

2/1999

GASPP and Plymouth International Studies

*Ulla Engberg and Paul Stubbs*

# *Social Capital and Integrated Development:*

*A CIVIL SOCIETY GRANTS PROGRAMME IN TRAVNIK,  
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA*

*September 1998*

GASPP OCCASIONAL PAPERS NO 2/1999  
A GASPP and Plymouth International Studies Joint Occasional Paper

Ulla Engberg and Paul Stubbs

**SOCIAL CAPITAL AND  
INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT:**

**A CIVIL SOCIETY GRANTS PROGRAMME IN  
TRAVNIK, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**

This series of Occasional Papers on Global Social Policy is designed to provide early access for a wider readership of research work being undertaken in association with the Globalism and Social Policy Programme.

GASPP is concerned with

- the globalization of social policy and the social content of global politics
- the impact on the making of national social policy of supranational organizations such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the UN Agencies (WHO, UNICEF, ILO, UNDP, etc.), and regional organizations (EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, Council of Europe, etc.)
- the field of policy making that embraces global social redistribution, global social health and labour regulation, and global social provision and empowerment
- the role of international civil society (transnational social movements and international NGOs) in shaping a global discourse on social policy and in contributing to the making of social policy in developing, crisis-ridden, war-torn, and post-communist societies.

Further details of GASPP may be found at <http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp>

ISBN 951-33-0781-6  
STAKES, Helsinki Finland 1999

## Acknowledgements

The authors gratefully acknowledge the UNDP Resident Office in Bosnia-Herzegovina for permission to publish this paper. Thanks also to the other members of the UNDP Travnik Monitoring and Evaluation Unit who contributed to the participatory evaluation report from which this paper has been adapted and developed.



## Contents

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Introduction .....   | 7  |
| The Contexts .....   | 9  |
| 'Social Capital', Associationality and Trust .....         | 9  |
| Critiques of NGO Development in Bosnia-Herzegovina .....   | 10 |
| An Integrated Resettlement and Development Programme ..... | 12 |
| The Scheme in Brief .....                                  | 13 |
| The Evaluation .....                                       | 17 |
| First Approach .....                                       | 17 |
| The Process of Applying .....                              | 18 |
| The Criteria .....   | 18 |
| The Unsuccessful .....                                     | 19 |
| 'Mono-ethnic' Groups .....                                 | 20 |
| After Success .....  | 21 |
| Some Key Issues for Future Evaluations .....               | 22 |
| Some Broader Considerations .....                          | 23 |
| Future Development of the Travnik Scheme .....             | 23 |
| Wider Applicability .....                                  | 25 |
| Whither Social Capital? .....                              | 25 |
| Bibliography .....   | 27 |
| The Authors .....  | 29 |
| The Globalism and Social Policy Programme .....            | 31 |



## Introduction

This paper is a detailed description and initial evaluation of a Civil Society Grants Programme which was introduced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as part of its Integrated Resettlement Programme in the Municipality of Travnik (IRPT) in Bosnia-Herzegovina during 1997. The grants programme was established in collaboration with a local Non Governmental Organization (NGO) — the Centre for Civic Co-operation (CCC), and an international NGO - the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues (IBHI). The scheme contains a number of features which are worthy of note, not just in the specific context of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but more widely in terms of issues of civil society development in post-conflict situations. In the process of discussing the programme, some observations are made relevant to discussions on the role of associations in the building of trust in particular low-trust environments, and in terms of recent political science and sociological debates regarding the concept of ‘social capital’.

In contrast to many schemes of NGO development, the Travnik scheme was developed and designed in the light of theoretical concerns regarding ‘social capital’: most schemes either lack any clear theoretical base or simply add on some concepts later as a kind of *post hoc* justification. Hence, this report adds to a very scarce literature on the practical application of theories of civil society, trust and social capital in a specific setting. In addition, the scheme was also devised in the light of quite detailed, and rather serious, criticisms of international and donor agencies’ attempts to support local NGOs and civil society in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In short, the scheme was a clear attempt to do things in different ways based on an understanding of current problems. The first section of this paper looks, in greater detail, at the scheme in the context of these two antecedents and in terms of an elaboration of the integrated approach to development which is another core feature of the UNDP programme.

The second section outlines the results of an initial evaluation of the scheme undertaken as part of a larger participatory evaluation of the entire IRPT between November 1997 and January 1998. The results of this research, based on semi-structured interviews with successful and unsuccessful applicants and with a small number of groups who did not apply for the grant, sheds important light on the views of these groups regarding the criteria for the grant, the process of application, and their future needs.

The third section seeks to look at lessons learnt from the scheme, both in the immediate context of Travnik and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in terms of wider theoretical and practical debates. It also looks at how notions of trust and social capital can be evaluated in the medium- and longer-term, and makes some recommendations regarding the future development of the scheme and the application of the approach elsewhere. This section raises crucial questions in a globalized world in which a range of international, transnational and supranational agencies seek to promote ‘civil society’ in the South and the East.



## The Contexts

### ‘Social Capital’, Associationality and Trust

It is somewhat ironic that the text which has had most influence in promoting particular understandings of ‘social capital’, Robert Putnam’s ‘Making Democracy Work’ (Putnam et al, 1993) is a study of modern Italy, and not a developing country or country in transition. Moreover, the broad social development obsession with NGOs, and the role of international agencies in promoting them, precisely the environment which has eulogised Putnam’s work, is also entirely ignored in the text.

Essentially, Putnam’s arguments, based on over twenty years of tracing the performance of different regional governments in Italy, is that the most important predictive factors of good governance and of economic and social development are long-standing traditions of civic engagement or their absence. In some interviews, Putnam has been prone to exaggerate his own findings in the name of popularising them: ‘You tell me how many choral societies there are in an Italian region, and I will tell you plus or minus three days how long it will take you to get your health bills reimbursed by its regional government’ (Putnam, 1995a). Nevertheless, suggestions that factors such as the vibrancy of associations which, elsewhere, Putnam (1995b) has termed ‘networks of organised reciprocity and civic solidarity’ are preconditions for socio-economic progress, rather than effects of such progress, and that they are themselves produced by long-standing historical antecedents, are persuasive ones.

Moreover, in extending his analysis to the United States, Putnam has explicitly suggested that the growth of the non profit service sector has little or nothing to do with trends in social connectedness: this is much more affected by secondary associations such as ‘amateur soccer clubs, choral societies, hiking clubs, bird-watching groups, hunters’ associations, Lions’ Clubs, and the like ...’ (Putnam et al, 1993: 91). As we shall examine below, these types of groups were prime ‘targets’ of the Travnik scheme, and grants to the ‘Association of Letter-Carrier Pigeons’ and the ‘Sports Fishermen’s Club’, amongst others, precisely the groups neglected in much mainstream social development activity, bear this out. The argument is that such groups promote ‘horizontal’ rather than ‘vertical’ links which embody successful collaboration and can become a kind of ‘cultural template’ for future co-operation generaliseable to wider social, political and economic spheres.

On the basis of his findings, Putnam breathes new life into theories of social capital, seen as analogous to physical and human capital, which he defines as: ‘features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit’ (Putnam, 1995b; 67). He suggests that social capital, as a public good, is based on trust, and can move in a series of virtuous or vicious circles, increasing with use and diminishing with disuse.

The revival of interest in the notion of ‘trust’ in the social sciences (cf Misztal, 1996; Fukuyama, 1995) is itself closely related to the interest in ‘social capital’. In fact, since both post-communist societies in transition and, certainly, post-conflict societies, are seen as being ‘low-trust’ societies (cf Goodhand and Hulme, 1997), this also makes the concept all the more relevant to contemporary Bosnia-Herzegovina. The task for social development,

then, probably becomes much less that of imposing a, literally, foreign notion of NGOs on an unsuspecting populace — any cursory examination of current trends, as we will note below, seems as likely to produce *less* rather than *more* trust — and much more that of identifying what kinds of trust existed before and how these can be rebuilt. Again, this leads to Putnamesque support for clubs and associations and for house reconstruction based not on organized labour, necessarily, but on mutual support and reciprocity.

Much as the concept of ‘civil society’ is in danger of being seen as a development panacea, ‘almost always under theorized, insufficiently concretized in terms of specific practices, and rarely subjected to critical scrutiny’ (Stubbs, 1996; 2), the same could well apply to ‘social capital’, becoming almost ‘all things to all people’ (Harriss, 1997) and being taken up by a wide range of agencies, including the World Bank (Fox, 1997), who would not normally agree with each other on broad socio-political questions. Clearly, ‘social capital’ should not shift focus away from the role of central and local governments themselves, existing in a complex relationship to forms of civil initiatives and not simply trapped by historical and cultural imperatives. At its worst, a crude application of the theory can depoliticise development and lead to a kind of ‘decentralization fever’ (Tendler, 1997). These critiques do not call for the abandonment of the approach but, rather, for a more nuanced understanding of the dimensions of social capital and detailed case studies of the use, and misuse, of the concept in the sphere of social development.

## Critiques of NGO Development in Bosnia-Herzegovina

It is certainly true, as one commentator has remarked wryly, that: ‘Not only is Bosnia becoming a fashionable location for international organizations performing emergency relief and NGO assistance, but also has the social science world found a new topic: weighing the pro’s and con’s of the international community in Bosnia’ (Bekkering 1997). Nevertheless, for our concerns here it is rather more important to look at the arguments of this body of work regarding international organizations and their role in NGO development which, unquestionably, has been overwhelmingly negative. The analyses of authors such as Ian Smillie (1996), Mark Duffield (1994, 1996) and Bob Deacon and Paul Stubbs (1998), together with reflections from ongoing involvement in civil initiatives and peace-building projects in Bosnia and Croatia, were highly influential in the design of the Travnik scheme.

These authors approach the issues from diverse theoretical and political perspectives. Nevertheless, five core problems can be noted here since they are those which most influenced the thinking in Travnik. Firstly, the large-scale operational presence of International agencies and, particularly, International NGOs, and their increasing support for local NGOs has been counterproductive, producing a ‘weak and fragmented’ Bosnian NGO sector, ‘in serious trouble’ precisely because it has been created by ‘international agencies in a hurry’ (Smillie, 1996). Too often, local organizations are used as a form of cheap service delivery, existing on short-term, project-specific, grants, so that they are little more than sub-contractors of their international masters. Some international NGOs seek to leave a local counterpart behind after they leave, but pay little attention to its sustainability. A kind of ‘*meso* NGO sector’ (Deacon and Stubbs, 1998) has been created, too small to influence national public policy and too large for genuine grassroots innovation, consisting of somewhat unwieldy organizations heavy on recurrent costs, such as equipment

and salaries, and increasingly geared only to their own survival and lacking coherent social visions.

Secondly, a kind of 'inverse care law of NGO development' such that 'NGOs are most where they are needed least' has occurred, with development skewed towards certain fashionable urban centres, particularly Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica and, later, Banja Luka. Ironically, local NGOs parallel many of the problems of Governmental structures thus reinforcing a kind of 'new feudalism' (Deacon and Stubbs, 1998) whereby local political forces have increasing autonomy from any kinds of central regulation. Moreover, local NGOs are 'primarily the creation of the urban middle class' (Duffield, 1996) and are a major strategy for short- and medium-term survival for the section of that class which is relatively young, well-educated, well-connected and speaks English. The corollary of this is that few organizations serve rural areas where, in many ways, the war and post-war crises have been experienced in particularly acute forms. Few international organizations have targeted people in villages in their civil society programming, reinforcing the advantage that those in the cities, close to the donors' offices, and with the skills to read and understand the forms, already possess.

Thirdly, the relationship of local NGOs to the sphere of formal politics has been a confused and confusing one. Donor support has created a kind of 'anti-political political opposition' (Duffield, 1996; Stubbs, 1996) marginalising formal oppositional parties, turning social movements into bureaucracies, and ultimately buttressing the *status quo* whilst formally seeming to support 'democracy from below'. Many groups have emerged which, whilst having laudable aims, have achieved high levels of funding despite having an impact only within a very limited, often intellectual, arena. There has been little serious attempt to evaluate the work of these groups. The danger of 'promoting extremes' (Duffield, 1996), both within the state and in civil society, rather than encouraging new alliances, coalitions, and compromises, is also a major problem.

Fourthly, many NGOs offer a kind of 'own brand' service (Duffield, 1994) which, before the war, would have been offered by local authorities or public institutions. The dangers of parallel, residual, and relatively unregulated, social welfare provision is a particular problem of the large-scale involvement of 'multi-mandated' International NGOs (Deacon and Stubbs, 1998), but has also led to many local professionals leaving public service, unsurprisingly, for more lucrative posts in international agencies or to form their own NGOs. The importance of supporting local Centres for Social Work is increasingly being emphasized as the basis for the future (Papic, 1998; Kljajic, 1998), upon which support for NGOs as deliverers of services and sources of social innovation can be built, rather than the other way round.

Fifthly, and in summary, the development obsession with NGOs has produced considerable mistrust in many different sets of relationships: between International and local NGOs; within the domestic NGO sector; and above all between governmental and public bodies and NGOs. Whilst Kotic (quoted in Large, 1997; 129) may be pessimistic in asserting that 'NGOs as a form of articulation of future civil society and democratic option could meet a failure (sic) in this region', there is little cause to be optimistic that schemes of NGO development will add to trust and social capital in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Seeing NGOs as a 'foreign' imposition, all governments in the region, whilst more or less opposed to the development of a viable third sector, have actually resuscitated earlier notions of

'associations of citizens' as an alternative (cf Stubbs, 1997a). Whilst many such associations are close to ruling regimes, others do offer the possibility for new kinds of social meanings.

Again, this suggests that the specific context of Bosnia-Herzegovina lends itself to an approach to civil society closer to Putnam's model of social capital than to mainstream social development thinking. There needs to be caution, however, since support for secondary groups is not, in itself, a guarantee of a culture of tolerance and anti-authoritarianism. Putnam's work on Italy is, astonishingly, silent about the period under Mussolini where, in fact, those areas with traditions of high levels of associationality also demonstrated the strongest support for the Fascists (Putzel, 1997). The issues of hegemonic politics, peace-building and integrated development are, therefore, of immense importance in building civil society, over and above a frozen notion of associations.

## An Integrated Resettlement and Development Programme

The UNDP Integrated Resettlement Programme in Travnik (IRPT) can be seen as based as much on these concepts, as befits a kind of 'third generation' peace-building project (Peirce and Stubbs, 1998), influenced by previous projects in Pakrac in Croatia (cf Stubbs, 1997b ch. 5) and in Gornji Vakuf in Central Bosnia (Stubbs, 1996b), as on the general features of UNDP's area-based approach to social development. The core of the approach rests on avoiding simplistic support either for NGOs or governmental structures *per se*, much less a crude stick and carrot approach to aid. Instead, an explicit assessment of the spaces for the development of 'counter hegemonic politics' and alternative social meanings is tied to an integrated approach to social development, rather than to a narrow concern, in isolation, with ethnicised identities. Whilst there is nothing new in an 'integrated approach' — indeed, it was far more fashionable in the 1970s than in the new relativistic, NGO-dominated, development world of today — the attempt to bring together diverse elements, whilst maintaining a community focus and link to civil initiatives, is an interesting and important experiment.

Without dwelling over much on the specificities of the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina (a useful introductory text is Silber and Little, 1995), Travnik, at the centre of Ivo Andric's fictionalized account of cultural diversity in 19th century Bosnia (Andric, 1996), has a particular importance in the context of attempts to rebuild a Muslim/Bosniak-Croat Federation as one of the two post-Dayton entities, not least as a seat of historical importance for Central Bosnian Croats. The Municipality of Travnik, Bosniak-controlled, has shown commitment to comply with the provisions of the Dayton agreement allowing refugees and displaced persons, particularly those from the minority Croat ethnic group, to return. A major problem, however, is the extensive damage to neighbouring villages which has resulted in many internally displaced persons occupying houses and flats in Travnik town normally occupied by people who are refugees in third countries.

The basic element of IRPT is the attempt to break this log-jam through reconstruction of some 520 houses in the villages and identifying and facilitating the return of a similar number of refugee families, mainly from European Union countries (the European Commission being the primary funder of the project), as well as repairing physical infrastructure such as roads. Whilst this is itself a relatively small number, although large by international agency reconstruction project standards, spontaneous return to Travnik is

also building as confidence grows in the commitments of Municipal authorities to welcome minority returnees.

The project is 'integrated' insofar as aspects of the social fabric facilitating return and reintegration are also addressed, through what some UNDP staff have termed the 'software' of IRPT, including the Civil Society Programme, an Advice and Information Centre, Micro-credit and other Employment Schemes, Ongoing Participatory Evaluation, and so on. The International NGO IBHI has played a key role in capacity building with the Municipality in terms of beneficiary identification and in monitoring aspects of the Civil Society grant scheme, and the CCC implements aspects of the scheme and runs the Advice and Information Centre. In short, every encouragement is given to support those strands within the Municipality, both formally political and administrative, committed to fairness and efficiency in facilitating refugee return, whilst also ensuring adequate support for minority returnees and those who face problems of access to services. Counter hegemony is, therefore, built through supporting technocratic elements within the ruling administration rather than through crude readings of politics as ethnicised.

Whilst problems have arisen, there is a very different atmosphere and level of achievement in this project than can be found in many other reconstruction programmes in the region, and by 15 January 1998, 129 displaced families were beneficiaries of the reconstruction programme and 104 families had returned to their properties in Travnik town, the vast majority (92) from EU countries and the remainder from other Bosnian municipalities. Of these 104, 39 (or 37.5%) were Croat minority returns, although the proportion is growing. At the time of writing, the IRPT may well expand its work into other localities and/or aspects of development, including the key area of social welfare and social protection. The civil society programming is also likely to continue and expand, making an initial assessment all the more relevant.

## The Scheme in Brief

As a partnership between UNDP, IBHI and CCC, the Civil Society Grants programme was an attempt to articulate some of the vision embodied in the contexts described above. Of course, actual implementation is rarely able to match theory. Nevertheless, a series of quite specific rules for eligibility for the scheme were drawn up which are unusually detailed and do attempt to convert some of the principles into reality.

### The Rules

- The group should be active in Travnik Municipality.
- The group should be legally registered according to the laws and regulations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- The group's main objective and purpose should be to serve its membership in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- The group should be managed by nationals of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- The group should not be working for profit.
- The group should not be involved in the work of any political or religious group or party.

- The group should have a multi-ethnic membership and their activities should be open to all citizens of Travnik, regardless of religious and ethnic background.
- The group should maintain a good working relationship with the local authorities.
- The group should be able to demonstrate the need for and the ability to make effective use of the requested funds.
- Financial assistance for training other than vocational training is *not* available.
- Financial assistance for computers and other office equipment is *not* available.
- Financial assistance for recurrent costs such as salaries or office operational costs is *not* available.
- Activities targeting women and proposals from women are especially welcome.
- The limit of financial assistance is approximately 15,000 DEM.
- The overall costs of the project should not exceed 10% of the total funds requested.

As stated above, the scheme was not limited to NGOs or associations of citizens but could, and did, allow for applications from public bodies such as schools, libraries, pharmacies, and so on. This was a late revision to the proposed scheme and derived from clear evidence of need amongst such institutions which became apparent when the grant was first being discussed with groups in the community. Nevertheless, adding such groups within a 'civil society' programme is unusual and will be commented on at length below.

Unlike other grant schemes, CCC and UNDP made a point of widely advertising and promoting the existence of the grant through radio, tv and newspaper advertisements, and personal visits to some 52 groups in the Municipality, where the criteria were explained and advice was given about how to fill in the, relatively simple, application form. This process was completed by 12 September 1997. The deadline for completed applications was some three weeks later, 3 October. Thirty two applications were received. On 10 October a member of CCC and a UNDP staff member held a pre-selection meeting, making recommendations to a full selection board as well as asking other donors if any of the projects met their criteria. On 24 October the selection board met, including the UNDP Travnik Area Development Planner, one representative from UNDP Sarajevo, one from IBHI, and two civil representatives from Travnik. The Mayor was invited to be a member of the panel but was unable to attend the selection meeting.

Letters were written to all applicants within two weeks of the selection board meeting. Successful groups were invited to a three day training in November 1997 organized by IBHI, after which some had to revise their budgets and establish separate bank accounts, following which the grant, in one or two instalments, could be paid. In fact, through miscalculation of when groups would need the money, most organizations had to wait for the money until mid-January 1998 so that, at the time of the interviews to evaluate the scheme, most groups were still wondering when they would get the grant. IBHI are responsible for the monitoring of the groups through monthly reports.

Out of 32 applications, 16 were successful. 6 received all the money they asked for; 5 got more than 75%; 2 got 50%; and 3 got 34% or less. The amounts received varied between 2,500 DEM and 15,000 DEM. The total of grants was 152,620 DEM making an average grant of 9,500 DEM.

Table One below shows the breakdown of groups whose application were successful and unsuccessful in terms of eight categories. The category 'Education', which mainly covers schools, had the most applicants (8 or 25%) and a low success rate (2 or 25%).

Other low success rates were in 'Health', again covering public provision, where neither applicant was successful, and in 'Culture' where only 1 out of 5 applicants (20%) was successful. The category 'Others' covers an Association of Pensioners, a Deaf Person's Association, a Group for War Disabled, and one for Civil Disabled.

Table One: Successful and Unsuccessful Applicants by Field of Interest.

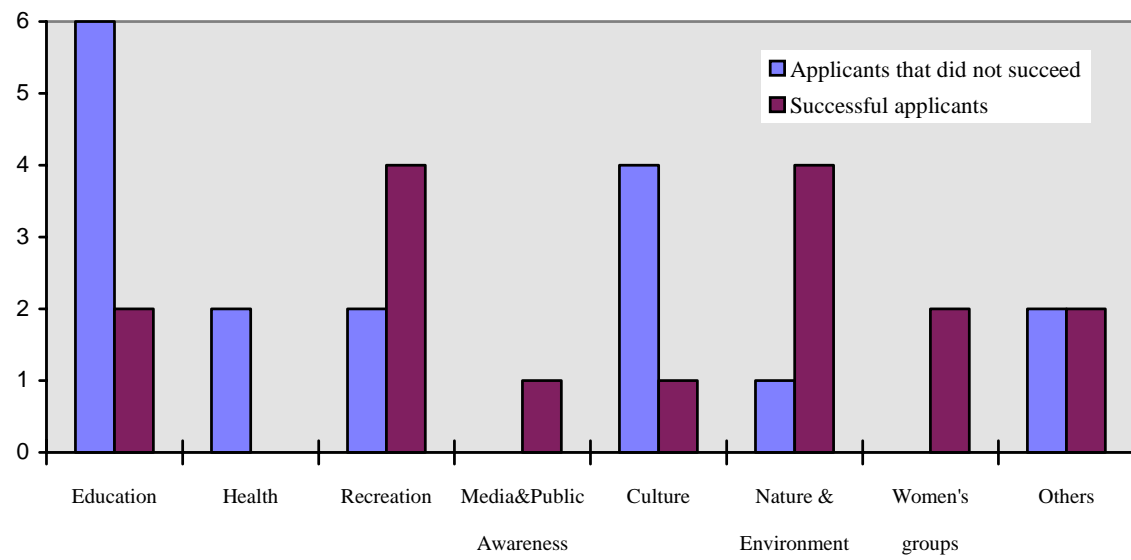
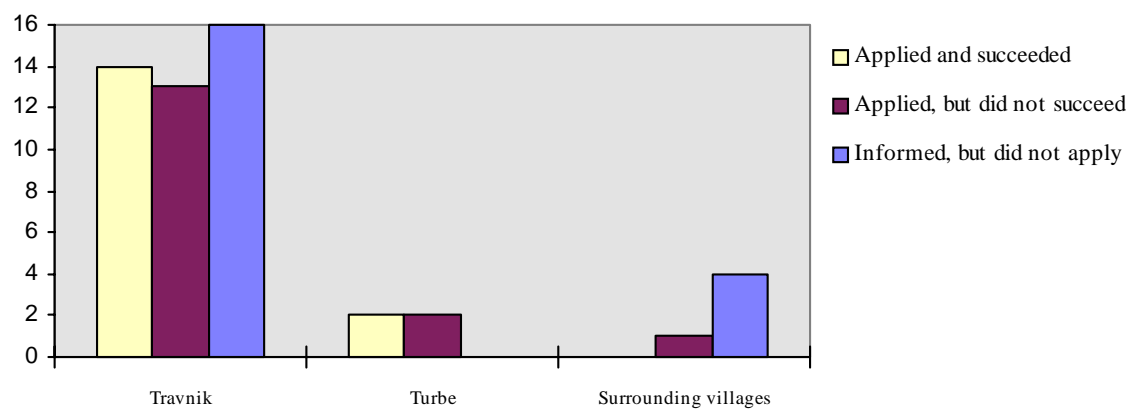


Table Two shows all the groups visited in terms of their location. The overwhelming majority visited (43 out of 52 or 83%) and successful (14 out of 16 or 87.5%) are located in Travnik itself. Four groups applied from Turbe, a small town just outside of Travnik, where informal connections between the different groups is strong, and there was a lot of discussion among them about the grant. However, only one of the five groups approached in the surrounding villages applied and, moreover, did not succeed. In terms of an attempt to promote civil society development in rural areas, therefore, the initial scheme has, certainly, not met its objective.

Table Two: Location of Groups.



The Grant procedure is likely to be repeated, although subject to some variations, in the next funding cycle, 1998—1999. In addition, plans are underway to develop an NGO Resource Centre in Travnik. The CCC and UNDP also hosted one of the *Miramida* trainings in peace-building in March 1998, facilitating networking between civil initiatives in Travnik and others in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. In this sense, the Grant Scheme is only one part of UNDP's civil society programming in Travnik.

## The Evaluation

As already stated above, the evaluation of the Grants Scheme took place immediately after the seminar for successful groups and was one part of an ongoing participatory evaluation of the entire IRPT. As such, it was much less focused on gathering social scientific data than on garnering initial perceptions of a range of groups about the scheme, the criteria, the process, and so on, as well as on issues of concern to the sector. It cannot, at such an early stage, be taken as a definitive statement of the value of the scheme but does, in our view, shed important light on perceptions of it and, therefore, on issues which need to be addressed in the future and in devising similar schemes for other contexts.

This section is based, then, on interviews with 51 groups, including 6 that had not received an initial visit providing information about the scheme. These were groups which, because of their perceived mono-ethnic character, had been felt not to meet the criterion regarding multi-ethnic membership. Visiting these groups was specifically seen as important in addressing how this criterion was regarded. Each interview took some 20 to 30 minutes, and was based on a semi-structured format with a questionnaire to hand. The interviewee, in all cases, was either the person who wrote the application or the person who had decided whether or not to apply. In addition the two people, one from CCC and one from UNDP, who constituted the initial pre-selection meeting, were also interviewed.

In this section we discuss the material from the interviews in terms of six, inter-related, parts: first approach; the process of applying; the criteria; those who did not succeed; 'mono-ethnic' groups; and after success. Before drawing out the lessons for the future, in the last section of the report, we also note here the kinds of issues which could, or perhaps should, be central to evaluation of the scheme in the future.

### First Approach

The overwhelming majority of those who applied first heard of the scheme through the personal visit from CCC or UNDP representatives. Some had heard the advertisement on the radio, seen it on tv, or read about it in the newspapers but this was never a decisive factor in applying. This reinforces the point that personal contact is of immense importance in a scheme of this kind, whilst wider advertising may, in a way, be more effective if targeted to raise general public awareness of issues of civil society development. One applicant had not received a visit but had personally called into the office to ask what IRPT was doing. As already stated, word of mouth between groups in Turbe was also important and is, perhaps, an issue which needs more thought in terms of the low level of applications from rural areas.

In their views about being approached, there was a sharp difference between the citizens associations, most of whom had never been directly approached by a donor and hence felt very positive about being taken seriously, and the public institutions, particularly the schools, health and social welfare institutions, which had seen a long line of potential donors coming and asking about the situation and their needs but which had, rarely, if ever, resulted in anything concrete. These groups which, it should be remembered, were, on the whole,

much less successful in their applications, tended to be less enthusiastic about being approached, therefore. The director of the pharmacy, who decided not to apply, for example stated: "I have spent so much time preparing information for donors, writing and translating it into English, doing a lot of work, but never receiving anything back". The contrast with a representative of a women's group is stark: "It was a wonderful feeling that someone came to us and asked what was needed."

This split raises issues to which we return in our conclusions but it is clear that only some of the groups approached fitted into the model of the scheme which assumed that they had been ignored by donors in the past. Where those approached already had a history of 'unfulfilled promises', it seems unlikely that a single visit, announcing a new scheme by yet another, relatively unknown, donor, would be effective in countering negative perceptions and expectations.

### The Process of Applying

Whilst the application form was kept simple, there was still a need to construct a case and present a narrative, as well as produce quite detailed costings in a specific format. This, in itself, was enough to deter some from applying. Some applicants misunderstood what was being asked of them: one wrote down all possible future activities, a kind of 'wish list' for his association, and put in a proposal with a total budget of about 100,000 DEM, stating in interview: "I thought that UNDP wanted us to explain our future plans and that they then would choose what they wanted to support from that."

What might merit further investigation is whether *how* a group went about writing a proposal is itself indicative of its internal processes and structures and, perhaps, even, of their significance in terms of associationality and trust. Some made the application writing a group process, with a meeting to discuss ideas. Others specifically called on friends or group members with higher educational backgrounds to help. Both of these strategies were more successful, in fact, than the not uncommon practice of passing the form to a subordinate, usually a woman, to complete.

Unquestionably, the single most important determinant of success was whether the group continued to return to the CCC/UNDP office to ask more questions or seek advice about the application process. All who did this felt that this helped them immensely and that those asked were both open and accessible. Those who did not return to ask questions tended to be those delegated the task and/or those who were particularly negative about international donors from previous experience.

### The Criteria

In a similar way, the criteria were regarded very differently by citizens' associations and by public institutions. Most of the former saw the criteria positively, as clear, and as an indication of the seriousness of the scheme and its reluctance 'to hand money out left, right and centre', although some were scared off by the number of criteria and, therefore, the need for some detail in the application. The latter found them, at best, rather vague and inappropriate and, at worst, completely offensive. This is not at all surprising since the criteria were not designed with public institutions in mind and, as noted above, when these were added the criteria, wrongly in our view, were left unchanged.

Apart from the criterion on multi-ethnic membership, discussed below, the most contentious issue was the non availability of assistance for office equipment, including computers. Again, this was much less an issue with the associations, perhaps recognising that too many organizations saw computers as the most important fashion accessory in the NGO world, than with public bodies, such as the Travnik Archive, whose work depended on processing information. They would have liked to have applied for a photocopier which, obviously, is needed desperately but, instead, applied, successfully in fact, for a lightning conductor for one of the storage houses. As their director told us: “We needed it, that’s for sure ... but it is a thousand times more urgent for us to have a copy machine or a computer.”

In addition, the one application from a women’s group was treated more favourably than it might otherwise have been, in that a relatively poorly structured application received a positive response. Moreover, the group received funds for computers for training purposes — actually not breaking the rules — whereas one school was told that its application for computers for classes was turned down because the criteria specifically said no computers.

Among the institutions with responsibilities and obligations towards the public, the frustration is tangible. There are many examples from the schools, the Centre for Social Work and the hospitals where water is dripping from the ceiling, the heating system is out of order or the children huddle up in extremely small spaces. It is, to say the least, seen as provocative to come into these settings and offer money for activities that are *not* for reconstruction or for recurrent costs such as salaries or office operational costs. The representative from the Gymnasium stands out as an exception, when she says: “I know it is difficult to think further when the most basic needs are not met, but we *have* to do that. I believe it will give us a push ahead into something better on all levels.”

### The Unsuccessful

Those who applied and were not successful can, roughly, be divided equally between those who were relatively satisfied and those who were dissatisfied and, in some cases, angry. More often than not the dissatisfaction derived from the reasons given for not receiving a grant which, in most cases, were written in a letter of rejection. Particularly galling for a small number of groups who had been told that their applications would fit the criteria, was to receive rejection letters which simply stated that they fell ‘outside the criteria’. Another problem was that four applications from cultural institutions appeared to have been confused as only one letter of rejection was received, indicating to those concerned that their applications had not been taken seriously.

Again, the greatest problems occurred with public institutions, particularly schools, who tended to see their own lack of success, as against other schools’ success, as unjust. In terms of need, for example, village schools are even worse off than those in the towns and yet the town schools fared better, presumably because of the quality of their applications. The need to write much clearer rejection letters or, indeed, to follow up with all applicants by visiting was illustrated by one example of a school which did not get a grant on the grounds that they fulfilled the criteria for a grant from SFOR (the NATO-led intervention force in Bosnia). No one informed the school how to go about pursuing this, however, so that they did nothing and waited for SFOR to contact them. Few organizations made any effort, themselves, to contact UNDP to find out more about why they had been unsuccessful which also suggests that the initiative had to come from UNDP.

The fact that, in its essence, the Grants Scheme involves competition rather than co-operation between organizations is something which we discuss in the following section. It is important to note here the particular problems posed, yet again, by including public institutions in the scheme. These are of two distinct kinds. The first is that when some quite basic needs of public institutions are not being met, and their applications to meet some of these are unsuccessful, there is, unsurprisingly, a degree of resentment on hearing that the Association of Letter-Carrier Pigeons received a quite substantial grant! Secondly, some public institutions received grants for proposals which covered needs which all similar institutions have. One school, for example, received a grant for reference books, notebooks and videotapes for special classes given for returnee children who, having been out of the Bosnian school system for some time, need extra support with Bosnian language, history, and some other subjects. One unsuccessful applicant told us: "But we all have returnee children in our schools, and we all give them extra lessons." Interestingly, the grant provoked two different kinds of responses, one simply wishing that they too had come up with that idea, which begs the question what would happen if, in the next round of grants, they simply copy the successful proposal; and the other seeing such a grant as by definition unfair and divisive.

The level of resentment should not, however, be overstated. Almost all of the unsuccessful groups stated that, should the opportunity arise, they would apply again. They had been encouraged by the efforts of follow-up, including this evaluation, and by seeing publicity about those who were successful.

#### 'Mono-ethnic' Groups

The supposedly 'mono-ethnic' groups visited for the evaluation, but not visited in the initial phase of giving information about the grant because it was assumed that they would not fulfil the criterion on multi-ethnic membership, included a number of cultural associations, a women's group, and a small business association. The interviews revealed the key difference, not addressed in the criterion, between being *open* to all, and actually having members of different ethnic groups actively involved, what might be termed being *accessible* to all. There is also a big difference between those groups which are focused on the need for cultural identity and those which seem, in their name for example, to be more exclusionary and discriminatory and, perhaps, unnecessarily so.

Above all, some of the groups pointed out that the assumption that they were mono-ethnic was a prejudice which many international organizations showed and that they had, in fact, been given no opportunity to demonstrate that they do have members from different backgrounds. Moreover, there was a feeling that the 'multi-ethnic' membership criteria politicised the issue of associations more than necessary and that it was unhelpful in a situation where groups were expressly non-political which should be a more important criterion. It should be stated that most of the associations who applied under the scheme did not see the criterion as problematic and, moreover, argued that a multi-ethnic membership was important in the striving for renewed social integration.

Yet again, however, the criterion was seen as wholly inappropriate for public institutions, particularly schools, whose *raison d'être* is to serve pupils in a particular area regardless of ethnicity and who, therefore, found the need to state that they were open to all problematic. In one case, the criterion was the reason given for not applying.

## After Success

Not surprisingly, those groups which were successful were the most fulsome in their praise of the Grants scheme. They also tended to rate the follow-up seminar for all 16 groups as very useful, one suggesting indeed that: "If I had been to the seminar before we applied, I would have written a much better application." In terms of the issue of associationality, it is important to note that this was, even in a relatively small town such as Travnik, the first chance groups had had to meet each other and find out what others were doing. It also served to galvanise the beginnings of a concern with common interests, including the need for an NGO Resource Centre. The information and exercises were seen as very useful, especially relating to financial management issues which some of the groups had not really thought about before. The seminar also reinforced a view of the scheme as serious and committed to supporting groups whilst also seeking to ensure that the money was well spent. The only criticism was voiced by those with higher levels of formal education who felt that those with less experience tended to hold the group back, and suggesting that perhaps different seminars could have been held to take these different levels into account.

The biggest source of frustration at the time of the interview was, as noted above, the fact that in most cases the grant, or even part of it, had not yet been received. For whatever reason, all of the groups believed that the grant would come shortly after the seminar. It did not and, moreover, there was no information forthcoming from UNDP or anyone else about when it would arrive. Again, interestingly, groups did not feel confident enough to enquire but, rather, began to get nervous and some even worried that something had happened which meant that the grant would not come. Frustration increased because, of course, having told their members that the money had been approved, groups could not tell them when they would be able to begin the projects funded: "People have been let down so many times, we need to show them that this is not just empty promises", were the words of a representative from the War Invalid's Association whose members were pressing to know when work could start on the planned Gymnasium. Again, this indicates the level of mistrust of international agencies based on unfulfilled promises from the past and also points to the need for an agency, wishing to be perceived as 'different', to continually keep people informed about what is happening.

Indeed, in some cases, the late arrival of the grant caused interruptions to projects which depended on certain timings, notably that of the Sport Fishermen's Club who were forced to delay planting fish spawns until March, to avoid them being eaten by bigger fish; a metaphorical parody, perhaps, of the world of local and international agencies! Ideas which had seemed fresh at the time of the application, for example a radio programme on drugs, began to seem slightly dated four months later as the funds still had not appeared. What should be remembered is that most of the successful associations had little prior understanding of the workings of large international agencies, and of the delays which often occur. Again, this reinforces the need to continue to inform, explain, and clarify.

## Some Key Issues for Future Evaluations

It is far too early to judge the extent to which the objectives of the Grants Scheme have been achieved. Ongoing monitoring and evaluation, together perhaps with an external assessment based on a more rigorous social scientific methodology, will be necessary. Moreover, the need to operationalise notions such as 'associationality', 'social capital' and so on, which we address further in the section below, is clear. All we have so far, is useful, but limited, information on the perceptions of a range of groups in Travnik about the scheme. A key issue to be addressed in future evaluations will be the extent to which the groups are able to use the grant to promote participation, by significant numbers of their members, by new members, by members of different ethnic groups and, perhaps most importantly, by the new returnees to the area. The issue of gender participation in groups and associations, ignored by Putnam, is also a crucial issue: many of the traditional associations he names have an active membership which is overwhelmingly male although this does not necessarily mean that women are not involved. Certainly, this feeling was behind the specific criterion to encourage applications from women's groups with the IRPT scheme but, clearly, this is not a complete answer.

Profiling active members of the groups in terms of political attitudes and affiliations might, also, be an important gauge of whether such groups are modelling alternative cultures of democracy although, as Putnam makes clear, the impact of this is very unlikely to show up in the short- or even the medium-term. Wider research on the numbers of associations within Travnik, and their active memberships, combined with historical excavation of such information from the pre-war period, and even further back to before the Tito era, might also be important parts of the larger picture. The use of an NGO Resource Centre, if and when it materialises, will also be an important gauge of the success of the scheme in promoting associationality.

## Some Broader Considerations

In this more tentative final section, we look at three issues: the lessons learnt and possible recommendations for the future development of the scheme, and of civil society generally, in Travnik; the wider implications and replicability of the scheme, elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in terms of its relevance for other post-conflict societies; and a reconsideration of concepts of 'associationality', 'social capital' and 'trust' in the light of the case example, and in terms of a research agenda for the future.

### Future Development of the Travnik Scheme

One of the purposes of an ongoing participatory evaluation is, of course, to identify weaknesses and problems in aspects of programming as early as possible in order to amend and rectify them. There are three broad features of the Grants Scheme which, in our view, need to be addressed in order to improve its effectiveness in terms of stated objectives.

Firstly, and most acutely, it should be recognized that the inclusion of public institutions in an unamended Civil Society Grants Scheme was, however justifiable the motives, a clear mistake. Most of the problems of the perception of the scheme and of the contribution not to trust but to its converse, derived from this decision. Public institutions are not a part of civil society and should not have been included in the scheme. The obvious needs of this sector cannot be met through a programme such as this which pits such institutions in competition with each other and with citizens associations which focus on leisure pursuits and so on rather than on basic social needs.

It could be argued that an integrated social development programme should address these needs through other, core, aspects of its programming and, indeed, this is likely to happen in the future in a number of areas. Within each sector, be it social welfare, health, education, or whatever, there is a need for citizens efforts, and indeed service oriented local NGOs, which can be promoted through such a Grants Scheme; Parent-Teachers Associations can raise funds for some aspects of school building reconstruction, for example. However, in a post-conflict environment in which *basic* infrastructure has been destroyed, there is clearly a need, independent of this, for support for essential services to reach basic levels and standards. Taking these issues out of the scheme would, rightly, leave the scheme reserved for the kinds of associations which Putnam refers to in 'Making Democracy Work' and which, clearly from the evaluation thus far, are most positive about, and derive most value from, it anyway.

Secondly, there is a need for those associated with the scheme to be even more proactive in spreading information about it to groups, and in keeping them informed about what is happening. This is particularly important in order to ensure that more groups in rural areas feel able to apply, and to ensure that no-one is put off by the form filling. Encouraging groups to return to ask questions, ensuring a follow-up visit, and perhaps even holding a seminar prior to the closing date for applications, are suggestions to improve the spread of groups applying and the fairness of the scheme. Such a seminar could also facilitate co-

operation between groups, identify alternative community leaders, and begin to cast the 'cultural template' of democracy which Putnam refers to.

Consistency is, perhaps, the most important aspect of the communication between the scheme's organizers and groups in the community. As we have seen, letters of rejection are a crucial part of the process and, if incomplete, badly worded or simply not sent to everyone, these can compound feelings of mistrust. Successful groups need to be given a clear date when and how they will receive the money and kept informed about any changes in this and the reasons for them.

Thirdly, a debate about the criterion of 'multi-ethnic membership' needs to take place, and a clearer distinction made between openness and accessibility in relation to the group's objectives. It might be that non-political groups which reinforce aspects of ethnic and religious identity, amongst returnees for example, can contribute to associationality, trust and, therefore, social capital, especially if they are open to contacts with groups covering other identities, and that they should be considered within the scheme. On the other hand, similarly to the issue of public institutions, it could be that these groups should be covered by other schemes, inside or outside the UNDP umbrella, leaving the Civil Society Grants Scheme explicitly reserved for multi-ethnic groups.

None of the other criteria seem particularly problematic once public institutions are excluded from applying, although the confusing interpretation of the criterion on computers needs to be clarified. Similarly, the way in which to positively encourage applications targeting women and women's groups needs to be thought through a little more and, perhaps, a similar statement targeting groups in rural areas could be produced. The danger of setting out which groups will be more favourably regarded are, of course, that some of the other criteria may begin to be applied inconsistently or, even, that some minimal attempts will be made to address such themes in applications but with little real effect on the ground. The criterion on 'maintaining a good working relationship with the local authority' might, in the future, need more careful handling since, obviously, such a relationship involves responsibilities on both sides and, whilst the local authority is seen positively at the moment, there is a recognition that this is not cast in stone and could change. The danger that groups which promote 'social justice capital' (Stubbs, 1998) through their lobbying on behalf of the most powerless, could be excluded from the scheme is one which needs to be kept under review.

Overall, the initial evaluation would suggest that the scheme should continue in the future and, indeed, that it would be very useful for UNDP and the other organizations involved to be able to indicate to the community groups that they have longer-term plans to support civil society in the area which will be applied consistently and not subject to short-term, trend-based, considerations. If this occurs then, of course, more ownership of the programme, and key civic participation in decision-making within IRPT itself, precisely in line with Putnam's 'cultural template', can be built in.

We would not see the competitive element of the grant scheme as problematic — if the scheme did not exist then the groups would compete, probably on less equal terms, to find funds anyway and, after all, such competition is a hallmark of the skills needed for success in the economic free market! However, we would like to see more aspects of co-operation, solidarity, and shared initiatives built in more, perhaps through the development of an NGO Resource Centre.

## Wider Applicability

At such an early stage in the scheme, we would be reluctant to suggest that it has wider applicability, especially given the tendency of international agencies to pick up 'successful' schemes and transplant their surface features, minus the approach, philosophy and forethought which contributed to the success in the first place, practically anywhere in the world. However, certainly within Bosnia-Herzegovina, there have been very few reports of useful contributions to civil society development. We suspect that such schemes, and a grey literature surrounding them, do exist and that, not unlike the IRPT scheme, the schemes are quite localized and not necessarily replicable elsewhere, certainly in 'technical terms'.

What is needed, however, is some attempt, through publications, research, or a workshop, for example, to pool knowledge which clearly exists, and to see what lessons can be learnt from the Travnik scheme, and from others, which might inform future practice. Avoiding the lack of trust which usually accompanies such comparisons, and ensuring that problems in each scheme are addressed, rather than reinforcing vested interests which would see their own scheme as 'the best thing', might be a tall order in the competitive international agency world of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are some schemes which resemble the Travnik approach, although none, to our knowledge, quite so explicitly links support for associations with integrated social development, so that the room for sharing of experiences is vast. Again, such a pooling would need to have a Bosnian agenda and not be dominated by international agencies and researchers.

Clearly, more widely, a rethink is occurring regarding assumptions about the role of NGOs in peace building in post conflict situations (cf Hulme and Goodhand, 1997). The need for comparative research on different post-conflict contexts, precisely the research which Hulme and Goodhand are just beginning, is vital. As they themselves argue, the picture will be far more messy than the traditional opposition between NGOs as panacea and NGOs as a problem, and will reflect historically-specific contexts of the relationship between particular NGOs and other social institutions. Nevertheless, the argument, at least implicit in this case study, that Putnamesque associations have as much, if not more, of a role to play in peace-building than those 'new breed' NGOs which are explicitly and intellectually focused on the orthodoxy of 'conflict resolution', is an avenue worthy of exploration. This does not necessarily mean, however, that donor support for civic initiatives with a peace-building focus, should be ended, although we do concur with Duffield (1996) that it needs to be refocused, made more selective and less exploitative and, therefore, in a small number of cases, made longer-term.

## Whither Social Capital?

In conclusion, there is a need to go back to the original conception of 'social capital' in terms of 'norms' and 'trust' and 'networks of solidarity' and ask what this really means in specific settings such as Travnik? Obviously, associations of citizens are one part of the answer to this question, but they cannot be addressed discretely outside of the wider social and institutional setting. Feeling and expressing solidarity in a Fishermen's Club probably, in the short-term at least, tell us nothing about relationships between politicians and voters,

between housing officials and tenants or, indeed, between men and women in households, all of which are clearly relevant to the context of governance and democracy. We would also caution against the attempt to construct a 'Putnam index' (Harriss, 1997) which gives quantitative values to a number of variables and would prefer, instead, more reflexive, anthropological work to shed light on the nuances of social capital. The technisation of 'development studies' at the expense of this reflection is a major problem.

Harriss' suggestion that four different elements: 'family and kinship connections', 'associational life', 'political capital', and 'social norms and values' are too often conflated and need to be separated out, might offer a more useful starting point. Within this, of course, cultural factors and the role of what might be termed 'dysfunctional associations', Mafia-like structures being the most obvious, would also need to be considered. Whether civil society programming within an integrated development programme, even with a medium- or long-term focus, has any significant role in the *production* of trust and, thus, of this more nuanced sense of 'social capital', must remain an open question. In other words, how far Putnam's notion of 'social capital' effects the ability of local elites, in post-conflict societies, to continue to exert control over resources, including international aid resources, is unclear. Ensuring that different groups are empowered to break down the dominance of particular elites is, implicitly at least, the aim of programmes which seek to build associationality. However, more sophisticated analytical and implementation tools are needed before this can be seen as a way forward in the development of post-conflict societies.

In other words, international agencies need to engage in a complex analysis of the political economy of post-conflict societies, in which 'social capital' is only one factor amongst many. In addition, the relationship between formal policies and local actors, in which complex processes occur which change meanings and outcomes, must be addressed. Schemes such as the Travnik project's civil society grant programme are valuable insofar as they attempt to steer a middle course between a crude 'economic development first' strategy, most likely to empower existing economic and political elites, and a crude 'democratisation first' strategy, which empowers alternative civic opposition with no secure local base. Beyond this, the vexed question of the relationship between economic development and democratisation, the key question in post-conflict intervention in a sense, remains complex and contingent.

## Bibliography

- Andric, A. (1996) *Bosnian Chronicle*. Harvill Press.
- Bekkering, D. (1997) *The World of Bosnian NGOs*. Mimeo: UNOV, Gornji Vakuf.
- Deacon, B. and Stubbs, P. (1998) *International Actors and Social Policy Development in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Globalism and the 'new feudalism'*. in *Journal of European Social Policy* v.8, forthcoming.
- Duffield, M. (1994) *Complex Political Emergencies: an exploratory report for UNICEF with reference to Angola and Bosnia*. Mimeo: University of Birmingham.
- Duffield, M. (1996) *Social Reconstruction in Croatia and Bosnia: an exploratory report for SIDA*. Mimeo: University of Birmingham.
- Fox, J. (1997) *The World Bank and Social Capital: contesting the concept in practice*. *Journal of International Development* 9;963-971.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995) *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. Penguin.
- Goodhand, J. and Hulme, D. (1997) *NGOs and Peace Building in Complex Political Emergencies: an introduction*. NGOs and Complex Political Emergencies Working Paper no. 1. University of Manchester and INTRAC.
- Harriss, J. (1997) *'Missing Link' or Analytically Missing? The Concept of Social Capital: an introductory bibliographic essay*. Draft manuscript.
- Kljajic, V. (1998) *Social Policy and Social Protections in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina*. in Stubbs, P. and Gregson, K. (eds) *Social Policy, Protection and Practice: the care of vulnerable groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Skolska Knjiga, forthcoming.
- Large, J. (1997) *The War Next Door: a study of second-track intervention during the war in ex-Yugoslavia*. Stroud: Hawthorn Press.
- Misztal, B. (1996) *Trust in Modern Societies: the search for the bases of social order*. Polity Press.
- Papic, Z. (1998) *Centres for Social Work: their reform and co-operation with NGOs*. in Stubbs, P. and Gregson, K. (eds.) *Social Policy, Protection and Practice: the care of vulnerable groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Skolska Knjiga, forthcoming.
- Peirce, P. and Stubbs, P. (1998) *Peace-building, Hegemony and Integrated Social Development: the case of UNDP in Travnik, Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Paper presented to ECPR-ISA Conference, Vienna, September.
- Putnam, R. et al. (1993) *Making Democracy Work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. (1995a) *'Bowling Alone?': an interview with Robert Putnam about America's collapsing civic life*. American Association for Higher Education Bulletin, September.
- Internet [http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v006/putnam.interview.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/journal_of_democracy/v006/putnam.interview.html)
- Putnam, R. (1995b) *Bowling Alone: America's declining social capital*. *Journal of Democracy* 6(1);65—78.
- Internet [http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v006/putnam.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/journal_of_democracy/v006/putnam.html)
- Putzel, J. (1997) *Accounting for the 'Dark Side' of Social Capital: reading Robert Putnam on democracy*. *Journal of International Development* 9; 939—49.
- Silber, L. and Little, A. (1995) *The Death of Yugoslavia*. Penguin.

- Smillie, I. (1996) *Service Delivery or Civil Society?: non governmental organizations in Bosnia and Hercegovina*. Mimeo: Zagreb, CARE Canada.
- Stubbs, P. (1996a) *Nationalisms, Globalization and Civil Society in Croatia and Slovenia*. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, 19; 1—26.
- Stubbs, P. (1996b) *Developing an Evaluation Model for Grassroots Social Reconstruction and Peace-building Projects*. Mimeo, also on email news group APC/Yugo/Antiwar, May.
- Stubbs, P. (1997a) *Croatia: NGO Development, Globalism and Conflict*. in Bennett, J. (ed) *NGOs and Governments: a review of current practice for Southern and Eastern NGOs*. INTRAC/ICVA.
- Stubbs, P. (1997b) *Social Reconstruction and Social Development in Croatia and Slovenia: the role of the NGO sector*. Leeds Met. University, ISPRU Occasional Papers in Social Studies, 7.
- Stubbs, P. (1998) *NGO Development in Central Europe: from 'social capital' to 'social justice'?* Paper presented to CEFTRAN Conference, Prague, March.
- [http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp/ps\\_cv.htm](http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp/ps_cv.htm)
- Tendler, J. (1997) *Good Government in the Tropics*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

## The Authors

*Ulla Engberg*

is a United Nations Volunteer (UNV) currently working with UNDP in Travnik in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

*Paul Stubbs*

is a Researcher attached to GASPP and a Consultant to UNDP in Travnik on Participatory Evaluation.



## The Globalism and Social Policy Programme GASPP

*GASPP* is a five year (1997—2002) research, advisory, education and public information programme based jointly at STAKES (National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health), Helsinki, Finland and the Centre for Research on Globalization and Social Policy, Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield, England.

*GASPP* is concerned with

- the globalization of social policy and the social content of global politics
- the impact on the making of national social policy of supranational organizations such as the IMF, World Bank and WTO, the UN Social Agencies (WHO, UNICEF, ILO, UNDP etc), and regional organizations (EU, NAFTA, ASEAN, Council of Europe etc.)
- the field of policy making that embraces global social redistribution, global social health and labour regulation, and global social provision and empowerment.
- the role of international civil society (transnational social movements and international NGOs) in shaping a global discourse on social policy and in contributing to the making of social policy in developing, crisis-ridden, war-torn, and post-communist societies.

It is the aim of the *GASPP* programme to,

- Contribute to the understanding of the political processes at a global and supranational level shaping social policy within and between countries.
- Contribute to the improvement in the practice of international organizations, aid agencies, development organizations, consultancy companies and international NGOs.
- Contribute to the dialogue concerning the nature and regulation of universal human and social rights.
- Contribute to the global governance reform agenda in the interests of improving the way the world is governed in order to secure social welfare for all.

Further Information on *GASPP*'s work, and copies of recent publications by *GASPP* staff, can be found on the internet at <http://www.stakes.fi/gaspp> or contact *GASPP*'s Director, Professor Bob Deacon by E-mail: [B.Deacon@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:B.Deacon@sheffield.ac.uk)

Telephone +44 114 222 6407 (Sheffield) or +358 9 3967 2482 (Helsinki)

Fax +44 114 276 8125 (Sheffield) or +358 9 3967 2417 (Helsinki)

or mail: Professor Bob Deacon  
GASPP, University of Sheffield  
Dept of Sociological Studies  
Elmfield, Northumberland Road  
Sheffield S10 2TU, UK.