffer and protector in between.

2.4.1. NGOS IN INDIA

In the Indian context, the origin and the functioning of the NGOs is slightly different which has been briefly outlined below.

India has a long history of civil society based on the concepts of daana (giving) and seva (service). Voluntary organizations — organizations that are voluntary in spirit and without profit-making objectives — were active in cultural promotion, education, health, and natural disaster relief as early as the medieval era. They proliferated during British rule, working to improve social welfare and literacy and pursuing relief projects. During the second half of the 19th century, nationalist consciousness spread across India and self-help emerged as the primary focus of sociopolitical movements. Numerous organizations were established during this period, including the Friend-in-Need Society (1858), PrathanaSamaj (1864), Satya ShodhanSamaj (1873), Arya Samaj (1875), the National Council for Women in India (1875), and the Indian National Conference (1887). The Societies Registration Act (SRA) was approved in 1860 to confirm the legal status of the growing body of non-governmental

organizations (NGOs). The SRA continues to be relevant legislation for NGOs in India, although most state governments have enacted amendments to the original version. Christian missionaries active in India at this time directed their efforts toward reducing poverty and constructing hospitals, schools, roads, and other infrastructure.

Mahatma Gandhi's return to India in 1916 shifted the focus of development activities to economic self sufficiency. His Swadeshi movement, which advocated economic self-sufficiency through small-scale local production, swept through the country. (Asian Development Bank).

The non-governmental organizations in India portray a wide range of diversity in terms of their size, structure, funding, membership, philosophy, goals, programmes and most important of all their relationship with the political parties. The non-governmental organizations have been classified by eminent scholars in the following manner. Shah and Chaturvedi (1983) have classified the non-governmental organizations into i) techno-managerial NGO, ii) reformist NGO and iii) radical NGO. To Hirway (1995), the NGOs are basically of three types namely, i) welfare oriented, ii) development organizations and iii) empowering NGOs. Korten (1990) has classified the NGOs into i) relief and welfare organizations, ii) coalitions building community organizations. Eliot (1987) believed that the NGOs can be categorized into i) charity, ii) development, iii) empowerment NGOs.

The policies and programmes of the non-governmental organizations point out the positive role that they play in the process of development. However, a critical analysis is very important to be drawn in order to draw a clear understanding about the role of the NGOs in fulfilling their duties in praxis. The area of study that we have chosen to conduct a research on tries to analyze the role of the State and the NGOs in Tribal Development for which we shall present an in-depth field based understanding about the issue. The complexities and challenges shall be presented accordingly in the upcoming chapters of the thesis.

2.5. TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The differences that have emerged as a result of the complex historical process can be understood as the hallmark of Indian socio-political complexities. The phenomenon of tribe and caste has been described by some anthropologist as a construction of the colonial rule because they believe that the characteristics of such groups were defined by the colonial

masters through the process of enumeration and classification. This is because the modern idea of separate identity was brought into being by the colonial rule which was later on considered by the leaders of the free nation. 'The colonial administrators used the term tribe to describe people who were heterogeneous in physical and linguistic traits, demographic size, ecological conditions of living, regions inhabited, stages of socio-formation, and levels of acculturation and development.' Bara (2002). The establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784) marks a historical event because it was here that for the first time the study group described as tribal studies came into existence. This was followed by notable contributions of eminent scholars like Dalton (1872), Risley (1891), Russel (1916), Thurston (1909) etc. thereby earning the title the formative period as propounded by Vidyarthi. The phase from 1784 to 1919 was regarded as the formative period, from 1920 to 1949 as the constructive period and from 1950 onwards as the analytical period by Vidyarthi (1982).

The first census report of 1921 described these groups of people as hill and forest tribes while Hutton, the Census Commissioner of 1931 referred to them as primitive tribes with geographical isolation and primitive living condition as the major criteria of distinction between the tribes and non-tribes. However, the tribal welfare committee of 1951 believed that a clear set of ideas could not be arrived as for categorizing a person into the tribal category. "Tribes in India are thus defined not so much in terms of coherent and well defined criteria but in terms of the administrative classification that divides the population into tribal and non-tribal. Tribes are treated as those groups enumerated in the Indian Constitution in the list of the scheduled tribes. Indeed, the constitution defines a scheduled tribe 'as such tribe or tribal community or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as deemed under Article 342 to be scheduled tribes.' Xaxa (2008). Using the term tribe has generated a lot of dissatisfaction among the scholars, social workers and administrators who have provided alternative terms such as aborigines/ aboriginals (Risley, 1903), backward Hindus (Ghurye, 1963), ethnic minorities (Pathy, 1988), the fourth world (Sengupta, 1982) and tribes in transition (Desai, 1960).

The unique nature, language, culture and identity of the 8.06% of the Indian population that comprises up of the scheduled tribe communities of the land demand a serious understanding and re-examination about their developmental dimension. Developmental strategies have been dedicated to this particular section of society right from the era of independence till date, yet such policies have not been a complete remedy to address the problems faced by these groups of people. Many anthropologists used the term tribal society to refer to societies

organized largely on the basis of kinship, especially corporate descent groups. Some political economic theorists hold the view that tribes represent a stage in social evolution intermediate between bands and states. Other theorists such as *Morton Fried*, argue that tribes developed after states, and must be understood in terms of their relationship to them. Tribe is a contested term due to its roots in colonialism. In the popular imagination, tribes reflect a way of life that predates, and is more natural than in modern states. Tribes also reflect primordial social ties, and are clearly bounded, heterogeneous, parochial and stable in nature. In simple words tribe can be defined as a social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious or blood ties; or a unit of socio political organization consisting of a number of families, clans or other groups who share a common ancestry and culture and among whom leadership is typically neither formalized nor permanent.

The Oxford Dictionary defines a tribe as “A group of people in a primitive or barbarous stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding them as having a common ancestry.” D. N. Majumdar (1937) opines the tribes to be a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous with no specialization of functions ruled by tribal officers hereditary or otherwise, united in language or castes. According to Ralph Linton (1933), Tribe is a group of bands occupying a contiguous territory or territories and having a feeling of unity deriving from numerous similarities in a culture, frequent contacts and a certain community of interests.

Right from the evolutionary stage of social formation in India the Tribes were present who still continue to follow different modes of economy like the Paleolithic hunters and gatherers of forest produce to industrial workers. The census data shows that the spatial distribution of the tribes is characterized by a striking tendency of clustering and concentration in pockets which have suffered from isolation historically and are situated in areas where the environment setting is by and large unsuited to sedentary agriculture. Probably this pattern of clustering and concentration has contributed significantly to the lack of adequate interaction between the tribal and non tribal communities within the population of India.

The Government of India has been taking up different policies and programmes for the upliftment and overall development of the tribal population based on the approaches to tribal development. Right from the initial Five Year Plans, measures for tribal welfare was taken up and so does it continue till today. It would be wrong to blame the government alone as an

agency that has not taken sufficient measures to curb the problems faced by the tribals in their day to day lives. Keeping aside the British approach and policy of isolation where the tribal groups were left untouched because of the problem of administration, the government of independent India has taken up many projects to bring about development among the tribals. Though the First Prime Minister of Independent India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was busy looking into the overall development of India he did not ignore the tribal population as well. He appointed many Commissions and Committees to look into the matter as to how the tribal issues could be solved. Verrier Elwin suggested the Isolationist or the National Park Approach which he later on changed to Integration Approach. Nehru was however not in favour of such extreme policies but instead believed in following the middle path approach.

Post independent India has witnessed the policies and programmes for tribal development based on Nehruvian guidelines. However even after six decades of planned developmental strategies adopted in India the results or outcomes have not been satisfactory. Unequal rate of development has taken the upper hand because of which rampant inequality amongst the inter-tribal groups is witnessed thereby the evolution of haves and have-nots within the same tribal group. There has been the presence of a well off group within the same tribal group who have been able to take the advantage of the facilities provided by the government of India for the reserved categories whereas there is the other group which is still far away, untouched by the blessings of modernity, living a life as though that of the ancient cave ages. This is accompanied by rampant corruption, unapproachable bureaucratic system, faulty policies, land pattern, priority of the people and their lifestyles and the lack of interest of the policy implementers. This has ultimately led to the development of a relationship of the exploiter and the exploited where it is difficult to locate as to who the actual exploiter is, is it the non tribals alone who are to be blamed? Is it the failure of the government to successfully implement their planned out policies that is to be pointed at? Or Is the elite section among the tribal group itself to be considered the hindrance behind the overall proportional tribal development? What is the actual role of the non-governmental organizations in tribal development? The answers to the above stated questions may not be simple enough to be answered in one single sentence, finding the key to which would be the primary focus of this study.

Due to the lack of success on the part of the government in bringing about the desired output in the field of tribal development in India i.e. “to translate the constitutional provision into reality” John K. Thomas, (2005), the new trend that was witnessed was the grand scale

emergence of the non-governmental organizations in the Indian soil with the primary purpose of reaching out to those sectors where the government had failed to achieve the desired target of development goals. Having analyzed the theoretical approaches to Tribal Development and the practical ground reality one can make a stand that there does prevail a huge gap between the two because of which the center stage of attention has been taken away by the non-governmental organizations in addressing the core questions of tribal development. The researcher intends to critically analyze the role of the non-governmental organizations in the tribal development of the Dooars region of North Bengal.

2.5.1. NGOS AND TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

The second quarter of the present century to the late seventies portrays an important pattern of tribal development that was adopted by both the official as well as the non-official agencies reflecting upon the existence of some weaknesses in different form and at different levels. The adoption of new patterns was considered to be necessary and this necessity changed its features with time. The ideology of various agencies were tested by time and often regarded to be faulty. Those voluntary organizations that preferred to work in complete isolation from the government in the process of tribal development were criticized but no concrete remedial measure was provided to address the situation. Monetary investments have been made at an alarming rate to bring about the desired development of the scheduled tribes which of course has not been successful enough in meeting the demands of the hour. The question of who is to be put to question – is it the State, is it the non-governmental organizations or is it the beneficiary scheduled tribes themselves, provides us with an interesting challenge to be resolved in the research work. The problem of tribal development can be classified into two broad categories: the one which the tribals face, and the other which the functionaries working in the tribal society face. Both these categories occupy a place of significance because without addressing the two, the conclusion drawn would be at fault. The research work shall address the problem of tribal development from both the angles. However, in doing so, the heterogeneous components of the scheduled tribes shall definitely pose a problem as well as a variation in addressing this issue.

It cannot be denied that social development is the primary duty of the state, however in the developing countries which are marked by the limitation of state and expansion of the NGO sectors, efficiency is expected more from the later. The state is believed to create an

environment for development while the NGOs are entrusted to implement the development agenda of the government amongst the grassroots in an economic and efficient manner. At times, the non-governmental organizations are also seen working in close collaboration with the state mechanism as partners in achieving the target of development.

The development of the scheduled tribes cannot be visualized without an active support and an efficient role of the non-governmental organizations in close collaboration with the sincere efforts of the government. This is because one of the prominent reasons behind the underdevelopment of the scheduled tribes happens to be their isolated geographical habitation characterized by hills, forests, river beds and untraceable geographical locations. The case studies conducted in the research work proves the fact that the government officials hesitate to settle down in those areas and work for the development of the needy scheduled tribe communities. They demand for immediate transfers and some even go to the extent of resigning from their prestigious post and thereby leaving the office empty. Interestingly, the head of the government, Prime Minister Modi seems to be aware about this issue which is why in his lecture in the seminar conducted at the parliament he makes it an attempt to remove the misconception of punishment postings and translates it as an opportunity to serve the fellow countrymen. (*We for Development*, 2018).

In such a situation, the role of the non-governmental organizations stands to be crucial in addressing the immediate needs of the tribal population. The survey conducted provides us with the fact that the scheduled tribe communities largely believe that the non-governmental organizations can perform their duties in a much better manner only if they are genuinely serious about their jobs. This puts a question mark to the integrity of the non-governmental organizations working in the area of tribal development. Those tribal areas that have honest non-governmental organizations working in the area have definitely shown a better quality of life as compared to those where the non-governmental organizations exists only for formality. Moreover, the attitude and approach of the non-governmental organizations towards the beneficiary scheduled tribes generally plays an important role in their overall development because grassroot friendly approach happens to be the need of the hour which needs to be clearly understood by the non-governmental organizations.

The research work shall provide a critical analysis of the role of the non-governmental organizations in tribal development of the Dooars region of North Bengal. However, the most

important question of the meaning of development to the scheduled tribes needs to be dealt first so as to understand the meaning of tribal development.

2.6. LINKING UP DEVELOPMENT WITH THE TRIBAL PEOPLE'S IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT

The idea of development as we have studied in our earlier sections is a reflection of the understanding of development from the view point of the government, the academicians, the external agencies and any such organs that have assumed to conceptualize it from above not being a member to its impact. The voices of the marginalized have always been neglected and unheard which has resulted in the creation of a huge gap in the idea of development understood by the external agencies on the one hand, and that which is interpreted by the beneficiaries themselves on the other hand. This is because there has not taken place a required amount of consultation of the beneficiaries taking them into confidence by the policy framers thereby resulting in the mismatched idea of development which fail to address the needs of the scheduled tribes and in turn widen the gap between the two.

The earlier sections of this chapter have been completely dedicated to the interpretation of scholarly understanding of the meaning of development. However, the pertinent question that arises here which needs to be addressed first is development for whom? Probably the answer to this question in this section would be development for the tribals or what we generally perceive it as tribal development. Since the meaning of development has transcended from mere economic growth to social betterment, to the protection of human rights with the help of participation of the beneficiaries, this has clearly revealed the fact that development cannot be successful without the participation of the people who are to be developed. This is because history stands a testament to the fact that top down approach where the entire decision of planning and implementation is taken up by the alien agents of development has failed to understand the immediate requirement of the beneficiaries and focus upon the pre-design unnecessary enforcement of the policy programmes. This backlash can be evaluated from the alarming rate of failure of the development agencies in bringing about development of the tribal population.

Therefore, it is very important for us to understand the emotions of the tribal population of the country by making the developmental approach a participatory one, whereby the real needs of the beneficiaries would be addressed first. Banking on the survey conducted in the

area of research i.e. the Dooars region of North Bengal, we have tried to analyze the meaning of development to the scheduled tribes of the area. We have also inquired about the role of the non-governmental organizations in the development of the area which indicates the tribal dominated belts. Having clearly understood the conceptualization of development to the scheduled tribes of the study area, a platform is left open to debate on the role of the government and the non-governmental organizations in reaching out to the very essential demands of development of the beneficiaries. This gives us an opportunity to delve deeper into the matter in the following chapters.

2.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter has tried to conceptualize development from both the scholarly understanding as well as the interpretation of the term by the grassroot beneficiaries in their own terms. We have tried to define development from all possible angles with its narrow and broad connotations together. This makes us understand that development is not a uni-dimensional concept but instead occupies a holistic idea taking up different crucial elements under its gulf. The meaning of development has broadened its holds from mere economic growth to the humane aspects of betterment such as development of capabilities, protection and promotion of human rights, freedom of choice, social up-gradation and in overall qualitative change in human life. Technical analysis has been drawn between the ever confusing ideas of growth and development alongside welfare and development. We have tried to draw the evolutionary phases of the development discourse and have also pointed out the dimensions of development. However, we have tried to base our understanding of development by taking up the Right to Development as a Human Right or that which is commonly referred to as the Vienna Declaration. We then have focused on the significance of the non-governmental organizations in the process of development and then tried to analyze the meaning of tribal development in India. This has been linked up with the role of the non-governmental organizations in the development of the scheduled tribes in India. Finally, our last section deals with the meaning of development, as perceived by the scheduled tribe themselves, so as to gain a clear understanding about how do the beneficiaries see themselves and their core issues in the holistic process of development.

The next chapter shall study in detail the major policies adopted by the state in the development of the scheduled tribe since 1991.