

The role of civil society organizations in Mongolia:

Redistributive policymaking

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Abstract

This paper explains and examines the case of Mongolian civil society role by focusing on the issue of how and to what extent civil society organizations influenced on the current redistributive policy making in Mongolia. To explain this issue, the outside initiative model proposed by Cobb, Ross and Ross (1976) helps us to understand the influence of civil society organizations on policymakers and redistributive policy making. For the analysis, process tracing method was applied with over 80 Mongolian media sources. The findings suggest that Mongolian civil society organizations made significant influence on setting redistributive policy agenda with its rapid expansion and various pressure actions.

Keywords: civil society, Mongolia, redistribution of resource, non-government organizations, policy making

Introduction

The topic pertaining to civil society has become much more pronounced around the world since the collapse of the Soviet Union late 1980s. In the Eastern Europe and Central Asia, with mass social movements for democracy, the virtue of civil society and civil organizations has been praised. From abundance of evidences we can see that civil movements in late 1980s played a crucial role in the process of democratization and further, nowadays, in the process of democratic consolidation. Perhaps, much of brilliant scholarly studies have been conducted since that time. The concept of civil society has been formulated in the works of Putnam (1993; 1995; 2001), Diamond (1994), Edwards (2004), Foley & Edwards (1996) and Fukuyama (2000).

Edwards (2004) in his book of *Civil Society* demonstrates civil society as an associational life that compromises all kinds of associations and networks between the state and family. This can be characterized by voluntary memberships in any kind of associations. Next, civil society as the good society, he argues that those who search for the good society must find their allies – and identify their enemies – whenever they can, among those elements of governments, business and associational life which share similar agenda (Edwards, 2004). In the last definition for civil society as a public sphere, he argues that civil society becomes the arena for argument and deliberation as well as for association and institutional collaboration (Edwards, 2004). With this line of concept of civil society, exhaustive studies have been conducted around the world in an academic sense and practical sense.

The role played by civil society in democratization and democracy consolidation has been evidenced in many works of different contexts. For instance, in Asian context, Kim's works (2000; 2002; 2008; 2009) on democracy and civil society in South Korea contributes much in understanding Korean civil society and its efforts to change the regime type in 1987 and further

efforts for better democracy. On the other part of world, in Eastern Europe, Lewis (1997) also emphasized the role played by the civil society movements in democratization process with its preconditions like crisis in the Soviet Union.

Hence, civil society understood in Western context began to be challenged. Di Palma (1991) argued that a civil society of sorts survived in Eastern Europe, not just as a conventional clandestine adversary but as a visible cultural and existential counter-image of communism's unique hegemonic project. Glenn (2001) attempted to re-conceptualize the notion of “civil society” based on the role played by the civil society in Eastern Europe. He conceptualized civil society as a master frame with which movement sought to mobilize popular support (Glenn, 2001).

The role of civil society organizations is not only limited to democratization, democracy, democratic consolidation, development, but also it accounts for its influence on policymaking and policy implementation. As reviewing literature on this theme, these issues can be related to the relationship between government and the NGOs in a broader scope. These relationships were framed by different aspects such as the organizational (Ramanath, 2009), management and partnership aspects (Brinkerhoff 1999; Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff 2002), typological aspect (Coston, 1998; Proulx and the colleagues, 2007), institutional preference aspect (Najam, 2003) resource dependence aspect (Saidel, 1991), collaboration aspects (Vigoda, 2002; Foster & Meinhard, 2002; Austin 2000).

In a narrower scope, Ballasiono & Chandler (2010) reviews the emerging role of non-profit organization for advocacy and public policy influence in the USA. They found that associations that have already secured and satisfied their members with strong participation could gain their participation in their respective state-policy arenas (Ballasiono & Chandler,

2010). Overall, some US non-profit organizations managed to play its role in public policy advocacy. While in this part of the world with mature democracy and associational life NGOs contribute public policymaking, in a nascent democracy of Eastern Europe, comparative analysis of policy influence by civil society organizations show that the political context significantly shapes civil society organizations- government interaction and favours informal links at the expense of a formalised policy role for civil society organizations (Fioramonti & Heinrich, 2007). This shows that in a nascent democracy, civil society organizations in post-communist countries tend to be embedded in more political context and might have little influence over the policy making and implementation. Hence, it is interesting to look at the case of Mongolian civil society movements and their influence on the policymakers.

There is still few studies on Mongolian civil society and its roles played in the democracy and the country's development. One of the few studies can be found on the role of civil society in Mongolia is the report by Dambadarjaa (2005). The report is very much practical by emphasizing the role of one civil society organization as to monitor public management performance, secondary education budget and social service quality. Some studies pertaining to NGOs in Mongolia has special focus on international NGOs within Mongolia. Byambajav (2006) demonstrates the increasing number of INGOs that estimate 116 by 2005. It was mentioned that statistically in 2004, 31.9% of international NGOs in Mongolia have their headquarters in USA and 13.8% in the Republic of Korea. What was the main argument was that those INGOs tend to be not open to local public as can be evidenced by the survey result. In the survey 42.1 per cent answered that INGOs are not open to the public. Studies in Mongolian context and civil society roles in Mongolia thus seem to be absent in the academic discourse of the social science. However, this is not the only rational to conduct this study.

This study attempts to demonstrate a case of civil society role in current Mongolian democracy. More specifically, the purpose of this case study is to explain and examine the role of civil society in Mongolia in search of the question “How did civil society organizations contribute to the current redistributive policymaking in Mongolian?” and “What was the pressure taken by civil society organizations to make a public agenda into a formal agenda?”

Brief on Mongolia’s background

Mongolia is the largest landlocked country sandwiched between Russia and China. It is located in Northern East Asia with territory of 1,564,116 sq km and population of 3,179, 997 as of July 2012, according to Central Intelligence Agency. The capital city is Ulaanbaatar where almost half of the population lives.

Historically, Mongolia is known by Chinggis Khaan who built Mongol Empire in 13th century across the East and Central Asia. Later in between 17th to 19th century Mongolia was ruled by Manchu Qin dynasty. In 1911, Mongolia declared its independence and, later in 1924, it established People’s Republic with the support of Russia. Till 1990 when the Soviet Union collapsed, Mongolia was a one-party ruled country. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the country has made a political shift from communism to democracy. According to the freedom house report of 2012, Mongolia is enjoying almost full freedom and indexed 2.0 (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2012/mongolia>). With democracy and liberalization, Mongolia has become open to the other parts of the world and its economic pursuit is now more market-oriented than former centralized economy.

Mongolia has become a democratic country with main two political parties: Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and Democratic Party (DP). MPRP was established in 1

March, 1921 and had been the only party till 1990. Democratic Party pioneered the democratic revolution and was formed as a party in 1990. These two parties have been taking the most seats in parliament ever since.

The government of Mongolia has a legislative branch, an executive branch and a judicial branch. The legislative branch is the unicameral State Great Hural (parliament) with 76 members who are elected every four years. Executive branch consists of the president, prime minister and the cabinet. Judicial branch consists of Supreme Court and Constitutional court. The presidential and parliamentary elections take place every four years.

In recent years, Mongolian government emphasize more mining sector as its golden key to the economic development. Natural resources such as copper, gold, uranium, coal and etc. have been attracting foreign investors in recent few years. The resources born from the mining projects such as Oyu Tolgoiⁱ brings about many policy issues in the field of welfare politics in Mongolia. It was estimated to produce 450,000 tonnes of copper and 330,000 ounces of gold per year after starting from 2012. The issue of how to efficiently spend the money earned from mining projects has become crucial at the political and public level.

Theoretical framework

In search of our research questions and the purpose of this study, the model proposed by Cobb, Ross & Ross (1976), the outside initiative model is employed for systematic understanding of how civil society organizations and social movement have contributed to the effective redistributive policy agenda setting and how they have made the government and elected parliament members to be responsible for the public. In other words, it is in its core to capture how Mongolian civility has been asking for more responsive and receptive democracy.

Cobb, Ross and Ross (1976) identified two types of agendas: public agenda which issues have achieved a high level of public interest and visibility, and formal agenda is the list of items which decision makers have formally accepted for serious consideration. In our case, public agenda of redistributive policymaking will be taken into consideration, because the promise of elected members and dominant two parties for distribution of income resource from mining industries to every citizen was in the center of public attention of when to be a formal agenda. This public agenda latter managed to succeed placing itself in the items of formal agenda right after the massive and peaceful social movement organized by civil society organizations in spring, 2010. Thus, logically, bottom up process is needed to understand how this public agenda could turn into a formal agenda with having triggered by civil society movement. For this analysis, Cobb, Ross and Ross's (1976) outside initiative model is important to systematically analyze this process in a nascent Mongolian democracy. This model considers issues in non-governmental groups, that is, outside the government.

Outside initiative model has four phases: (1) initiation, where there is an articulation of grievance outside the formal government structure (Cobb, Ross and Ross, 1976); (2) specification, where general grievances can be translated into a specific demands; (3) expansion, where outside groups attempt to establish pressure or to catch decision makers' attention to set the agenda as a formal one; and (4) entrance, where agenda moves from public agenda to formal agenda with serious consideration taken by decision makers. In this piece of paper, the author attempts to explain and analyze bottom up process of policymaking with the emphasis on civil society organization and social movement.

Research design

This is a single- case study (Yin, 2003) which can be characterized with its holistic approach to an issue of interest. The unit of analysis is one of Mongolian non-governmental organizations, which was established to put pressure on effective redistributive policymaking and implementation. The researcher applied a process-tracing method as to be appropriate within the framework of outside initiative model. The news, reports and TV discussions can provide us richness of information with its sequence of times and a chain of events. The process-tracing method attempts to identify the intervening causal process – the causal mechanism – between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependent variable (George & Bennet, 2005).

In our case, a dependent variable is redistributive policymaking, that is, Motherland Grant policy making, and an independent variable is civil society organizations and their social movement. Hence, the process tracing method can help us to explain what has influenced and contributed to the redistributive policymaking in relation to civil society organizations, and identify significant intervening variables between the two.

Data are newspaper articles, online sources, special online TV programs, related TV news, and online forum blog and discussions. There are 76 online articles and news reports, 10 TV programs and related TV news collected. The data belong to the timeline between 2008 and 2010. Open and axial coding were conducted (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) and data were categorized on the basis of time sequence to track the each step of processes and make an analysis on each phases according to our theoretical framework. First, open coding was made to describe overall phenomenon and second, axial coding was applied to identify causal relationship between categories.

Findings

Phase 1: Initiation – Great expectation

Mongolia as a post-communist country and a nascent democracy with its difficulties of economic stability has been experiencing two dominant party rules over the past two decades. In 2008, within the inter-game of promise competitions for parliamentary seats between the two, Mongolian ordinary citizens voted for both parties for their promise of “sound” and attractive redistributive policies. This was very attractive for ordinary Mongolian people as both parties promised to redistribute totally 2.5 million Mongolian tugriks (approximately \$2,200) to every citizen as a grant from the resources born from boosting mining industry. At the time when ordinary people’s capability for their daily life expenditure such as food and transportation was being deteriorated and when herders were in debt for Mongolian banks, such ordinary people seemingly tend to vote for those who are experienced politicians and who give “sound” promise to bail them out. Indeed, two parties were making their election campaign with the promises of redistribute the monies earned from the mining sector. One party promises one million Mongolian tugriks and other promises 1.5 million.

After the election, the time has come for the great expectation of redistribution among people. People began to complaint more on their worsening economic capability to suffice their daily life expenditure; herders share their grievance on debts to the banks; parents and students express their worries about ever-increasing university tuition fees; unemployment or low salaries’ issues are pronounced on news online and offline; and the press begins to question the policymakers overtly and covertly about the redistribution of resources. These issues were much pronounced at the public level as people – voters- started to wait for the promise. At the initiation stage, people’s grievance on poverty is discussed among families, friends, colleagues

and on the press with the hope that the government will formulate their promise and implement it as it is promised to them.

Since the election and new parliament established, it has been over year with other welfare schemes such as newly-wed couple grant and child grant. However, there is still no sign of redistribution of 2.5 million Mongolian tugriks to every single person. Such issue, the initial promise of two ruling parties, was only spoken among people but not expressed seriously to the government. In November of 2009, the NGO named “People’s Union for Promise fulfillment” established with the purpose to pressure parliament to be responsible for their promise to formulate policy to redistribute 2.5 million Mongolian tugriks to every citizen. As it was stipulated in their webpage, it is a membership based non-governmental and non-profit organization to promote a social movement in collaboration with other governmental and governmental organizations to have the promised 2.5 million Mongolian tugriks distributed to every citizen (www.amlalt.mn).

Phase 2: Specification – Ambiguity of specification

This phase is characterized with the rise of the NGO’s immense efforts to specify their policy agenda of resource redistribution and confirm their interests for redistributive policy formulation by the government. There was good number of evidences that the NGO attempted to specify the policy agenda and formulate their purpose by traveling around the country to observe ordinary people’s life and to hold meetings with them listening to their grievances on the election promise for resource redistribution. While holding meetings with people around the country, the NGO established their branches that represent local community voice for resource redistribution and its immediate implementation. Since most of the local community especially in rural areas with low

income indebted herders and unemployed people were willing to receive the redistributive money from the government, those branches of the NGO were voluntarily established in the local areas. Now, the NGO has its branches of representatives in all 21 provinces totaling over 170 around the country as reported on the Mongolian website (<http://news.gogo.mn/news/print/67915>).

At this level, while this civil society organization was specifying policy agenda, strings came attached. Initially, the NGO's purpose was to influence and put pressure on the government for effective redistributive policy, but their purpose could have changed its direction to liquidate and force the parliament to resign. It can be evidenced from the interview with the main coordinator of the movement on the website source. The quotation from the interview below explicitly demonstrates the changing pattern of the initial purpose of the civil society organization.

On this day [on 5 April 2010], [we] will ask only one requirement from the government and make them to step down. This requirement covers all current social problems that the Ulsiin Ikh Khural [parliament] must be resigned. After that, temporary system will be established to discuss how to change the current ill system and how to make amendments in the constitution.

Source: (author Urgamal, Interview with the Vice president of People's Union for Promise Fulfillment: Uyanga, G. Ulaanbaatar) issued on 2 April, 2010 on website <http://factnews.mn/4y9>)

This interview was conducted just right before the civil social movement that would be administered on April 5, 2010. It is obvious that while they were specifying the policy agenda and its implementation meeting with the people in different corners of the country, they attached their purpose to liquidate the existing parliament. From this point, we can understand that it is

highly likely that the unified civil society organization could develop and validate their own purpose by taking an advantage of public grievance and the issues of resource redistribution. However, it is not clear to say that the purpose of liquidating the existing parliament was initially in the organizers' mind or resource distribution agenda appeared to be a strong ladder step for liquidation.

While analyzing open online forum and TV interviews in the street to observe the people's perception on the unified NGOs social movement and their purpose to liquidate the existing parliament, ordinary people were in fact willing to bring up the issue of resource redistribution to the social movement to move it to the formal agenda. However, there were some reactions that ordinary people did not necessarily intend to liquidate the parliament but to pressure the government to take immediate measurements to make redistribution of resources into a formal agenda. People considered that it will be more costly to re-organize another election campaign, while others view that people will not be able to get the promised money if the existing parliament members are resigned.

At this phase, the civil society organizations' purpose became as ambiguous as can be understood either to put pressure the government for its redistributive policy or to liquidate the existing parliament. Besides, it is likely that their purpose to liquidate the existing parliament was due to the fact that this redistributive policy issue was in the center of public attention and necessary for many ordinary citizens life. Much public grievance was implying the need of some remedial measure for ever-worsening quality of ordinary people. This measure was the redistribution of resources which was promised by the elected parties. For the public image, if the government does not formulate the policy for redistribution and cannot keep their promise for the election, the image of newly established government will be viewed as "untrustworthy"

among the public. Hence, this specification phase might have brought to the civil society organizations the awareness that the advantage of the election promise can have a potential to liquidate the government as the public is putting much pressure to formulate the policy.

Phase 3: Expansion – Social movement

At this phase, we will explain the ways how the NGO “People’s Union for Promise fulfillment” expanded the issue and its purpose. This stage is important for formal agenda setting and creating pressure on decision makers (Cobb, Ross & Ross, 1976). In most part of expansion procedure, media and social movement on April 5, 2010 played an important role.

For the issue expansion, the NGO could attract other civil society organizations which consequently, began to work in collaboration to put pressure the government for effective redistributive policy and further to liquidate the government. Such collaboration with other civil society organizations can be the manifestation of issue expansion and the attractiveness of “People’s Union for Promise fulfillment.” Namely, civil society organizations such as “Independence Coalition,” “The land of my Mongolia” and “National Soyombo” social movements in collaboration with the “People’s Union for Promise fulfillment organized social movement on 5 April 2010. They did not only collaborate to organize the social movement but they also took part in the putting pressure on the redistributive policymaking by sending an official notandum to the government. However, the phase of expansion is characterized by the social movement.

Before the social movement on 5 April 2010, those civil society organizations hold several press conferences that they would question the government for its responsibility, promise with sit-ins till starvation and a peaceful demonstration in the central downtown square where the parliament house is situated. On the press conference of 2 April 2010, civil society organizations

expressed their views and basis for organizing such social movement and were calling for oligarchies resigning from the parliament. Moreover, as said, killing two birds with one stone, civil society organizations did not only asking for redistributive money from the government for keeping their promise, but they also expressed their disappointment and frustration on the grand corruptions related to Oyu Tolgoi contracts. The initial idea of redistributive policy was based on the income born from the mining industry, especially Ivanhoe Mines. Therefore, these civil society organizations also united their voices to monitor and check every step taken by the government in relation to mining contracts with foreign companies and pertaining policies.

As can be observed, at this expansion phase, civil society organization's policy agenda, purpose and issues tended to be broad in scope, while their issue expansion strategies began from a notandum to the government, press conferences and to the social movement such as sit-ins for starvation. This social movement did not only take place in the city center but also in provincial areas where the branches of this civil society organization located. The sit-ins for starvation began on 5 April 2010 and continued till 22 April 2010. The most visibly reported sit-ins was focused on the one which took place in the city center in front of the parliament house. Eventually, the demonstrations and sit-ins were not only for the redistributive policy but more to liquidate the existing parliament. The united civil society organizations consider the liquidation on the condition that the government is not able to make redistribution of the resources into formal agenda and start implementing it. The peaceful demonstration and starvation sit-ins ended up with a consensus notandum signing on specific issues between the government and the civil society organizations representatives such as "People's Union for Promise fulfillment," "The land of my Mongolia," "National Soyombo," "National Fylyot movement," and "Radical change movement."

Another manifestation of expansion was evidenced by the number and far distance of participators from every corner of the country. Officially announced by the social movement organizers, at least 100 participants from 21 provinces regardless of distance would be coming to take part in this movement at the cost born by ordinary citizens' voluntary funding operated around the country. For ordinary citizens and busy herders from far distance, the cost of transportation is too expensive to come to the capital city only with the purpose of participation in the movement. In addition, there were interests of teachers union, doctors union and students union to participate in this occasion expressed as a teacher, a doctor with low salary and a student with the voice to deliver. Indeed, expansion was breadth in its volume and multi-purposed, ambiguous in its mission. For expansion phase, specification phase might have played a crucial role as the civil society organization was likely to have found the ways of expansion, while attempting to specify their issues.

Phase 3: Entrance – Trial to keep promise

When issues and civil society organizations' activity became decisive and “intimidating” for the government, the prime minister and vice-prime minister signed in April, 2010 on the memorandum to realize their promise and redistribute the amount by 2012.

At this phase, Mongolian civil society organizations succeeded in making the government to hold their election promise and formalize the redistributive policy for every citizen regardless of age, ethnicity, income and so on. The law of resource distribution - “Human development fund”- was passed on 18 November, 2009 and would be effective from 18 November, 2009. As for the amount of distribution, it is not possible to make it at one time by giving 2.5 million Mongolian tugriks (approximately \$2200) in cash. Hence, it was decided to redistribute some \$20 on a monthly basis to every citizen.

There was still ongoing debate over the issue on other means for effective redistribution for the better benefit to the people. For instance, those who have credits for their apartment or debts in banks are in consideration to transfer the specific amount as payment. Even though policy agenda made its success with civil society organizations' intensive measures taken towards the government, their purpose to hold the government responsible, monitor and check related policymaking, corruption and follow-up processes of this redistributive policy, is still remained in their roles as a civil society organization.

Conclusions

This piece of work is showing only one side of Mongolian civil society and its organizations on how they played their role in policymaking and managed to make the government responsive to the public grievance and responsible to what they have promised. It might give a sense that Mongolian government is obedient towards its citizens and civil society movements. However, their obedience and quick responsiveness was, first, due to their electoral promise with abundance of evidences like certificate or guarantee letters for distribution of resources to the voters. The existing parliament was elected by using a vote-maximizing strategy with the competing promises. The Democratic party with the wish to occupy more seats in the parliament to become a ruling party and its candidates to become members of parliament gave away guarantee letters and certificates as a proof for resource distribution to the people if they are elected. Their promise was 1 million tugriks (approximately \$900) per person. The competing party, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and its candidates could not stay doing nothing. As a consequence, they, as well, made their promise and guarantees but with more money 1.5 million Mongolian tugriks (\$1300) per person.

Their promise with much evidences and increasing number of poor people, old people with marginal pension, herders with much difficulty paying debts to the bank, unemployed young people converged as civil society organizations and social movement like sit-ins for starvation. Moreover, the expansion of issues, civil society organizations decisive actions, people's commitment to gather on 5 April 2010 were manifested as the society becoming more furious towards the government. The elected officials' fear not only to lose their power being resigned but also to lose their "voters" trust for being re-elected for the next campaign can be included in the equation of the government's responsiveness and obedience.

The second reason is that the 2008 election for the current parliament was notorious enough which the election result brought about the devastating protests that many ordinary, innocent Mongolian citizens were killed. Some source stated that even a passer-by was shot by the police. This protest was memorized as "July 1" protest. This is still scandalous that some protesters have been staying behind the bars with different "illegal" cases. This protest was a big lesson of anarchy for the people of Mongolia and the government. Partly with the fear not to repeat such devastating phenomenon, the government had decided to take actions immediately for their promise and signed on the notandum with the civil society organizations "People's Union for Promise fulfillment." In fact, the government representative, the prime minister and vice-prime minister had already signed on the notandum on 2 April 2010 just right before the social movement on 5 April 2010.

There are few points can be made by the researcher. The civil society organization in Mongolia was likely to take advantage over the issues and policy agenda to pursue their own purpose at the same time as can be observed in the specification stage. Second, therefore, in Mongolia there is still a difficulty to identify which civil society organization or which action is

truly civil but not political. Probably and reversely, in a nascent democracy of Mongolian case, civil society should be environmentally contingent to be political to some aspects. Thus, pure and true civil society organizations without any political views can be found few in Mongolia. Why I generalize civil society organizations of Mongolia to be political is that, basing on this social movement, and the phase of expansion, major civil society organizations with its overlapping membership in other small sized political parties are the manifestation of political nature of civil society organizations of Mongolia.

According to the outside initiative model for policy agenda building, the process of making public to formal agenda seems to be very systematic. However, when it comes to dynamic civil society organizations with reform minds, policy agenda setting appeared to be much complex at the specification and expansion phase. It is probably due to the fact that redistributive policy agenda provided a favorable condition for civil society organizations to deal with more other issues related to this policy agenda. This policy interest also frictions with other issues such as Oyu Tolgoi contracts, environment protection and welfare policies. Hence, it is also likely that during the specification phase, some part of expansion phase can be taken place. That is, specification phase was not only for specifying issues and goals, but also civil society organizations might be plowing the ground of expansion while specifying their goals.

The theories of relationship between NGO and government should concern the NGO and civil society organizations mission, purpose and area of function. Although it is not possible to make generalization over one case, one point should not be left mentioned as a further theoretical concern. In this case it was seen that civil society relationship with the government was more likely to be a rivalry and a competition as the NGO's initial purpose changed to liquidate the

government. Hence, the types and orientation of NGO function can vary the relationship with the government.

Implications

There is a need of amendments in electoral laws. It does not mean to regulate the election process and the rule of the game by the state, rather it is about to make the electoral laws capable enough to make candidates responsible for and democratic enough to represent mass public will and the country's future prosperity. It is also a lesson to two ruling parties that short-sighted promise is not the solution for poverty and citizen's grievances. Therefore, some amendments should be made in electoral laws.

Second, there seems to be very little collaboration or almost no collaboration between the civil society and the government to pursue an effective and efficient redistributive policy. According to the Coston's (1998) typology of relationship between government and NGO, this relationship in this case is shown to be more like competition between civil society organizations and the government. It is more like competing to win ordinary citizens' hearts and minds on whether the government could make the redistributive policy by keeping promise or whether the civil society organization made the government to make the policy. The government and this civil society organization should work collaboratively to better implementation of this policy and give evaluations, assess the process of its implementation.

Overall, with this study we can see not only how Mongolian civil society put pressure on the government to make them accountable and responsible, but also this paper attempts to demonstrate how dynamic the civil society is in Mongolia. Therefore, this study has its limitations. The study does not guarantee in-depth understanding of civil society organizations in Mongolia and in-depth understanding of its social movement. Since the boundary between civil

society and political society is blurry in Mongolia, this media data based study and analysis cannot explain much of complexities, intervening variables and interacting variables in this policy agenda setting process by efforts of the civil society organization, the NGO, People's Union for Promise fulfillment. We need more in-depth studies with interviews, participant observations and more validations with statistical analysis.

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¹ Oyu Tolgoi (in English, Turquoise Hill) is the world's largest copper-gold mining site located in the Gobi Desert of Mongolia. In 2009, the investment agreement made between the government of Mongolia, Ivanhoe Mines, Rio Tinto and Oyu Tolgoi LLC. The natural resources are 100 per cent owned by the Mongolian people according to the constitution and, therefore, foreign investors should pay taxes and royalties for produced natural resources. Based on the profits from this project, the Government of Mongolia receives dividends which constitute the Human Development Fund.