Cross-case Analysis of International NGOs

**Pioneering Human Services Non-Governmental Organizations
in Developing Countries: A Cross-Case Analysis**

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ABSTRACT

Based on fifteen case studies of pioneering human services NGOs operating in developing countries, this cross-case analysis explores the relationships between the historical evolution, management structures, program focus and fund-raising strategies of these agencies. The historical evolution of NGOs has a significant influence on their program focus and management structures over time. NGOs that focus primarily on relief activities often reflect centralized management structures and tend to rely on bilateral funding. In contrast, NGOs that combine relief, development and advocacy programs usually operate with decentralized management structures based on a diversity of funding sources that helps to maintain a sense of organizational independence and sustainability.

INTRODUCTION

The history of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century when they played an important role in the anti-slavery movement. However, the term NGO was first used in a 1950 United Nations (UN) resolution where NGOs were defined as "any international organization that is not founded by an international treaty" (Ajibade, 2008). Since the founding of the UN in 1945, the number of INGOs has increased from approximately 1,000 to over 60,000 in 2007 and the number of national NGOs operating in developing countries exceeds a million (Davies, 2008). Today INGOs focus on a wide range of activities that include economic development, social development, disaster relief and advocacy. They can be divided into two groups: 1) service delivery NGOs and 2) advocacy NGOs. While service delivery NGOs implement projects directly or through partners in developing countries, advocacy NGO promote a specific cause by creating awareness, acceptance and change.

The literature on NGOs has proliferated over the past several decades (Davies, 2008; Bradshaw and Schafer, 2000). The topics covered include: NGO programs and their impact (Riddell and Robinson, 1995; Saunier, 2009), women entrepreneurship (Handy, Kassam, Ranade, 2002), adult education (Nordhaug, 1990), HIV/AIDS and alcohol-related issues (Butschi, & Cattacin, 1995), youths issues (Pedersen, 1973), and population control (Kyong-Dong, 1975). The literature also addresses management issues (Hailey and James, 2004; Korten, 1990), managerial style & organizational climate (Fabio, 2003), the role and responsibilities of board of directors (Iecovich, 2004; Harris, 1989), human resource and organizational development (Onyx, Jenny; Maclean & Madi, 1996 and James, 2004), funding (Bradshaw and Schafer, 2000; Foster & Meinhard, 2005; Osborne & Hems, 1995) and accountability in the non-

profit sector (Brown and Moore, 2001; Ebrahim, 2003). Case examples of specific international

NGOs are also provided, such as Plan International (McPeak, 1999), Save the Children (Gnaerig

& MacCormack, 1999) and OXFAM (Offenheiser, Holcombe, and Hopkins, 1999). Despite this

proliferation, a review of articles published in three major journals related to nonprofit

management in the human services (*Administration in Social Work, Nonprofit Management and

Leadership*, and *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*) revealed a limited amount of NGO

research on the historical evolution, management structures, program strategies and fund-raising

mechanisms.

   With the goal of overcoming this gap, the cases assessed in this cross-case analysis

reflect a wide range of diversity among NGOs in terms of their historical evolution, their

program activities, their management and governance structures and their funding strategies. The

case studies were developed by a group of graduate students and two post-doctoral researchers at

the School of Social Welfare at the University of California at Berkeley. The NGOs selected for

this analysis represent different regions of the world and can be categorized as follows: 1)

international NGOs (ActionAid, Oxfam, International Medical Corps, ATD Fourth World,

International Rescue Committee, YWCA, Care and Women Rescue Commission), 2) regional

NGOs (CAMFED, Un Techo Para Mi País, Africare and BRAC) and 3) national NGOs

(AFROFAM, TAC South Africa, and Dompet Dhuafa). While all of them provide human

services, their missions vary from short-term emergency relief services to long-term

development programs. The ages of the organizations range from 11 years to more than 150

years, their geographical coverage varies from one country to 122 countries, and their annual

budgets range from $1.9 million to $535 million. The purposive sample of NGOs was developed

to address diversity (geographic, scope, funding) and student interest or experience with the organization. The list of NGOs is located in Appendix A.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The historical context in which these international organizations emerged heavily influences their current mission. Some organizations were established to provide relief to the refugees or survivors of war (e.g., IRC, Oxfam, and CARE-India during World War II, BRAC originated during Bangladesh Liberation war and IMC during the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan) and relief work continues to be their main focus even after the passage of several decades. Other NGOs were established to provide comprehensive health care services to people facing epidemics like HIV/AIDS (e.g., AFROFAM and TAC) or to provide educational services (e.g., CAMFED and ActionAid). Some NGOs are rooted in faith-based organizations (e.g., Dompet Dhuafa and YWCA) while others emerged out of feminist struggles (e.g., YWCA and ATD Fourth). More than half of the organizations were established in developed northern hemisphere countries by individuals who continued to influence the management of the organization for several years (e.g., Africare, ATD Fourth, IMC, CAMFED) or by groups of concerned citizens in both the northern and southern hemispheres (e.g., BRAC, YWCA, WRC, Un Techo Para Mi País, AFROFAM, TAC, South Africa, CARE-India, Oxfam, IRC, Dompet Dhuafa, and ActionAid). All organizations have grown over time and the organizations established in the northern hemisphere have expanded their services in many developing countries. However, the organizations emerging in the developing countries grew more gradually within their own country before expanding into other developing countries.

PROGRAMS

Some of the organizations are engaged primarily in emergency relief and rehabilitation work (e.g., IRC, IMC and WRC). Other organizations engaged in both development and emergency relief work (e.g., CARE-India, Dompet Dhuafa, Africare, BRAC and ActionAid). Some organizations have a single focus (e.g., AFROFAM on reproductive health services, TAC on HIV/AIDS, Un Techo Para Mi País (A Roof for my Country) on shelter and CAMFED on education) whereas others have a multi-program focus (e.g., BRAC, CARE-India, Action-Aid, Oxfam, Africare, ATD Fourth, and YWCA). While all the organizations are involved in service delivery, some combine advocacy with service delivery (e.g., YWCA advocating for women's right and Oxfam advocating against policies that perpetuate poverty).

Types of programs

Emergency relief programs: More than half the organizations are engaged in providing emergency relief during natural disasters or conflicts where the services include food relief, health care, psychological support, water & sanitation services, asylum and detention services, disabilities services, and sustainable economic livelihood programs. ActionAid and CARE-India also work on disaster risk reduction programs to build up community preparedness. Besides providing emergency services, some emergency relief organizations like ActionAid also undertake advocacy work in such areas as reforming the humanitarian sector, climate change and conflict resolution.

Economic development programs: Most of the organizations engaged in development work focus on economic empowerment, livelihood enhancement and micro-credit programs. BRAC has a very comprehensive economic development program which includes microfinance, institution building, income generating activities and economic enterprises. To ensure long-term sustainable livelihoods after an emergency, some of the relief organizations have also developed

different strategies; for example, the IRC's economic recovery and development program for conflict-affected youth, WRC's Building Livelihoods Field Manual for Practitioners in Humanitarian Settings and Africare's food security programs.

Social development programs: All the organizations in this cross-case analysis operate social development programs, mainly in the fields of health and education. A wide range of health care services are provided by the organizations, including preventive and basic health care services, child care services, nutrition, mental health, disability, comprehensive reproductive health care services and HIV/AIDs services. Organizations like BRAC and CARE-India have extensive nutritional programs, AFROFAM focuses exclusively on reproductive health and TAC South Africa emphasizes HIV/AIDS services. The NGOs that provide education services include non-formal education programs, education for girls, early childhood education, health education program and the construction of schools and university. For example, CAMFED focuses exclusively on educating girls and BRAC emphasizes informal education of the most disadvantaged populations.

Advocacy: Many of the NGOs adopt advocacy roles to influence public policy or change public attitudes. For example, the YWCA advocates for the rights of women, CAMFED advocates for gender equality and the rights of girls to an education, Oxfam advocates for reducing poverty, Action-Aid advocates for community-based problem-solving and TAC advocates for greater access to HIV health care services. All of these rights-based approaches emphasize the social, economic, political, and civil rights of people around the world.

Implementation Strategies

The organizations in this cross-case analysis have adopted different implementation strategies to ensure the sustainability of their programs. BRAC uses the concept of "village

organizations" (an association of 45-50 women from the same village) in all its programs to promote sustainable development of the rural poor, with particular emphasis on women. To increase outreach and ensure effective service delivery of the programs, many organizations like CARE-India, Action Aid, and Oxfam enter into partnership with local groups, community-based organizations and national NGOs. International Medical Corps recruits and trains local community people to provide emergency health services so that the skills and knowledge remain with people even after the programs have ended. International Rescue Committee, through its Civil Society Development programs, strengthens the capacity of local community service organizations to ensure long-term sustainable solutions to conflict-related issues. Some organization collaborate with the government to increase access to local resources and coverage (e.g., CARE-India has been implementing the Integrated Child Development Scheme of the government of India since 1982; BRAC has collaborated with the government of Bangladesh to provide nutrition and populations services; AFROFAM collaborates with the government of Guatemala to increase outreach for its health services).

CROSS-CUTTING THEMES EMERGING FROM THE FINDINGS

Poverty alleviation: Poverty reduction is one of the key underlying objectives of NGOs in the developing countries. Oxfam, Action-Aid, Care-India and BRAC focus on the root cause of the poverty by developing comprehensive interventions. BRAC has adopted an integrated development approach in rural Bangladesh to tackle poverty; Care-India and ActionAid have adopted community-level service delivery programs targeting women, girls and marginalized groups and the Credit and Savings for Household Enterprise program of CARE-India helps participants to acquire viable livelihood. YWCA focuses on the issue of feminization of poverty through advocacy, Dompet Dhuafa uses Islamic welfare beliefs to combat poverty, Un Techo

Para Mi País addresses poverty in urban slums by providing shelters n, and ATD Fourth World conducts research on poverty to promote awareness.

Involvement of women: Most organizations demonstrate a strong commitment to gender issues. YWCA has been promoting women's right for over 150 years; WRC provides specialized services for refugee women during conflicts and CAMFED promotes the education of girls. Oxfam and ActionAid are strongly committed to the empowerment and protection of women's rights. Women and girls have also been the primary focus of anti-poverty approach of BRAC and CARE-India. BRAC has been able to help women identify opportunities for new sources of income like sericulture, poultry, fishery and agro forestry. TAC and AFROFAM also promote gender equity in the area of health services.

Innovation and replication: The issue of innovation and replicability has gained prominence with the growth of NGOs. The education and economic programs designed by BRAC have not only been replicated throughout Bangladesh but also throughout other developing nations. The low cost housing developed by Un Techo Para Mi País in Chile reflects innovation, replicability and flexibility made it possible for many other countries in Latin America to adopt this service model. The emergency medic training designed by IMC is not only innovative and replicable but also fosters self-reliance. Other programs with strong potential for replicability include the Islamic welfare principles used by Dompet Dhuafa in Indonesia, the street libraries concept of ATD Fourth World, the social marketing program developed by AFROFAM and the Community-based Orphan care, Protection and Empowerment program created by Africare.

Universal versus targeted programs: Universal programs benefit all sections of the populations regardless of their background. Targeted program are tailored specifically to cater to

a particular section, group or community. While most of the programs operated by NGOs in this cross-case analysis are universal, only two organizations operate targeted programs; namely, Dompet Dhuafa with its focus on the Muslim community and CAMFED with its emphasis on educating girls.

Relationships with the government: The relationship between NGOs and governments can be both collaborative and adversarial. For example, the work of CARE-India illustrates a collaborative relationship with the government of India in providing local services. BRAC also maintains a collaborative relationship with the government of Bangladesh by participating in programs related to health, nutrition and population control. TAC, CAMFED and Africare also seek to maintain collaborative relationships with local governments. In contrast, NGOs that engage in advocacy work against government policies sometimes develop adversarial relationships with the government. While many of the NGOs in this cross-case analysis maintain an advocacy role, it is rare that they engage in adversarial relationships with local governments.

Inter-Agency collaboration: NGOs enter into partnerships with other NGOs to increase their outreach, reduce program duplication, ensure effective resource utilization and enhance sustainability. Most organizations in this study also maintain partnerships with other NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs). Some organizations also collaborate with UN agencies in the form of consultative relationships (e.g., YWCA, ATD Fourth).

MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

The NGOs in this cross-case analysis reflect a wide variety of management structures depending on their: 1) geographical coverage, 2) size and complexity of operations, 3) program approach, 4) degree of representativeness, and 5) fundraising strategies. The management

structures become more complex as we move from NGOs working in one sector in one country (e.g., APROFAM) to NGOs working globally in multiple sectors (e.g.,Oxfam). NGOs that focus mainly on service delivery and raise funds locally have simpler management structures from those with complex structures that combine service delivery with advocacy, capacity-building and research and raise funds globally. Based on these factors, the agencies can be classified in the following four categories: 1) national NGOs, 2) centralized international volunteer-based NGOs, 3) centralized international professionally-led NGOs, and 4) decentralized international professionally-led NGOs.

National NGOs

At the simplest levels, the national NGOs vary in their management structures by their degree of representativeness (membership vs. professional) and geographical and sectoral characteristics. For example, since TAC is a membership-based NGO, it has a formal representative structure with branches that serve as the basic unit. Each province has a provincial executive committee while a national executive committee is the primary decision-making body within TAC. National leaders are nominated by branches and elected at a national congress every two years. TAC also created six district offices to help branches take on ever greater roles and to relieve the overload on provincial offices. On the other hand, APROFAM is not membership-based, and its board members are not elected but selected on the basis of their commitment and expertise, and include doctors, professors and businessmen rather than community members. APROFAM initially operated only in Guatemala City with multiple offices. Beginning in 1980 APROFAM opened three regional offices to manage the delivery of services outside the capital city.

Due to its rapid growth, Dompet Dhuafa evolved over time from a relatively simple to a complex organization. In the beginning (1993 and 1994), the organization was managed on a part-time basis by several journalists of the Jakarta-based *Republika* daily newspaper. In 1994 it was established formally as a separate community foundation. The corporate structure of the organization includes three layers: 1) the Board of Advisors and the Board of Islamic Law, 2) the executive management team, and 3) the service and administrative teams. The board members are community leaders representing different specialized fields and constituencies and serve on a voluntary basis. The Board of Advisors advises on governance, program policies and finance, while the Board of Islamic Law provides advice on Islamic jurisprudence. The executive management team is responsible for implementing policies and programs and consists of a Chief Executive Officer, a Corporate Secretary, a Treasurer, and three divisional managers. Working under the three divisions, the frontline staff members are responsible for implementing activities related to fundraising, social services, and community development.

Centralized International Volunteer-based NGOs

The ATD Fourth World operates mainly by placing volunteers in communities around the world. This allows the NGO to maintain a relatively streamlined international management structure using a General Delegation comprised of three people who ensure world-wide coordination of the organization's work and are elected by volunteers who have been working with the organization for five years or more. The choice of General Delegation is then presented for approval at the Administrative Counsel of the organization. The General Delegation is aided by six regional delegations that support work in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, Asia, Europe, and the Indian Ocean. Each of these delegations coordinates the actions

of the organization in one region and contributes to exchanges between different countries and with the General Delegation. Projects in each country are managed by national associations.

The World YWCA is an international coalition of 122 national YWCA organizations that engages in international advocacy, organizational fund and resource development, leadership development, and volunteer recruitment. The more complex nature of operations necessitates a three-tiered management structure (e.g., international, national and local). The World YWCA board, based in the USA, sets standards regarding purpose, governance, membership, programs and advocacy, human resources and financial management. In addition to developing an organizational constitution for all member YWCAs, the board organizes regular international conferences, advocacy, and fundraising events. The national association is responsible for representing the interests of the different local associations in meetings sponsored by World YWCA. It is governed by a council that consists of the presidents, directors and representatives of the different local associations. This national council is responsible for providing significant support to local YWCA's including leadership training, exchanges of knowledge and skills between the various local associations, emergency relief, expansion of services and geographic reach, partnerships for collaboration and funding and advocacy for the human rights of women. Each local association also has its own board of directors that is responsible for overseeing agency policy and bylaws, fund development, and other forms of resource building. These boards are comprised of representatives of the communities that they serve with respect to age, socioeconomic status, and education. There has also been a gradual shift in power from northern to southern hemisphere members within the organization.

Centralized International Professionally-led NGOs

Several international NGOs locate their international management structure in their global headquarters due to limited geographical spread at the fundraising or service delivery levels. For example, Africare works only in Africa and raises money from donors only in the USA. Thus, it manages its field offices from Washington D.C. and all its international staff are based there. It has a governing body consisting of eighteen board members including two honorary members and one ex officio member. The role of the board members includes providing advice and leadership related to investing, finance, fund-raising, and oversight of the executive leadership. In the past 40 years, the number of Africare staff has grown from 2 to 40+ at headquarters in Washington, DC and more than 1,000 in the 36 sub-Saharan countries where Africare operates.

CAMFED in Zimbabwe was launched through the fundraising efforts of Ann Cotton (who later became its executive director) to support the education of girls Cotton formalized her efforts in 1993 by founding the Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED) in both the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. CAMFED's strategy of partnering with local schools and encouraging community involvement only requires a small staff of about 100 employees where over 60% of its staff is African and each branch is led by locals from their respective countries. The organization's five branches include: 1) CAMFED International (the headquarters of the organization is located in the UK); 2) CAMFED Zimbabwe (the lead African branch); 3) CAMFED USA (a fundraising, advocacy, and program development branch); 4) CAMFED Zambia; and 5) CAMFED Tanzania. An international Advisory Board supports the organization as a whole and each branch is supported by a board of trustees. This diverse advisory board structure includes academics, African chiefs, and celebrities. CAMFED's highest-level managers

comprise an international decision-making body referred to as the Executive Team that meets twice a year and regularly holds conference call meetings.

BRAC originated as a national NGO in Bangladesh that subsequently expanded to other developing countries. BRAC is currently evolving its governance structure to operate as a global organization and has started the internationalization of the board. The long term objective is to set up the global organization in Netherlands and the eight countries where it currently operates will become its partner. Until the transition is complete, the central governing body of BRAC Bangladesh maintains oversight of global operations with a governing board of thirteen members. Apart from the Chief Executive Officer, Fazle Hasan Abed who is the founder of BRAC, all other members of the governing body are volunteers who have distinguished themselves in business and the professions, possess an anti-poverty perspective and bring diverse skills and experiences to the governing of BRAC. The executive team consists of one Chief Executive Officer, one Adviser, one Executive Director, three Deputy Executive Directors and twelve Directors who manage various departments and programs.

The International Medical Corps Worldwide is an alliance between two independent affiliate organizations: International Medical Corps USA and International Medical Corps UK. With headquarters in the United States and the United Kingdom, the two affiliates collaborate to maximize resources for the delivery of appropriate relief activities. International Medical Corp's governing body consists of sixteen members. There are four additional members of the Board of Trustees that are from the U.K. Since the agency works in over fifty countries, the international management team consists of a CEO and regional directors who are all based in the USA.

The IRC also raises its funds primarily in the USA and UK where its international staff members are located. The international management team consists of a CEO and a Vice President of International Programs who has Regional Coordinators reporting for Africa and Asia, all of whom are based in the USA office. Over the last ten years, the IRC has provided technical support to country programs through the establishment of consulting units based in the New York and London offices that provide technical assistance, materials, methodologies and human resource support to country programs.

Decentralized International Professionaly-led NGOs

Lastly, there are three NGOs that have complex decentralized management structures and raise funds in more than ten developed countries, operate programs in more than 35 developing countries, combine service delivery with advocacy and capacity building and undertake programs in a wide range of program areas. Consequently, these NGOs have large field-based regional offices with significant management and technical capacities.

Actionaid consists of ten fund-raising offices in developed countries that are affiliated under Actionaid International. The overall governance body of the agency is the International Assembly which consists of two members nominated by each affiliate and one member nominated by each associate (defined as country programs in the process of becoming affiliates) and meets once a year to review and approve the annual report and plans and the five-year strategies. The Assembly elects a nine-member International Board of Trustees that meets four times a year to undertake governance-related decision-making. The Trustees appoint the CEO and other International Directors. The main operational units in Actionaid International are: 1) ten fund-raising and advocacy affiliates in the North (UK, USA, Australia, Ireland, Greece, Italy,

France, Sweden, Denmark and Netherlands), 2) 35 country programs in Asia (10), Africa (21)

and Americas (4), and 3) an International Secretariat consisting of the CEO, twelve Directors,

international teams for each of the six themes related to finance, human resources, internal audit,

impact assessment, communications, and marketing. The country programs are managed by four

Regional Directors (for Asia, Americas, West-Central Africa and South-East Africa), while the

affiliates report to both the Regional director and their national boards under a matrix

management structure, with the boards possessing greater authority.

CARE International (CI) is a confederation composed of twelve national members, each

being an autonomous non-governmental organization in its own right. CI Members in North

America, Europe, Asia and Australia carry out a range of project-related, advocacy, fundraising,

and communications activities in support of CARE's relief and development programs in over 65

countries worldwide. The CI Secretariat is based in Geneva, Switzerland, with liaison offices in

New York and Brussels to work with the United Nations and the European institutions

respectively. Each CARE member is registered as a non-profit charitable organization according

to the laws of its own country and is regulated by these laws and its statutes. Governance

oversight is provided by a board of directors who serve as trustees. The management of each

CARE member operates under the leadership of the National Director and his/her senior

management team. For every country in which CARE operates, all programmes and projects are

implemented through a single integrated operational presence (called the Country Office) under

the leadership of the CARE country director. CARE members participate in country programs by

becoming involved in project development and implementation in the form of technical

assistance, financing, human resources and other types of support from the Country office. In all

cases, participation occurs within the context of the Country Office strategic plan and its program support structures.

Finally, Oxfam consists of 13 international affiliates, each representing a fund-raising and policy office in a developed country that constitute Oxfam International as a separate legal entity to coordinate the work of the 13 fund-raising Oxfams. The biggest of these 13 Oxfams is Oxfam GB that is headquartered in Oxford, UK with eight regional offices located all over the globe. While Oxfam GB is the largest affiliate, many of the other Oxfams operate with their own management and technical capacities. It is common in some countries for different Oxfam affiliates to be implementing their own separate programs.

<div align="center">FUNDRAISING</div>

The competition among NGOs for funding has increased significantly in recent years as a result of decreasing donor commitments and the increasing number of NGOs. As a result, NGOs have developed sophisticated strategies and marketing tools to diversify their funding sources. The main sources of NGO funding in the fifteen case studies consist of: 1) institutional donors (multilateral and bilateral), 2) private foundations, 3) individual and communities, 4) corporations and businesses, and 5) income-generating economic activities. On the other hand, the marketing tools include: 1) face-to-face relationship management with institutional donors, businesses and foundations, 2) media advertising, and 3) community outreach through mail, face-to-face meetings and guided tours of projects. The sources of funding and marketing strategies selected by any NGO depends on its historical evolution, the background of senior managers, the program appeal and approach and the management structure.

National NGOs

International NGOs were historically the main source of funding for national NGOs. However, as the size and capacity of national NGOs has increased, they have been able to get funding directly from international institutional donors and have also started raising funds locally. Thus, TAC lists institutional donors (e.g., the UK Government, US Agency for International Development, European Union, Ford Foundation) in addition to international NGOs (e.g., Oxfam and ActionAid). The vast majority of TAC's funding comes from foreign governments and non-profit organizations. Initially, APROFAM was almost entirely donor funded (e.g., US Agency for International Development, International Planned Parenthood Federation, Pathfinder Foundation, United Nations Population, Pan American Health Organization and World Health Organization. However, facing the reduction in donor funds and pressure to enhance its sustainability, APROFAM was forced to re-examine its strategies during the 1990s and overhaul its management systems to create a self-financed health care organization.

Similarly, *Dompet Dhuafa* developed a strategic fundraising approach to increase the collection of funds from diverse sources. As a faith-based NGO, the Islamic welfare funds collected by *Dompet Dhuafa* are comprised of the following five elements: 1) Islamic obligatory tax (*zakat)*; 2) Islamic voluntary giving (*infaq);* 3) religiously recommended (but not obligated) giving to family members (*shadaqah);* 4) the distribution of annual animal sacrifice *(qurban)*; and 5) endowment (*wakaf)*. However, its attachment to a daily newspaper (*Republika*) gives it a significant fundraising advantage over conventional NGOs as the newspaper promotes its mission and programs and helps build its image among the general public beyond immediate territorial and ideological boundaries. In the late 1990s, *Dompet Dhuafa* created a Marketing Division responsible for promoting programs to individuals, organizations and corporations

through: 1) direct mail; 2) presentations and social events; 3) a discount program (with restaurants, boutique, bookstore, publishers, supermarket, retailers, a cell-phone company, and a cinema); 4) program fundraising and financing; 5) donor membership cards (*Kartu Ukhuwah*) and other marketing tools. After 2004, *Dompet Dhuafa* also established joint programs with several national and multi-national corporations as part of their corporate social responsibility programs that include collecting *zakat* payments from their Muslim employees.

International/Regional NGOs

For NGOs operated primarily by volunteers, the individual members were the initial source of funding. However, as the size of these organizations has increased over time, they have also started to reach out to institutional donors. For example, the YWCA is funded both internally as a membership organization and externally through donations and contracts to provide a stable revenue stream for the organization. The dues from over 25 million members from all over the world serve as a major source of funding for the various local activities. The membership base is made up of local associations, individuals and other organizations (including ecumenical partners who provide significant financial support for the organization's work). The association has also done a substantial amount of campaigning to address HIV and AIDS and promote leadership development (including its Power to Change matching fund that has considerably increased the resource base). Partnerships with and monetary awards from various UN departments have also played a significant role in the sustainability of the YWCA. The World YWCA has provided extensive training in resource development to national and local YWCAs related to donor identification and stewardship, partnering with donors, regional and sub-regional donors, and skills related to fundraising and proposal writing. Finally, the millions

of volunteers provide in-kind services that include daycare, sex education, case management for domestic violence victims, and vocational training,.

On the other hand, in ATD Fourth World, the Foundation *Aide à Toute Détresse* in France provides financial support to all of the ATD national associations. The association *Terre et Homme de Demain* provides administrative and financial support in every country outside of Europe and North America where ATD Fourth World is located. The sources of annual revenues (approximately $10 million Euros in 2004) include donations and legacies (approximately 50%), government funding (approximately 25%), interest on endowments (approximately 10%), and other sources (approximately 15%).

In contrast to NGOs composed primarily of volunteers, international professional NGOs are either dependent on institutional donors and large foundations or they rely on public funding supplemented by donor funding. For example, in 2008 about 56% of IMC's total public support and revenue consisted of contract and grant support and an additional 40% was comprised of donated medical supplies and services from donors. About 3.5% came from private contributions, and about .5% was earned through interest and dividend income.

Similarly, for much of its existence, IRC has been heavily dependent upon financial support from the government of the United States. In recent years, it has worked to broaden its funding base by establishing offices in the UK and Brussels to reach out to European donors and strengthen its relationship with foundations and wealthy donors. Increased fundraising has also allowed IRC to support people in distress after a crisis and to assist with long-term recovery. The Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) is affiliated with the IRC but the IRC does not provide any direct financial support. Almost 45% of WRC funds come through grants from foundations, United Nations and government and 55% comes from individual contributions and donations.

The other international NGOs have a more diverse funding base. For example, Africare's financial support comes from charitable foundations, multinational corporations and small businesses, the religious community, other private organizations, the U.S. government, foreign governments, international agencies and thousands of individuals. The annual revenue for the organization was approximately $ 50 million in 2009. In a similar way, most of the funding for UTPMP in Latin America comes through partnerships with businesses, international nonprofit foundations, individuals and special events. The families who benefit from low-cost housing also contribute around ten percent of the total value of the house. Of particular significance is the role of corporate support (e.g., Chevron in the form of a percentage of the money collected per each gallon of gas purchased at Texaco stations, the targeted support of LAN Airlines for the slum "Los Aromos" in Chile, and the expertise of the Deloitte consulting firm for the pro-bono annual financial audits).

CAMFED, a relatively small NGO with revenues of approximately $13 million in 2008, obtains the vast majority of its funding from a combination of trust and governmental grants. (approximately 51% from trusts and foundations 26% from governmental grants, 12% from individual donations, 7% from income-generating activities, 3% from corporations, and 1% from in-kind donations).

Almost 70% of ActionAid's funding comes from public donations through child sponsorships and donations by small foundations. While it has increased its funding from institutional donors in recent years, they represent a minority of its total funding so that it does not become too dependent on particular donors. In contrast, BRAC began with grants from international donors and over time has become increasingly self sufficient by establishing social enterprises that support other programs. Over the past 35 years, BRAC's budget grew from

$780,000 (100% of which was received as grants from donors) to $535 million in 2008 with only

27 % coming from donors and approximately 70% from self-financed social enterprises. The

significant role of social enterprises is also substantial for the support of Oxfam where the

majority of its funding comes from Fair Trade shops and public appeals.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This cross-case analysis of the origins, programs, management and finances of fifteen

NGOs around the world highlights their similarities and differences. These four dimensions of

the structures of NGOs are highly interrelated as illustrated in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

The factors that led to the establishment of an NGO continue to have a strong influence

on its programs, management structure and fund-raising approaches over the decades. For

example, IRC remains focused on refugees and displaced populations given its inception as an

resource for helping World War II refugees in Europe. Similarly, while Oxfam has expanded to

include development and advocacy work, its World War II beginnings with its focus on

emergency relief remains to this day as the most important aspect of its overall efforts.

The main focus of IMC's work three decades later continues to build upon the

experiences of its founder in Afghanistan during the 1980s by providing emergency services that

promote capacity building in the health arena. The evolution of Africare, YMCA and *Dompet*

Dhuafa as faith-based agencies means that a large proportion of their funding continues to come

through religious networks. In the area of management structures, it is clear that NGOs focused

only on emergency work (e.g., IRC and IMC) have centralized management structures based

mainly in the northern hemisphere where they are dependent on institutional donors that support

NGOs that focus on relief programs and community development respectively, described by Korten (1990) as first and second generation NGOs.

On the other hand, agencies that focus on long-term development work, advocacy and networking tend to have more decentralized structures based on a diversity of funding sources. These agencies can be characterized as third and fourth generation NGOs that focus on sustainable development and people's movements that utilize what Korten (1990) calls "international affiliation platforms" such as ActionAid, Oxfam and CARE. On the other hand, emergency-focused NGOs (e.g., IRC and IMC) have expanded their overseas presence to include an office in Europe to be eligible for funding from European Union governments.

In addition to the themes of historical evolution and management structures, it is important to note the relationship between donors and recipients given the array of donors and the diversity of recipient NGOs and their beneficiaries. The recipient NGOs include development-oriented and relief-oriented organizations (some organizations provide both types of services). The diversity of development-oriented NGOs includes large, formal, professional bureaucratic agencies with multimillion dollar budgets (e.g. Oxfam and BRAC) and small, single-focused, volunteer-based NGOs that operated with much smaller budgets (e.g., Un Techo Para Mi País, CAMFED and AFROFAM). The activities range from self-help to service provision at the community, population, national or international levels. In contrast, the relief-oriented organizations focus primarily on short-term emergency work related to the immediate responses to humanitarian needs during instability and disaster due to natural calamities or conflict situations. Some emergency relief organizations also undertake long-term development work (e.g., IRC, IMC and Dompet Dhuafa).

The primary goals of the NGO programs in this cross-case analysis are the alleviation of poverty and addressing the needs of women. The incidence of poverty in the developing countries is well documented and two-thirds of the poor in the world live in developing countries. Poverty alleviation is often the primary focus of NGOs involved in health care, education, agriculture, microfinance, economic livelihood and enterprise development (Riddell et al. 1995; Lewis, 1998). Similarly, it is increasingly clear that women are disadvantaged in the developing world and NGOs often seek to integrate women into the development process (Riddell et al. 1995). Many organizations like the YWCA and Oxfam are engaged as catalysts in fighting for the rights of women to address their needs while other NGOs provide services to promote the development of women through education, health and micro-credit programs (e.g., CARE-India, BRAC , CAMFED, AFROFAM) or support during emergencies (e.g. WRC and IMC).

In addition to managing programs, the literature clearly describes the complex issue of NGO sustainability (Brown and Korten, 1989), the limited replicability of programs (Riddell et al. 1995) and the limited management and planning capacities of NGOs (Korten, 1990). The major themes emerging in this cross-case analysis include: 1) innovation and replication, 2) relationship with government, 3) interagency collaborations, 4) types of emergencies, 5) volunteerism, and 6) relief-oriented medical services. With respect to sustainability and replicability (Edward & Humes, 1992; Riddell et al. 1995), three organizations in this study provide good examples of innovation and replications (e.g. BRAC, Un Techo Para Mi País and IMC). To deal with external challenges and expand outreach, most NGOs have developed inter-agency partnerships with UN agencies. In the area of government-NGO relations (adversarial

and/or collaborative), CARE-India and BRAC engage in highly collaborative relationships with governments.

The significant amount of volunteer activity during and immediately after an emergency is well documented in the literature (Wolensky, 1979). The volunteers become the main source of emergency aid in the affected area where relief-oriented organizations (e.g., IRC and IMC) depend extensively on local volunteers as well as volunteers from all over the world to provide services. IMC provides health care training to local population to promote self-reliance and sustainability. Some development-oriented organizations (e.g. YWCA, Un Techo Para Mi País (UTPMP), and ATD Fourth) also rely on a strong volunteer base when it comes to dealing with natural calamities (e.g. famine, drought, flood, earthquake and tsunamis or conflict). The type of emergency defines the strategies of short-term and long-term relief operations related to food, shelter, and medical aid. The relief-oriented organizations in this study (e.g. IMC, IRC, and WRC) respond to all kinds of emergencies even though most of them began as organizations responding to the needs of war refugees.

Among the fifteen organizations in this study, five main categories of donors were identified and include: 1) individuals, 2) governments, 3) foundations and international organizations, 4) corporate and businesses, and 5) faith-based institutions. Individual donors include both individuals and members of membership organizations like YWCA. Grants from the government are another important source of assistance to the non-government organizations, especially those with headquarters in the northern hemisphere. Numerous foundations and international organizations based in the northern and southern hemisphere are primarily focused on providing financial assistance to NGOs that are engaged in development-oriented work. In the last two decades, corporations have increased their involvement with NGOs in relationship to

development initiatives (Fooley, 2004). Faith-based institutions have a long history of helping the poor and needy and are extensively engaged in human services programs directly or by supporting other NGOs. Figure 2 highlights a framework of relationships among the recipients and donors that emerged from the analysis.

[insert Figure 2 here]

The well-documented dependence of NGOs on external funding often leads to limitations on how funds can be spent. NGOs struggle to achieve financial sustainability in the midst of changing economic realities through different strategies (e.g. social enterprise, memberships, and social marketing) to address their own program priorities irrespective of donor preferences. For example, BRAC's strong social enterprise program includes the development of banks as well as a university that help to promote financial self-sustainability. With the rapid growth of aid to the NGOs over the past two decades, there has been increased interest in accountability and program effectiveness but very little research (Ebrahim, 2003; Brett, 1993). The limited research on NGO performance and accountability is reflected primarily in case studies (Edwards & Hulme 1995; Riddell et al. 1995; Farrington et al. 1993; Barr et al, 2004)   While most of the NGOs in this cross-case analysis seek to promote accountability, they do not describe or feature their efforts in the form of explicit mechanisms, with the exception of Actionaid.

CONCLUSION

This cross-case analysis highlights the complex relationships among the historical origins, management structure, program focus and fund-raising strategies of international human services NGOs operating in developing countries. Even though the historical origins of an agency continue to have an influence on its operations after many decades, international NGOs adjust their management structure and fund-raising strategies to better achieve their specific

program goals. NGOs that focus mainly on relief activities generally have centralized structures and depend mainly on funding from a few bilateral donors. On the other hand, agencies that combine relief, development and advocacy activities develop more decentralized management structures and a more diverse range of sources of funding to better support the more comprehensive nature of their activities. The key issues confronting NGOs, especially those engaged in development activities, are inter-agency collaboration, relationships with governments and innovation and replication. Their ability to address these issues ultimately determines the degree of NGO success.

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Appendix A

International NGOs operating globally

- ActionAid International: From a British Charity to a Major International NGO (1972-2009).
- ATD Fourth World: A Pioneering NGO Working All Together in Dignity (1955-2009)
- CARE-India (1950-2009)
- International Medical Corps: From Relief to Self-Reliance (1984-2009)
- International Rescue Committee: Providing Relief, Protection and Recovery Support in Conflicts (1933-2009)
- Oxfam International: Working for a Fairer World (1942-2009)
- Women's Refugee Services (1989-2009)
- World YWCA: Working Internationally to Promote Women-Led Social Change (1855-2009)

International NGOs operating regionally

- Africare (1970-2009)
- BRAC: A Pioneering Bangladesh Human Service Organization (1972-2009)
- Campaign for Female Education (Camfed), Zimbabwe (1993-2009)
- Un Techo Para Mi País (A Roof for my Country) (1997-2009)

National NGOs

- Association for Family Well-Being (Asociación Pro-Bienestar de la Familia): A Pioneering Guatemalan NGO (1964-2009)
- Dompet Dhuafa: A Pioneering Faith-based Human Service NGO in Indonesia (1993-2009)
- Treatment Action Campaign: South Africa Pioneering Human Service NGO (1998-2009)

Figure 1: Relationship among Key NGO Organizational Dimensions

Historical evolution
-Major conflict (e.g., WW2)
-Personal backgrounds,
experiences/travels of   founder
-Other factors

Programs

Types of programs:
-Emergency
-Development (Economic,
Social, Advocacy)
Program approaches:
-Poverty alleviation
-Involvement of women
-Innovation and replication
-Universal vs. targeted
-Relations with government
-Inter-agency collaboration

Management structure
-National NGOs
-International NGOs with
centralized structure
-International NGOs with
decentralized structure

Fundraising strategies

Institutional sources
-Bilateral donors
-Multilateral donors
-Private Foundations
-Religious institutions
-Corporations
Public sources
-Membership fees
-Child sponsorships
-Emergency appeals
-Mail donations
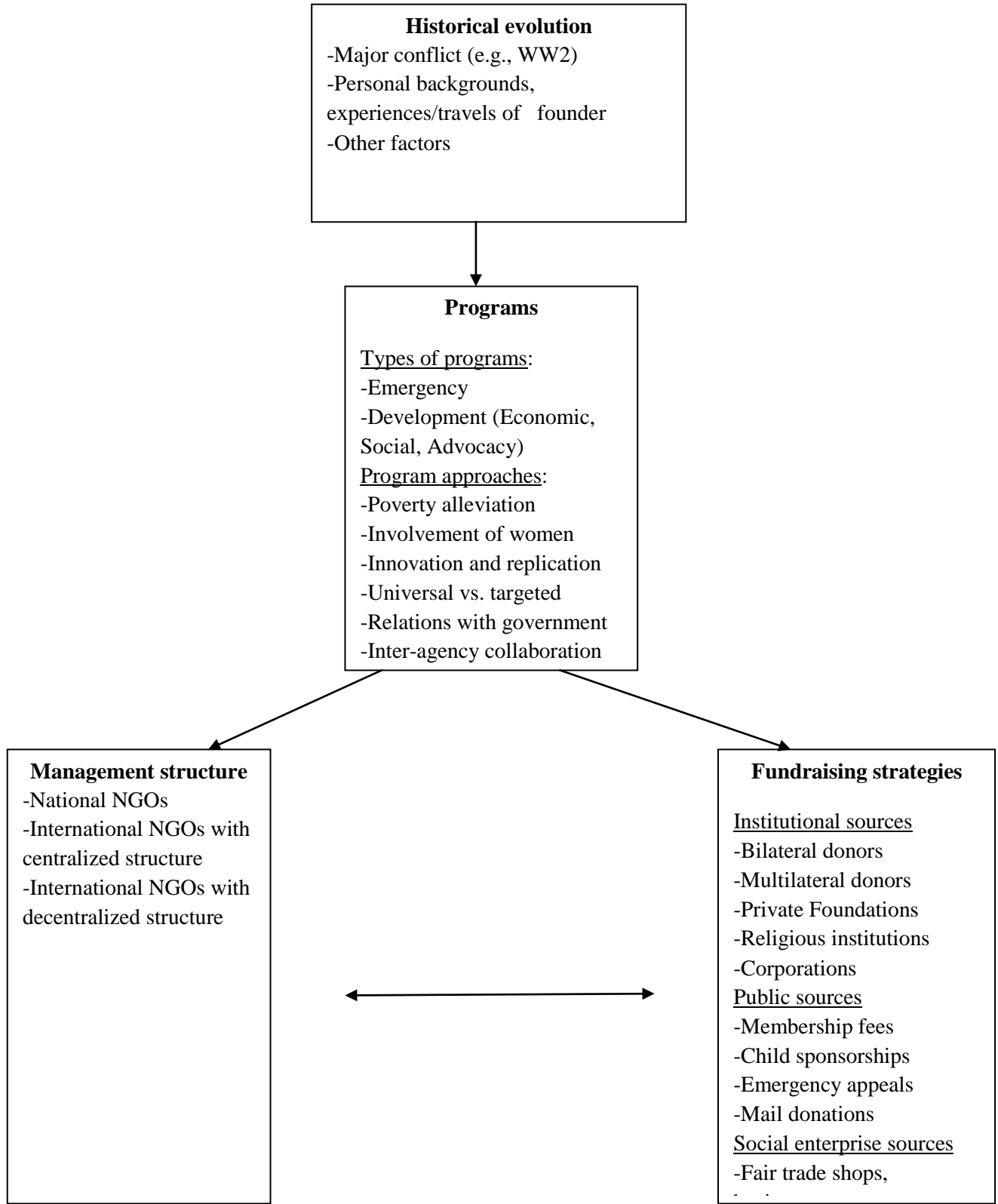Social enterprise sources
-Fair trade shops,

Figure 2:

Donor-recipient relationship among non-governmental organizations

Poverty

Targeted ←→ Women ←→ Universal

Volunteerism

Innovation and Replication

Medical Services

Relief-oriented organizations

Development-oriented organizations

Relations with government

Types of emergency

Inter-agency collaboration

Sustainability   Accountability

RECIPIENTS

DONORS

| Individuals | Foundations | Government | Corporation and business | Religious Institutions |