

NGOS IN MONGOLIA: A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN MONGOLIAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS

By D. Byambajav (Mongolia)

The Soros Foundation, World Vision, The Asia Foundation, Save the Children, Hanns Seidel Foundation, Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) and many others have become well-known names among Mongolians. Working for over fifteen years in Mongolia, many NGOs have become an integral part of the host society. The NGOs are diverse and their development and activities are very dynamic. This essay will examine the diversity and functions of international NGOs in Mongolia and challenges facing them based on the author's in-depth interviews with international, local NGOs and Mongolian government officials, a nationwide survey, and an examination of relevant published documents.

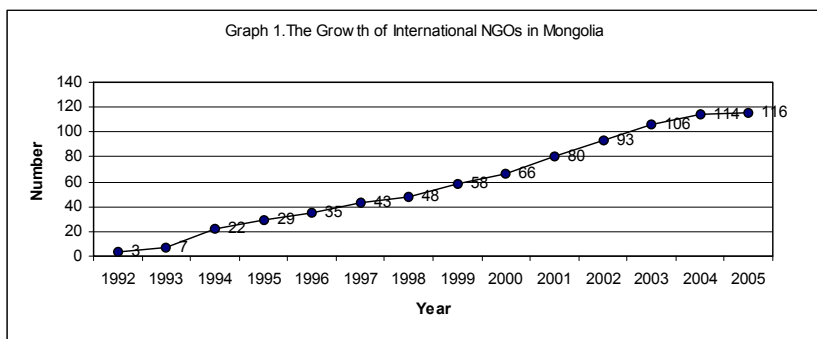
In the 1990s, despite its landlocked location within a buffer position between two great powers and a lack of a democratic heritage, Mongolia embarked on the path of democracy after seventy years of communism. Mongolia had much going against it, including a poor economy, dependency on its two neighbours, an unconsolidated new political system, new international environment, and tremendous changes in people's lives. Support and assistance from the developed world was essential in dealing with these challenges. Main donor countries like Japan, United States, and Germany, as well as international organizations such as the UN, World Bank and IMF began to provide economic and political aid to Mongolia. This assistance included programs aimed at creating economic development, political democracy, and a prosperous partner for the future. At the same time, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) have played a significant role in the efforts to assist Mongolia in addressing the difficulties of this transition and the establishment of a democratic polity.

Unfortunately, the role and impact of NGOs on the host society has not yet been properly studied and mostly omitted from structural theoretical and empirical accounts explaining the state of transnational civil society and

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international assistance. However, much research has been done on their role in world politics (Anheier 2001, Boli and Thomas 2002, Keck and Sikkink 1998, Lindenberg 2001, Clark 1995). Not the international relations scholars or political scientists, but development analysts, sociologists and economists have performed key research into the topic, mainly since 1980s when the number of NGOs with international perspectives was dramatically increased and the participation of NGOs in international assistance was intensified (Carothers 1999, Ottaway 2000, Mendelson and Glenn 2001). The past fifteen years have witnessed an explosion in the number of NGOs in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) member countries, from sixteen hundred in 1980 to well over five thousand by 1995. (Hoy, 96) As registered in the Union of International Associations, today there are more than twenty thousand active international NGOs in the world. (UIA, 1999)

Graph 1: *Growth of international NGOs in Mongolia*



A number of NGOs including The Asia Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Soros Foundation, and International Support Service began their assistance to Mongolia in 1990-91. Since then, the number of international NGOs in Mongolia has greatly increased: between 1991 and 1996, there were thirty six international NGOs operational, while in 1997-2002 this number rose to ninety five. Today there are one hundred and sixteen international NGOs registered at the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs as well as national committees of international networks such as Rotary club and Amnesty International (See, Graph 1). There was a significant increase of NGOs after 1997 and 1998, most likely due to factors such as the Law on NGOs passed by the State Great Hural (Parliament) in 1997 that helped to create a favorable legal

environment and guarantee for not only domestic NGOs but also for international NGOs. Another factor was the Foreign Policy Concept passed by the State Great Hural in 1994. With this Mongolia sought to integrate itself into the world community and to pursue a more open and multi-pillar foreign policy. Mongolia also indicated its will to cooperate intensively with international organizations and foundations, in culture and humanitarian spheres as a priority. Another priority is managing the devastating consequences of natural disasters, and the conditions of underdevelopment and poverty that exist throughout the country. In a global perspective, public fiscal crises and the collapse of the Soviet Union created a vacuum into which international NGOs have entered. (Lindenberg and Bryant, 2001).

What are International NGOs?

International NGOs are not a new phenomenon. Their history began in the nineteenth century when British and international antislavery societies and the International Red Cross formally began their activities. Since then the number, size, and scope of international NGOs have dramatically increased. Many pioneering NGOs were established in the earlier and mid twentieth century, mostly in the West.

In the theoretical framework, I explain what is an International NGO by two means: as a specific sub-set of not-for-profit, non-violent, and transnational non-state actors (Schmitz, 2003), and as a part of an emerging transnational civil society. The emergence of the term “NGO” coincides with the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. While non-governmental organizations with transnational ties existed before, they were referred to rather loosely as “private organizations”, “international institutes/associations”, or simply “international organizations” (Willetts 2001). The UN was built around the principles of state sovereignty and maintained a primary focus on issues of inter-state security. However, during the negotiations leading up to the creation of the UN, NGO representatives were successful in inserting social and economic issues into the UN Charter. As a result of non-governmental lobbying, the newly created Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was upgraded to a “principal organ” of the UN and became the entry point for non-state entities seeking access to the UN. In Articles 70 and 71 of the UN Charter, the world organization created different participation rights for specialized intergovernmental agencies and international private organizations. While (inter-) governmental organizations (as well as non-member states) could apply for “observer status” with the right

to “participate without a vote in its deliberations” (Article 70), ECOSOC offered to “make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence” (Article 71). NGOs could neither vote, nor fully participate, but could be consulted by United Nations bodies.

Table 1. *International NGOs by major form characteristics, 1981-2001.*

Types	1981		1991		2001	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Internationally oriented national organisations	3443	35	7867	44	9606	39
Other organizations	6386	65	9959	56	15191	61
Total	9789	100	17826	100	24797	100

Source: Union of International Associations, 1999-2000. Yearbook of International Organizations. <http://www.uia.org/>

This has been modified in two important respects in order to narrow the scope of this article. First, the focus here is only on those NGOs with a significant transnational presence. Second, the article addresses mainly the work of operational NGOs, which seek to assist states in supplementing its domestic functions and supporting it in its way to democracy and development. Although the UN definition is the fundamental criterion in clarifying NGOs, in some cases it is not adequate. For example, some NGOs are connected with violence, work for profit to survive, and some are fully funded by governments. Furthermore, there are many type of transnational nongovernmental organizations like internet-based organizations, religious groups, etc that do not fit into this definition. But the definition implies the common features of NGOs and thus can be taken as basic criteria.

The criteria for the international NGO are more complicated. The Union of International Associations, which is the only organization registering international NGOs worldwide, has designed criteria for defining and registering international NGOs in their account. An international NGO must have

- an internationally proposed goal covering at least three countries,
- international participation and membership at least from three countries,

- permanent headquarters,
- funding from at least three countries,
- independent and democratic decision-making, and
- regular activity.

It doesn't consider religious organizations and churches, which have hierarchical organizational structure as NGOs. However, this definition doesn't meet the reality of NGO community in many cases. The Union shows different types of international NGOs and their statistical accountings in Table One. There it shows the number of organizations of special form, which include various foundations, education and training organizations, semi-structured groups etc. In other words, these organizations do not fit into the above-mentioned criteria, but their numbers have doubled from 1981 to 2001. Also, one can see there the number of subsidiary and internal bodies, religious orders and secular institutes which again do not fully meet the criteria. The criteria may be more for statistical purposes, so it has less operational uses in reality. In contrast, Marc Lindenberg and Bryant (2001) have done very useful structural/operational definition on international development and relief NGOs. They defined them as organizations that were founded in northern countries but are becoming multinational. These organizations can be categorized into three types as "national NGOs", "multinational NGOs", and "fully multinational" NGOs.

Meanwhile, if we apply the above classifications to the international NGOs in Mongolia, we can see that over eighty percent of them are national organizations with international operations. Thus, the criteria for a multinational or "true" international NGO could not be employed in this case. We could employ the term "Northern NGO" but the organizations are not all from the North. In addition, the term mainly implies relief and development NGOs in related academic and non-academic literatures.

The diversity within International NGOs

In the frame of the above definitions and the context of the case, it could be defined that international NGOs are the organizations which are not-for-profit, non violent, voluntarily funded, and with purpose and activity covering more than one country. We can make distinctions among INGOs with regard the scope of their activities (single/multi-issue), the main type of activity (advocacy/campaigning or operational/service) and the extent of their activities in a particular country (large/medium/small). In Table Two, I categorized

International NGOs operating in Mongolia according to the above-mentioned distinctions.

A 77 percent, or majority, of the international NGOs registered in Mongolia in 1992-1994, organized their activities around the provision of basic human needs and the relief goals to help social groups in deepest needs. In particular, assistance with material goods prevailed. In addition, there was a rapid growth of international NGOs worldwide after the 1990s and the number of internationally oriented national NGOs grew fastest (See Table One). These organizations that promote peace, human rights, democracy and humanitarian deeds, opened their resident representative offices, or local offices in different countries. The fact that these organizations grew three times between 1981 and 2001, was one of the reasons for the international NGOs’ increase in Mongolia. According to the 2004 statistics, 31.9% of international NGOs in Mongolia have their headquarters in USA and 13.8% in the Republic of Korea.

Table 2. Categorization of International NGOs in Mongolia

Scope of activity Extent of activity	Multiple purposes 1	Single purpose 2
LARGE (L).	Asia Foundation, World Vision Mongolia, Mongolian Foundation For Open Society (Soros Foundation), ADRA, Konrad Adenauer – Stiftung	Save the Children, Swanson Family Foundation, Amnesty International Mongolia, Marie Stopes International, Hanss Seidel Stiftung, WWF
MEDIUM (M).	NLM Mongolia, FLOM. Help International, Good Neighbour Society Mongolia, Catholic Church Mission, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung,	Food For The Hungry, Vision International, AIFO, Kristina Noble Children’s Foundation, International Foundation for Education
SMALL (S).	Fraternity Notre Dame, Sunrise Educational Center, Schaideweg, KAMA service, Mission of Mercy	Institute of Asian Culture and Development, Global Care, Koinonia, Peace Child International,

It is common that the goals and aims of these international NGOs are consistent with the logical continuation of their general goals of the headquarter organization, as well as simultaneously trying to reflect the local needs and peculiarities of Mongolian society. For instance, these organizations generally have strived to help citizenry to overcome the hardships of transition. However,

the ways and approaches for helping the citizens have differed depending on strategies, financial capacity, international connection, and previous experiences of these organizations. For example, organizations with a long history and much experience including Save the Children, World Vision, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Amnesty International, enjoy numerous advantages such as a large number of experienced volunteers and staffs, financial sustainability, international network, and consultative status for the UN organization. There are twenty one representative offices of international NGOs, which have obtained the consultative status from UN Economic and Social Council. Eighteen of these organizations have general and special consultative status and can cooperate and assist the Council and other UN programs and activities. UN Economic and Social Council renders this consultative status on general, special and roster levels to the experienced and sustainable NGOs that have the goals and objectives consistent to the UN goal, principles and values, at their request.

We can classify international NGOs in Mongolia into single and multi issue organizations in scope of activity and large, medium, and small in their extent of activities (see, table 2). The classification is for analytical purposes here and useful in order to understand their diversity. The NGOs in category L1 conduct nation-wide projects in politics, economy, healthcare, and charity in order to comprehensively assist and support Mongolia to address socio-economic problems. The largest one is World Vision Mongolia, which has reached over 500,000 beneficiaries directly and indirectly. World Vision Mongolia has covered over ten provinces and spent about 20 million dollars for its programs in 2003 alone (World Vision, 2003).

Whereas the organizations in category L2 have pursued specific goals such as children's welfare, education, legal reform, and natural protection long term. For example, Save the Children was established in 1919 and its founder Eglantin Jebb initiated a declaration of children's rights, which served as a source for the UN Convention on children's rights. Although it has branches in fifty countries, the representative office of the branch in the United Kingdom was established starting 1994 to help meet the needs of children in difficult living conditions.

The NGOs at the medium level, covering a specific region, province or specific social groups or institutions prevail in the category M1. The scope of their activities depends on experience, financial capacity and existing projects and programs. Category M2 covers the organizations at the medium level in scope of activities and which specializes in certain specific sectors.

In addition, categories S1 and S2 cover number of organizations that concentrate in certain provinces, counties, and districts. A clear example would be the Asian Institute of Culture and Development, which runs a secondary school for children who dropped out of the secondary education in some districts of Ulaanbaatar.

Not including Amnesty International, international NGOs in Mongolia can mainly be considered development organizations. Amnesty International is an advocacy organization that promotes human rights protection and human rights education. Whereas the development NGOs conducts activities to address the pressing issues of governance, law, economy, education, public awareness, to help poor people and people subjected to natural disasters. In terms of the scope of their activities, it is difficult to classify because the organizations in L1 and M1 carry out development activities in multiple areas at the same time. For example, Joint Christian Service (JCS) implemented projects in health care, education, agriculture, child-protection by bringing in international specialists. Nevertheless, it is not yet possible to compare the sectors and their main activities that were undertaken, based on their 2003 reports and interviews.. The largest portions of the INGOs' expenditures have been devoted to relief and poverty alleviation (39 percent), child rights and welfare (14 percent), education (10 percent), and public health (nine percent). We could say that the ratio of the expenditures is comparatively consistent over last several years according to my interviews with several major organizations.

Activity and funding

Although the Law on NGOs indicates that NGO activities shall be open to public and that citizens can have access to their reports, there is a perceived lack of openness in multiple cases. According to poll results, 42.1% of citizens conclude that international NGOs are not open to public. During the interviews and calls at NGOs, I myself as a researcher encountered difficulty in accessing their reports and sometimes there was complete inaccessibility.

Furthermore, regarding the funding of NGOs, one can observe different situations depending on 1) funding source and form; 2) financial capacity; and 3) main areas of appropriation. In regards to identifying their funding sources, international NGOs can be divided into constrained and unconstrained. Some organizations especially the ones under the umbrella of political parties and government agencies are legally bound to receive funding from government

only e.g.: German political foundations and IRI. Whereas, most other organizations including The Asia Foundation, Amnesty International, World Vision, ADRA, NLM can have multiple sources of funding. This ability to identify funding sources depends on charter, goals, objectives, and principles of the organization.

There can also exist two types by funding planning units in international NGOs according to their organizational structure like separate independent organization, independent organization with umbrella coordination, confederations, federations, unitary, corporate organizations: centrally planned and non-centrally planned. In centrally planned organizations, headquarters controls the income and expenditure of its branch offices, and branch offices only receive their funding from its headquarters. This limits the possibility of receiving other funding, grants and contributions from other sources. This type applies to FLOM, AIFO, Peace Winds of Japan, and International Assistance Organization. On the contrary, World Vision, ADRA, Help, and Good Neighbours can receive funding not only from their headquarters but also from other sources, thus they can be relatively flexible. This financial flexibility gives an organization more opportunities to broaden its activities, widen connections, increase financial capability, and encourage and mobilize internal initiatives, with more autonomy to develop their own programs separate from the international headquarters. The Asia Foundation, ADRA, and World Vision are good examples of this.

About seventy percent of Mongolian citizens view international NGOs as financially very strong and wealthy entities according to public opinion surveys. To clarify, considering their financial capability, I compared the expenditures of some organizations in the fiscal year of 2003. From the comparison, one could easily see the disparities of expenditures among international NGOs in Mongolia. There is 33:1 ratio between highest (World Vision: 6,654,000) and lowest (Sunrise Educational Center: 20,000) expenditures. Financial capability will be crucial in defining the scope of activities of an organization. However, there are constant tendencies of increase or decrease due to internal management, foreign relations, attitude of primary funding source, and achievements of an organization.

As mentioned earlier, information about the funding of international NGOs and their spending is generally closed to the public, except for a few organizations. Although international NGOs are obliged to provide the Ministry of Justice and Home Affairs with annual reports including financial reports, the

latter are rarely specified in detail. Organizations in categories L1 and L2, usually publish and deliver their annual brief reports, but not their financial reports which will be delivered to a narrow circle of their own partners and donors. Organizations of other categories rarely make their reports public but give access to a few necessary organizations.

Table 3 - Common strategies and program characteristics

Extent of activity	Common strategies and program characteristics
LARGE (L).	Policy lobbying Partnership with government Long term program Community based development Work nationwide
MEDIUM (M).	Relief Direct service provision Partnership with local government Short term projects
SMALL (S).	Short term projects Direct service provision Working in small areas Centralize on basic human needs

Legally, most NGOs, as non-membership organizations, are accountable to their trustees, who often exercise a very light hand in governance (Tandon, 9). But morally (in accordance with values of participation and empowerment) and in terms of their wider claims to legitimacy, they are accountable to other constituencies, most obviously to beneficiaries (Edwards and Hulme, 1995). Even though not obligatory, if they provide the public with their reports, it would create more opportunities to closely cooperate with public, correct public perception of their operations, and build public support. Otherwise, absence of accountability to the recipient community or public would make have the likelihood of ineffective or illegitimate actions by an organization. Surprisingly, some relief organizations were concerned that their workload will increase beyond

their capacity if the public starts to engage.¹ That may be just one reason of the absence of accountability. Moreover, according to my interviews with INGOs and government officials, INGOs often seek to avoid “downwards” accountability². The truth about the local condition and INGOs performances in Mongolia must be told as same as in both donor and recipient communities. “Success stories” about the operations in Mongolia in the donor communities also should be told in the recipient community. That means, international NGOs in Mongolia need to be accountable not only “upwards” to their trustees or donors, but “downwards” to their partners, beneficiaries, supporters, and staff.

Relief and development

A large portion of expenditures of INGOs in Mongolia goes to the poverty alleviation and relief. The biggest ones, in terms of their extent of activity and size of funding, like World Vision, Mercy Corps, JCS, Save the Children, and ADRA have been working in this field since the mid 1990s. And there are many other medium and small size organizations implementing various projects on relief, poverty alleviation, development training, and provision of basic human needs.

In comparison, the strategy and implementation of programs of the INGOs have common trends in relation to their respective category (see Table Three). The strategy for alleviating poverty and development and activities based on it are determined by complex factors including the organization’s core values, emerging problems within society, financial capacity, donors’ and headquarters’ preferences, local socio-economic situations and personal attitudes. In addition, the organization’s views on ways to alleviate the symptoms of poverty and underdevelopment are crucial for their formulation of policies. Despite limited capacity, many organizations spend as much time as they can, trying to alleviate the conditions of poverty. However, the root causes of poverty aren’t understood in every organization. Consequently, they will try to temporarily alleviate the symptoms of it. In addition, there is a view that NGOs pass through distinct generations along an evolutionary path. (Korten) Beginning as agents that provided emergency and relief aid and only temporarily alleviated the

¹ This account is based on author’s interviews with D.Burenbat (NLM) and Ts.Ouyngere (Catholic Church Mission)

² I interviewed directors and managers of 27 international NGOs in Mongolia involved in many different kinds of activities. I interviewed with D.Bolormaa, an officer of the department of foreign affiliates and citizens in the Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs of Mongolia.

symptoms of poverty, NGOs have evolved into broader development institutions that support community development activities and emphasize self-reliance. The third-generation agencies would be less directly involved in implementing projects acting rather as catalysts. As a part of these third-generation agencies, most “large” level organizations often have distinctive strategies and tactics to alleviate the poverty covering large areas and numbers of people. The clear example of this is World Vision’s program on establishing child and family information centers, area development program, and child sponsorship programs. The organization pursues the child-centered development model, which is based on its holistic transformational development concept. (World Vision, 2003) It integrates and involves initiatives in health, education, agriculture, water, infrastructure, leadership development, gender, and income generation according to communities’ own needs and priorities. It is run over 10 to 15 years life span and usually targets the poorest areas in the country. It is directly covering over ten *aimag* and four districts of the capital city. In contrast, Mercy Corp’s principles state that enduring change comes only when communities themselves take charge of their future and implement a rural economic growth program in the Gobi regions (Mercy Corps, 2003). One of Mongolia’s central tasks is to ensure that rural Mongolians are not left behind as the economy continues to grow. To that end, Mercy Corps’ Gobi regional economic growth initiative supports the growth and development of the rural economy centering on agriculture and small business development, rural financial services, and access to accurate market information.

Many other organizations try to contribute to the alleviation of poverty and solving emergency problems in the society through their specific programs and activities. “Small” level organizations make extensive efforts to reach the poorest and vulnerable parts of the society and help them survive. But the question is how these efforts are connected with long-term effects on people’s lives. Not employing any concepts or long-term strategy against poverty, their efforts would have only transitory role in the development process, thus it is necessary to rethink and reformulate their concepts of assistance.

International development NGOs also differ in terms of their affiliation and philosophical orientation, although they all share a basic concern for alleviating global poverty (Gorman, 1984). Many INGOs are religiously affiliated - notable examples are World Vision, the Finnish Lutheran Mission (FLOM), the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM), the Catholic Church Mission, Help International, ADRA, Global Ministries and JCS, to name a few. Of those INGOs

that are religiously based, some have purely programmatic concerns, while others combine relief and development activities with a strong sense of missionary evangelism. Obviously, in certain situations, Mongolians are often reluctant to work with the latter if the evangelistic aspect is seen to be the primary motivation. In most cases, people will seek assistance from such INGOs with the understanding that the primary aim is to provide assistance. In other cases, people may be unconcerned about the proselytization aspect of evangelistic INGOs.

If it is appropriate to highlight the distinctive nature and philosophy of religious organizations, then some discussion of the kinds of programmatic activities that such organizations have been engaged in may also be helpful. The fact that many religiously oriented INGOs work directly through their indigenous counterparts minimizes the perception of external intervention (Gorman, 1984). Moreover, because many of the church missions are in remote areas, they are rarely seen as a threat and, in fact, are often viewed as a positive source of rural development assistance that may reduce pressures on the government to reallocate its own domestic resources.

As shows in the nationwide survey on public opinion about International NGOs in Mongolia conducted by the author, Mongolians have very strong feelings that foreign religious organizations may have a negative spiritual impact on Mongolian people, especially young ones. Even if we consider that most INGOs do not teach religious doctrines to their recipients, there is much concern among Mongolians on the issue. It is because of lack of information about them among ordinary people and that many people just cannot differentiate them from Christian churches or missionaries. Admittedly, few INGOs have a strong sense of missionary evangelism and they try to make the poorest people leave the suffering conditions of poverty by giving material and spiritual help. Motivated by biblical words – “Love God with all your heart and love your neighbour as yourself” and with deep hope that they are doing God’s work in Mongolia, these organizations often work with the poorest of the poor and vulnerable children. Living with street children in their real living condition, teaching them to follow God’s heart, helping them to live with others normally, and feeling the people’s suffering themselves motivate the organizations’ staff³. Their activities are also fulfilling basic human needs of the recipient population which are often left out of government programs. But, in conceptual terms, they are seen to not have a wide view of the poverty situation in the society.

³ Author’s interview with Axel Fisher (Help International Mongolia).

Unfortunately, the impact and role of these organizations in their working areas have not been studied or evaluated before. Furthermore, the organizations themselves do not provide self-evaluation and impact assessment often.

One can see that most successful INGOs in Mongolia, in terms of their scope and extent of activity, are those that are affiliated with Christianity. Clear examples of this are World Vision, JSC International, NLM, and ADRA. Nowadays, as the public opinion survey shows, World Vision is the most familiar international NGO among Mongolians with the exception of the former Soros Foundation.

A number of secular INGOs also exist, and they also have humanitarian motives, but lack a denominational or religious affiliation. Among these are Save the Children, Mercy Corps, PACT, CAMDA, Peace Winds Japan, Food for the Hungry, Vision International, AIFO, and International Service organization. Usually, these groups tend to view relief and development situations as technical and material enterprises aimed at alleviating suffering. The spiritual needs of recipient population are left to others. This philosophical orientation has advantages in those cases where governments may be sensitive to cultural intervention or religious interference. (Robert F.Gorman, 50) But on the other hand, secular INGOs lack the built-in constituencies that church-based INGOs have for soliciting resources. While differences between secular and religious INGOs do exist, it should be emphasized that they need not overshadow the common concerns and values that NGOs share.

Moreover, greater stability on commodity prices, broadened access to developed country markets, an improved balance of payments ledger in favor of developing countries, a more manageable external debt, and reduced unemployment are issues beyond the scope of INGOs even though they have direct bearing on the development context in which INGOs activities occur. But all development NGOs need a clear philosophy of development. From that philosophy may flow resource allocations and program activities. If development efforts are to improve the quality of life of the poor—a theme common to most—then defining such efforts could be influenced by a philosophy of social change, which takes seriously the structural nature of poverty.

INGOs are typically in control of the disbursement of funds and services, and although they clearly attempt to maintain a working, cooperative relationship with the host government, they constitute a vehicle through which development assistance can be channeled while essentially bypassing local government. Hence, in those cases where host governments have not

assiduously promoted the basic needs of their poorest people through domestic remedies, INGOs are in a position to ensure that some resources are channeled into areas previously ignored by governments (Gorman, 49). For a variety of budgetary and practical reasons, many INGOs have focused both on disaster relief and long-term development projects. Disaster relief projects are seen as temporary and emergency operations, the crisis proportions of which ultimately diminish leaving the host country and INGOs with long-term questions of development. As Gorman wrote (1984), refugee and disaster operations make headlines, thus easing the task NGOs face in earning aid dollars from what is more typically inattentive public in regard to longer term development issues. For this reason, many INGOs in the development business are reluctant to be involved in relief exclusively.