D@dalos
Association for Peace Education Work

Serving the Community

An Assessment of Civil Society in Rural BiH

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is the result of a six-month field study conducted by *D@dalos* between May and November 2002 into the state of the non-profit sector in BiH in all areas of the country beyond the centres of economic, political and development influence.   In compiling this report qualitative data from 154 interviews with civil society organisations in 51 small towns and villages from across the whole of BiH were placed in the context of current development and civil society theory, in order to produce an interpretive assessment of civil society.

The aim of the report is to provide international and Bosnian development agencies, foreign governments and training institutions with a detailed overview of the present capacity and potential of community-based organisations in rural BiH.   It is hoped that these agencies will use the report's findings to target future funding and training interventions more accurately. At the same time, the report may be used as a diagnostic tool by Bosnian organisations for improving their performance.

CBOs in rural BiH are presently greater in number and more widespread than had previously been thought. Half the CBOs currently operating are three-and-a-half years old or less. In the main, they are staffed by workers who have no prior experience of the non-profit sector.   The steady stream of new CBOs testifies to a growing sense of empowerment among local communities.

CBOs that constitute civil society in rural BiH are founded upon values of inclusiveness, ethnic equality, social equity and empowerment of the individual that are directed towards the fulfilment of practical needs within the local community.   This common community-oriented framework combined with the closeness CBOs to their beneficiaries and their willingness for public service, gives civil society the potential to play an increasingly important role in (re)creating stable communities across BiH by building trust between local citizens, inculcating values of reciprocity and mitigating conflicts in the locality.

A great many CBOs are not fulfilling this potential owing to small organisation size, poor financial resources and a lack of skills, experience and general capacities. In contrast to this, a small elite cadre of fully professional NGOs dominates effective community action across the country. These are generally older organisations that have built their success on an ability to attract steady and increasing international funding over the years. All have high levels of organisational skills, having benefited from a variety of technical trainings from INGOs, but remain in touch with their constituents at the grassroots.

All CBOs face challenges in accessing sufficient resources to fund activities. The majority of CBOs lack a solid financial base and many are presently insolvent. Most of the sector is over dependent on international sources of funding, which are reduced, increasingly unpredictable and in total insufficient to support more than a fraction of civil society activity. Despite lack of wealth in the BiH economy generally, funding from local sources is possible and a viable option for the development of a sector consisting mainly of small voluntary grassroots organisations. Encouragingly a significant number of organisations are beginning to develop successful strategies for developing a variety of local sources of income and the evidence is clear that BiH citizens are willing to support activities from which they may gain personally in non-financial ways or which serve an important community need.

The potential for effective sustainable activity is not simply a measure of an organisation's ability to attract or generate funds. It is a composite of characteristics, behaviours, working methods and attitudes that includes identity, relationships with the

community and other stakeholders, structure, technical skills and experience, internal management and communication, and the ability to learn, adapt and forward plan. Taken as a whole, the sector is performing poorly in all these areas. Very often, external political, social and economic obstacles exacerbate poor CBS performance.

Indistinct organisational identity is a common cause of a lack of focus in CBO activity and a lack of direction and forward planning. Poor relationships with and unsophisticated understanding of beneficiaries contributes to low rates of voluntary action and community support. Community instability and differential social entitlements resulting from ongoing return, public mistrust of NGOs and poverty induced public apathy may all inhibit good beneficiary relations.

Within the wider community, relations with local government are particularly difficult to establish. Municipalities are indifferent to CBOS and ill prepared to cooperate with civil society for reasons of their own shortcomings in capacity, skills and finance.

CBOs have the will to cooperate with one another, but competition for financial resources, personnel and popular support often prove serious barriers to effective communication and cooperation.

The skills and experience needed for organisation development and management are in short supply in rural BiH. Many organisations have benefited from technical trainings from international NGOs, but in the last three years availability of training is greatly reduced. This is disadvantaging the half of the sector that has emerged in this period, particularly in project design and all forms of planning. Skills shortages are compounded by a cultural tendency for CBOs to be over dependent on a single dominant leader in whom the bulk of decision-making powers, skills and administrative responsibilities are concentrated.

Present weaknesses in civil society in rural BiH can be overcome. There are many positive examples of CBOs improving performance by accessing and exploiting a variety of locally available resources of all kinds, financial, material and human. A small number of CBOs, including some young and poorly financed organisations, have developed learning cultures that maximise the potential of their limited resources. By applying institutionalised processes of constant reassessment, improvisation and experiment they are adapting to external change and also gaining a measure of control over the environment they work in.

Abbreviations

AiBi	Associazione Amici Dei Bambini
ADF	America's Development Foundation
ALDI	Agency for the Development of Local Initiatives
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CBO	Community-based organisation
CCI	Centres for Civic Initiatives
CNA	Centre for Non-violent Action
CGS	Centre for Citizens Cooperation (two separate NGOs, Gradačac & Livno)
CSO	Civil society organisation
GAM	Gradiška Zouth Association
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
FBiH	Federation of Muslims and Croats
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KM	Bosnian convertible mark – equivalent to approximately $US or Euro 0.5
KUD	Cultural Club, Mrkonjić Grad
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OKC	Youth Communicaton Centre, Banja Luka
ONIKS	Cultural Education Centre, Višegrad
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RRS	Refugee Return Service, Drvar
RS	Republika Srpska (Republic of Srpska)
SHL	Schüler Helfen Lieben
TALDA	Tuzla Agency for the Development of Local Initiatives
UNDP	United Nations Development Project
UNV	United Nations Volunteers

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 Context of the research

This report is the result of a six-month field study conducted by *D@dalos* between May and November 2002 into the state of the non-profit sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in all areas of the country beyond the centres of economic, political and development influence. The aim of the report is to provide international and Bosnian development agencies, foreign governments and training institutions with a detailed overview of the present capacity and potential of community based organisations (CBOs) and other non-governmental organisations (NGOs). On one level the report may serve as an assessment of the development of civil society generally in BiH, while on another it provides detailed information on specific factors, affecting CBO performance in the varying local political, economic, social contexts that are to be found throughout the country.

In the course of its work towards promoting Education for Democratic Citizenship in schools in all areas of BiH, *D@dalos* became aware that there are a great many existing and emerging CBOs in the more rural areas of BiH. Through informal consultations with a number of donors and international non-government organisations (INGOs), it was apparent that knowledge of this rural non-profit sector is generally superficial and, within individual agencies, limited to the specific towns or areas in which they were operating. In addition, international organisations that do possess knowledge of a specific region are only aware of a particular segment of citizens' action that is related to their own practical activities or their mission. For example, INGOs involved in reconstruction regularly locate citizens groups for return, as they provide a vital source of information for targetting work and also a channel for the distribution of aid to assist the provision of livelihoods. They are often unaware, however, of other worthwhile initiatives working, for example, to educate children, provide for youth activities or for adults with special interests, all of which have a potentially crucial role in the (re)creation of vibrant, inclusive and caring communities.

All available research[1] to date on the characteristics and capacities of the non-profit sector in BiH has concentrated almost exclusively on NGOs and CBOs in the major towns. This reflects the earlier emergence of an identifiable non-profit sector after the war in the urban centres for reasons of higher population concentration, better communications infrastructure, donor presence, larger numbers of skilled and educated people, international NGO policy and more favourable local political conditions. This report will show that civic activity has been widespread in all areas of BiH for some three or four years now, but research carried out in this time has not reflected this activity. This research will go some way to rectifying this oversight.

I.2 Aims and Objectives of the Report

The main aim of the research and the report is:

> To equip local and international development agencies with the information necessary to instigate actions for responsive support of civil society and the creation of social capital in these regions.

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[1] This report makes reference to the following reports: Šero, F. & Mrđa, M. (2001), MSI (2000), Fischer, M. & Tumler, J. (2000), Sterland B. (2000), IBHI (1999a & 1999b), EU (1997).

Specific objectives are:

To provide a general assessment of the state of civil society in the less developed regions of BiH, appraising its potential for growth and sustainable development and elucidating trends and common opportunities and obstacles. This will take account of underlying political, economic and social factors.

To examine in more detail the impact, mode of operation and potential of specific segments of civil society in BiH, whether based on interest, target group or geographical location.

To gain an in-depth understanding of the strengths, weaknesses and needs of civil society generally in the less developed regions of BIH, in relation to factors of political, economic and social isolation.

To provide as full a contact list as possible with up-to-date details of operating CBOs in the smaller towns and villages of BiH.

1.3 Civil Society and Social Capital

It is expected that any possible action resulting from the findings of the *D@dalos* research will be directed towards strengthening civil society within and across the whole territory of BiH. A great many Bosnian CBOs, and NGOs claim the development of civil society as a major aim and the majority of international organisations operating in the country have departments dedicated to this end. In this way they reflect the trend of the last twenty years in development thinking and practice that has emphasised the importance of civil society, particularly in states undergoing democratisation or economic and political transition (Manor, 1999: 1). The term 'civil society', however, remains poorly defined and its meaning in terms of its potential to effect real social action and change is disputed and inadequately understood (Edwards, 1998: 2). A useful starting point would be that it consists of "all the diverse organisational forms that exist outside of the state and the market" (BOND, 1997:2) outside of the family, which are formed voluntarily to protect or promote their own interests (Harvey 1998: 205). These will include CBOs, NGOs, mass movements, cooperatives, professional associations and cultural, sporting and religious groups.

This serves only to establish where civil society takes place, for there is general agreement that civil society does not exist as a static object, but is located in a process of social action directed towards certain social or political ends (MSI, 2000:32). As far as transitional societies are concerned, two groups of theoretical understandings predominate. Liberal-democratic concepts see certain civic institutions as playing an essential role in the development of a free political society based on citizenship, democratic values and behaviour and the rule of law. Sociological or 'non-Western' theories include all associational activity within civil society, which is seen as an intermediary social sphere between state and family in which conflict is mitigated and social cohesion and trust are established through increasing participation on the part of individuals in society. (Manor, 1999: 3, Edwards, 1998: 3).

The former concept assesses civil society on its ability to promote Western values of individual freedom, inculcate notions of citizens' rights and responsibilities and to strengthen good governance, or the sum of interactions between citizens and government. In this way, a measure of civil society will be the number of all those organisations that are actively engaged, for example, in lobbying the authorities for respect of citizens rights and more open government, monitoring democratic processes and human rights, disseminating information and educating the public on their rights and freedoms. On the other hand, theories of participation will assess civil society on the

number of people actively engaged, voluntarily and professionally in associational behaviour. In this way a healthy civil society will include a wide range of sports clubs, NGO service providers, youth recreational groups, religious groups and so on.

The two theories are not mutually exclusive. If participation in society is seen as a way of creating 'social capital', the two may be considered to act in tandem towards the same end. Social capital consists of the norms of reciprocity, interpersonal networks and social trust that are generated through all social interaction, including not only civil society, but also the family and business. For many, social capital 'can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993: 167). A crucial corollary of the interpersonal trust generated is the reproduction and articulation of civic values and the freer exchange of information within society. Citizens are encouraged to participate in economic and political life and the creation of social solidarities acts as a buffer against abuse of power. In short, good governance and the rule of law are made more probable. (Hulme, 2000: 5).

D@dalos approaches civil society from this dual or hybridised viewpoint and this is implied in its mission statement:

> *D@dalos aims to contribute to the building of a culture of peace, democracy and active citizenship through "peace education programs" and support and technical assistance for inclusive participatory civic initiatives in BiH and other countries of South Eastern Europe [   ] aimed at promoting values of equality, equity and civic responsibility in the community.*

D@dalos intentionally specifies that it seeks to support only those forms of social capital that contribute to the growth of a civil society based on 'liberal-democratic' values, as it is aware that social capital and participatory civil society does not in reality always lead to the promotion of civic values and democratic behaviour. Despite the assertion to the contrary of some writers (Putnam, 1993), there is nothing to suggest that the attributes of civic engagement encouraged by social capital should lead to social harmony; they might just as easily facilitate drug gangs or smuggling rings (Foley and Edwards, 1998: 131).

Bearing this in mind, we use the following definition of civil society suggested by Alan Fowler:

> *A political space occupied by citizens who come together to define and pursue common interests. It is a space where* **positive** *(our emphasis) social capital can be created or eroded*

Fowler, 2000: 113

1.4 Assessing Civil Society

In principle, *D@dalos* included all forms of civil society organisations (CSOs) in its study, including, for example, sports clubs, trades unions and work associations, parent teachers associations and so on. In practice, we actively sought out only registered NGOs ('citizen associations' and 'humanitarian organisations') and non-registered citizens groups acting in a variety of fields. This was primarily for practical reasons. With limited resources and time, it was not possible to research and reach all the potential forms of CSOs. Activities initiated by or within schools could be researched if necessary at a later date by our coordinators for *D@dalos*/UNESCO Education Server Programme. Considering the high levels of unemployment and the fragmented nature and immaturity of the private economy, we thought that work associations would be thin on the ground and unions were most likely to be located in the larger towns and operating at a regional or entity level.

From the remaining CSOs, and in line with our own priorities, we also decided to concentrate on those groups that were actively working to create wider networks of social relations, represent a particular social need, provide educational services to increase participation in the wider society or the economy, undertake community development or promote, whether through advocacy or practical activities, values of citizenship and democracy and human rights. This meant the inclusion of a wide variety of CSOs including community, women's and youth groups, organisations providing and advocating for those with special needs, ecology groups, NGO support organisations, and training organisations for business or employment skills. Less emphasis was placed on contacting groups representing special interests and with a more 'closed' or internally focused agenda, such as associations for beekeeping, fishing and hunting. A small number of this type of CSO, however, was interviewed.

While we were interested in contacting non-registered groups as well as official NGOs, early on we realised that these 'voluntary associations' were thin on the ground. Interviews revealed that most citizens groups felt obliged to register as soon a they had gathered together the registration fees so that they could: 1. open a bank account, 2. receive official donations by law from both donors and local sponsors (verifiable by use of the organisation stamp) and 3. gain recognition from the authorities, municipalities and government institutions generally being very reluctant to deal in any way with non-registered organisations.

1.5 Methods and Methodology

I.5.a Logistics

The 6-months field research was carried out between 5 May and November 20, 2002, by Bill Sterland, who as a rule spent three days in the field each week. As *D@dalos* does not possess a vehicle, the major part of this travel was by bus, supplemented by taxi journeys and hitchhiking. During August, thanks to support from the American Development Foundation (ADF) in Sarajevo, a vehicle was made available for work in Central Bosnia. In October and November the German organisation Schüler Helfen Leben (SHL) provided a driver and vehicle for work in Herzegovina (RS and FBiH).

Organisations were located and contacted through a number of sources: existing *D@dalos* contacts with CSOs and schools, information provided by the field offices of OSCE, UNHCR and various INGOs, NGO directories and through contacts made in the field.

All geographical areas were included in the study outside of those towns that were considered to be current centres of civic action and where CBOs had received and continue to receive relatively high levels of international support. For the purposes of the research the following towns were excluded: Banja Luka, Bijelina, Brčko, Mostar, Prijedor, Sarajevo and Zenica. Travnik was originally excluded, but was finally covered, as *D@dalos* agreed to distribute programme material there for ADF as part of the cooperation between the two organisations in Central Bosnia.

I.5.b Data collection

Data collection was conducted in three ways:

- Semi-structured interviews in the offices of individual organisations provided the primary source of information. These interviews were held with as many members of the organisation as possible, but owing to the fact that many

organisations are run on a part-time basis by people with other commitments, or are small in size, it was most usual for only one of two key staff members to be present. On average interviews lasted between 1 and 2 hours and aimed to cover the following topics of information:

- o Purpose of organisation: mission, beneficiaries
- o Values, ethos, guiding principles
- o Activities
- o Vision /long-term goals
- o Governance structures
- o Planning: needs assessment, short-term plans, strategic planning
- o Community relations: beneficiaries, municipalities, other stakeholders
- o Skills, capacities: practical experience, training, organisation knowledge
- o Office capacity and equipment
- o Needs of the organisation

Depending on the stage of development of the organisation, its size and whether it was professional or not, often not all these topics were relevant. Relatively informal interviews allowed the researcher to concentrate on, and delve deeper into data and opinions that appeared most relevant to individual respondents.

A total of 154 interviews were conducted in 51 towns and smaller settlements or villages. A full list of those interviewed is found in Appendix 1. All but 4 interviews (and other contacts) were carried out in the local language.

- Questionnaires were sent out by post and e-mail, or delivered by hand through a third party in the field to a proportion of organisations that could not be located on the day of a visit to a particular place, were inaccessible owing to lack of transport (or in one case, a road with no vehicle access). This method was only introduced one month into the research, when the full limitations of bus travel were fully appreciated. The questions asked addressed essentially the same points covered by the semi-structured interviews. A total of 43 were distributed, of which only 9 were returned. A full list of those responding to questionnaires is found in Appendix 2.

- Use was made of CSOs' own literature, including advertising brochures, posters, websites, project proposals, strategic plans and miscellaneous reports. This not only provided a backup resource for 'objective' information on mission statements, past and present activities and partner organisations, for example, but also provided material for assessing competence at technical skills such as planning and proposal writing, and for further interpretation of the culture and identity of the organisation.

I.5.c. Other sources of information

A variety of contextual and theoretical material was provided by previous accounts of civil society in BiH or programme evaluations issued by development agencies, more general writing on civil society theory and action published in book form or as articles on the Internet and a number of informal meetings with INGOs and development agencies throughout the summer.

I.5.d Quality and interpretation of data

Reliance on the semi-structured interview led to answers that were discursive and normative. Accordingly the study is based upon interpretation rather than hard data,

and the researcher has made conclusions by contrasting the statements and opinions of respondents with both verifiable facts and the statements and opinions of other respondents in the field. He has also drawn from his own experience in working with civil society organisations in the region over the past two years. As most interviews took place in each CSO's offices, quick assessments of the working environment were made and 'rough' appraisals of working practices, capabilities and the culture of organisations were added to the interpretative mix.

The data gathered from questionnaires, although dealing with the same subjects as the interviews, is perhaps 'harder' and more quantifiable, but is essentially superficial. It provides additional information for the establishment of basic trends in the civil sector, such as whether there is an increase in NGO registrations, or whether organisations are gaining regular capacity training. The format, however, did not allow the space to explore possible reasons or motivations for any patterns perceived. This information, therefore, has been used to simply to check if perceived trends may be considered representative and verifiable and is not referred to in the research findings.

An interpretative approach was essential also for distinguishing between the different kinds of CSOs encountered and assessing their potential for achieving growth and positive social capital. Considering the great number of activities, missions and mode of operations of organisations interviewed it was not possible to apply rules or formulae in assessment. For example, measures of effectiveness, sustainability and potential have completely different meanings when applied to a formally structured NGO that provides professional services though a full-time expert staff, on the one hand, and a registered, but essentially informal and voluntary organisation that mobilises community members for localised communal actions, on the other.

II. GENERAL FEATURES OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN RURAL BIH

The sample of 154 interviewed organisations analysed in this study from 51 locations across both entities of BiH indicates that civil society activity is now widespread and generally evenly distributed throughout BiH. The sample should be taken as an indication of the potential for effective civic activism in the community rather than a measure of the sector's strength or its level of activity. Organisations here cover a range of ages, stages of development, experience and effectiveness and include, for example, fully professional NGOs with highly trained, well motivated staff following a clear social agenda, but also amateur associations with part-time staff carrying out piecemeal community actions whenever time and scarce resources allow. Although moribund organisations are excluded, the sample includes a large number of organisations that for various reasons have no current activities, but continue to plan and seek opportunities for action, as well as those that, in the absence of concrete project activities, continue to act as meeting places or social clubs for specific segments of the local community.

II.1 Age of sector

Although civic activity and citizens associations in BiH have a long history going back to the mid-nineteenth century[2], the emergence of a civil society sector in BiH occupying a social space between the state, market and the family and based upon the voluntary gathering of citizens around particular interests, was not possible until the easing of state control of the social sphere after the end of the Cold War. Independent NGOs and civic

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[2] See European Union, 1997: Annexe 3; IBHI 1999: 4. Also Allcock: 277-310, on failure to build civil society in the first two Yugoslavias

associations in BiH began to emerge in 1993, usually as a response to the humanitarian and civic rights issues created by the war.

Civil society in BiH is still a relatively new process and NGOs and CBOs, whatever their size or stage of development, are still learning new ways of thinking, experimenting with unfamiliar organisational forms and the sector as a whole is still in the process of forming into an identifiable, effective and lasting sphere of social action. Studies record that the majority of NGOs were founded in the immediate post-war period of 1996-8, but there was also a continuing proliferation of new civic associations. The sector at this time was described generally as being centred in the main urban centres, with a greater number and concentration of organisations in the Federation, resulting from the fact that Banja Luka, Bijelina and Prijedor were the only sizeable towns in the RS. A number of factors connected to the post-war environment militated against the emergence of significant civic activity in more rural regions of BiH: a lack of educated people, lower population density, lack of access to information and donors owing to geographic isolation compounded by unreconstructed roads and little or no telecommunications, adverse political pressure and suspicion of civic action within the general population (especially in the Eastern RS) and the concentration of donors and donor intervention in the larger towns.

This study's sample confirms that widespread civic activity in more rural areas is indeed lagging behind that in the major cities.   95 of 154 (61.7%) organisations have registered as local NGOs in the last three-and-half years and a further 9 (5.8%) have formed in the last two years and are looking to register (plus one non-registered group working since 1998). This has implications for how one assesses the capacity and the potential of the sector, particularly in light of the present scaling down of international inputs into finance and training. On the other hand, registration figures alone are slightly deceptive, as 8 organisations existed as informal groups for between one and five years before registering after 1999 and a further 7 had been created by INGOs and operated as local NGOs before registering in their own right after this date. In total, therefore, 66 (42.8%) organisations were operating before 1999, suggesting that civil society has been emerging on the periphery for longer than has previously been observed. Within the sample group there is no evidence to suggest that this emergent civil society has been later or slower to develop in Republika Srpska (RS) than in the Federation and exceptions to the rule are detected in isolated towns and regions in both entities.

Table 1. Date of registration as local NGOs

Pre war (re-animated between 1994-2000)	11
1992	0
1993	1
1994	1
1995	0
1996	11
1997	8
1998	17
1999	35
2000	23
2001	21
2002	16
Not registered	10
Total	154

The perception that the RS was less fertile ground for civil society is almost certainly linked to 'uneven intervention' by the international community both during and immediately after the war, which was not only concentrated in the major towns, but also

gravitated towards the Federation and Western RS (Stubbs, 1999: 32). 1999 saw a marked increase in registrations of NGOs in all rural areas of BiH, and interviews suggest that this is directly linked to encouragement from the international community. Federation NGOs commonly report that 1998/1999 was a key period of reconstruction activities by INGOs and that they were actively encouraged to form and register by the international community in order to act as a local source of information for the better targeting of reconstruction, especially in relation to the onset of return in the entity. INGOs also made use of these newly formed groups as a vehicle for the distribution of humanitarian aid (food packages, agricultural tools, livestock).

In the RS, 1998/1999 was the time when international organisations first penetrated the more inaccessible areas (in particular Oxfam and CARE international into Eastern RS), but here intervention was more commonly targeted directly at enabling organisations to operate. With the onset of return still two years away, little reconstruction work was being undertaken. Instead these pioneer INGOs concentrated on giving donations of equipment and organising trainings to enable a variety of civic activities to take place.

1999 in the RS, also appears to mark a thawing of political and social hostility to NGOs. Many respondents commented that the general air of nationalist paranoia that existed in the RS in the immediate post-war period created an animosity to all forms of independent citizens action that could be construed as posing a challenge to the uneasy post-war social settlement. While many citizens might confidently form associations for sport, war invalids or the disabled, this was often not the case for those wishing to promote human rights or the interests of women and youth for example. In the study sample, four women's groups and one youth group that had formed as informal organisations between 1994 and 1997, registered in 1999. Four of these were from the RS and all reported that they felt their registration would have been turned down before this date.

West-Herzegovina Canton (Canton 8) is remarkable in having a very low number of CBOs, the majority of which are recently formed and poorly developed, lacking skills, experience and resources. In the four municipalities of Široki Brijeg, Posušje, Grude and Ljubuški interviews were held with only five organisations, four of which have registered to work since 1999, while the remaining youth group is unregistered, but has existed as an informal organisation since 1998. Another three organisations were confirmed by the OSCE as being present in Široko Brijeg, while two 'Teledoms' (small Internet centres) funded by ADF were opened in 2002 by the NGO *Centar za građansku suradnju* (CGS, Centre for Civic Cooperation) from Livno (Canton 10). Respondents stressed that there is a direct link between the lack of citizens activity in this area and the low level of international support for the canton since the end of the war. The international community has avoided this area for two reasons. Firstly, this canton, along with other parts of West Bosnia and Western Herzegovina (Canton 10 and west Canton 7) has been under the sway of hardline Croat nationalist local and regional governments. The international community has been wary of appearing to support local regimes in the area by offering aid to social and economic projects. At the same time, local governments have themselves resisted international involvement on their patch. Secondly, Canton 8 is traditionally almost completely Croat in national composition, Ljubuški being the only town with a minority population of any size before the war (Bošnjak 5.8%, 1991 census). Consequently the area was relatively untouched by the war and there has been relatively little return and reconstruction work demanding international assistance.

II.2 Size of sector

It is impossible to gain an accurate estimate of the total number of NGOs and CBOs operating in the rural areas of BiH from the study sample. In some of the towns visited a large number of civic groups were reported to be active, many of which it was not

possible to contact directly or interview. For example, in Derventa a recently registered NGO forum boasted 20 member organisations covering a wide variety of activities. In many other towns, however, NGO presence is reliably estimated to number only 3 or 4 associations. An optimistic estimate might put the total number of active or potentially active CBOs and NGOs in the 51 towns and villages covered in this study at 400, with the total number throughout the whole country outside of the main towns at 800.

The field work revealed two important trends. There is a continuing steady process of associations forming and registering in all areas indicating a sense of empowerment amongst citizens and a desire to participate in the community. On the other hand respondents everywhere reported that the last two years has seen a falling-off of citizens activity. Many registered organisations have closed down or disappeared from view, and many others just exist on paper and have given up any hope or desire to organise activities. In some areas the decline in civic activity has been precipitous. In Velika Kladuša, where 4 organisations at most are currently active, there were 35 or more registered CBOs two years ago. In nearby Bihać a similar situation prevails. Currently active organisations perhaps number 5 or 6, whereas two years ago there were an estimated 60. The scale of the fall off in these towns is an exception, as in most of the towns visited it is unusual for total NGO presence to have numbered above 10 at any time since the war. The pattern of organisations becoming moribund, however, is typical.

The main reason cited for NGO failure was the inability of groups to adapt to the general reduction of foreign funding to civil society, especially that made directly available via INGO field offices, that started around 1999/2000[3]. In particular, many NGOs were said to have failed as they had become accustomed to a funding environment in which a plentiful supply of money was made available with few conditions and little scrutiny. Many organisations were unable to develop the basic organisational and technical skills needed to plan and fundraise effectively in the more competitive conditions[4]. Other factors include the eventual return home of leaders and key workers who were displaced during the war. Youth groups are particularly vulnerable to dispersal as their members will as a matter of course take on new responsibilities that may impede further participation, such as university study in a new location, starting families, and finding employment.

The importance of both the disintegration of existing organisations and their replacement with new groups should not be over-estimated, however. In countries with an established tradition of civil society associations there is a constant process of NGO failure and renewal, with NGO closures roughly matching new registrations[5].

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[3] It is estimated that donor funds were reduced by 50% alone in 1999 (Sterland, 2000: 54 nb.49)
[4] NGO failure owing to inability to adapt to changing donor conditions and demands has characterised Bosnian civil society from 1993. The post-war period saw a general shift in international policy away from relief, with grants to local NGOs providing humanitarian aid and services, to development, with more funds for capacity training and project support (and direct infrastructure support). In 2000 it was estimated that up to two thirds of registered NGOs in BiH had not received grants since 1996 (Sterland, 2000: 45)
[5] In the UK, for the twelve months to March 2000, the NGO regulating body, the Charity Commissioners, confirmed the registration of 5,409 new NGOs. As part of an exceptional measure to regulate moribund organisations, over 10,000 were removed from the register in the same period, although the average for the two previous years was 4,400 (2001 annual report: www.charity-commission.gov.uk/).

II.3 Typology of NGOs/CBOs

There is no easy way of classifying the types of civil society organisation present in the rural areas of BiH. A hybrid classification is offered below that combines target groups and an indication of each organisation's main activities and goals. The classification is the closest approximation to the way the organisations defined themselves in interview.

Table 2. Number of NGOs/CBOs by type

Youth groups (run by or for youth and children)	46
Women's groups (agenda oriented to women's interests)	30
Human rights, advance of democracy, civic engagement, legal aid	21
Health & social service provision (incl. Associations for disabled, blind etc)	12
Sport and culture	10
Community development (material measures for all members of the community)	10
Econ. & humanitarian aid (incl. returnees' associations)	9
Environmental groups	7
Business development	5
Psychosocial help and social development*	2
Services for NGOs and CBOs#	1
Special interest / other	1
Total	154

* Two local branches of the same Bosnian NGO
\# Six NGOs under different categories are major providers of services for NGOs and CBOs (see p29)

Women and youth and their specific interests are the driving force behind civil society development in BiH. Apart from the 76 (49.4%) organisations catering to these sections, those groups classified under 'human rights' and 'community development' are dominated by youth or women leaders. Five registered women's NGOs and one youth group have been included in 'community development' as they undertake a range of activities for the general benefit of the whole local community. Three organisations run solely by youth and three by women exist to provide civic education, information on human rights and to monitor the performance of local government. Women are also in the majority amongst the leaders of organisations providing 'health and social service provision'.

II.4 Activities

The typology used concentrates on intended goals or core activities and overlooks the fact that a great many organisations are attempting to carry out a diversity of actions, which either bear little relation to each other or are directed at a variety of groups in the community. This general lack of focus[6] has the overall effect of weakening civil society action, as individual groups are not developing specialist skills and knowledge, are unable to concentrate on the needs of one specific target group, are unsure in planning for the future and wasting time and other resources on activities that ultimately will not contribute to their ability to develop and achieve sustainability in the future.

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[6] This lack of focus has been noted previously and appears to be characteristic of post-war CBOs in BiH (EU, 1997, 13)

Table 3. Range of activities carried out NGOs/CBOs

Non-school education (computer training, languages, seminars, round tables)
Training for business / work
Networking (with other CBOs, between sectors, internationally)
Information services, publications
Social service provision
Community development (e.g. renovation of public spaces/buildings community services,)
Humanitarian aid (food, tools, livestock)
Enabling return
Conservation actions
Environmental lobbying
Public advocacy
Economic production (handicrafts, husbandry, horticulture)
Political activities (election monitoring)
Legal advice and services
Sport
Creative workshops with youth /children (social development, recreation)
Cultural and public events
Social research
Psychosocial counselling

Three main reasons have been identified for this lack of concentration. CBOs are commonly founded by individuals of conscience who possess a strong urge to rectify perceived inadequacies in society, or to change specific structural injustices. CBO leaders in BiH, especially in rural areas, are pioneers of civic action, commonly acting with few well-established role models and in an environment where there are as yet few other fellow civil society actors. In BiH's transitional and post-war society, all social categories are endangered and shortage, inequality, injustice and insecurity are the norm. Working under these conditions, it is extremely difficult for community organisations to limit themselves to just one target group or one field of activity. The comments of one environmental group in Western RS, whose mission statement and goals clearly expressed their original purpose, but whose actions have veered off towards humanitarian aid and practical help to the poor, illustrate this:

> *We give this help to the community because there is no other public or citizens body that works for the public's good and we feel that we cannot justify concentrating all our energies on the environment while the majority of people are suffering economic hardship and there is still a large return problem. When the economic situation allows, we will concentrate more fully on the environment.*
> *Environmental association "Rodni kraj", Šipovo*

On the other hand, community groups often come under intense pressure from the public to provide services that they do not have the capacity to provide. This is particularly the case with women's and youth groups, whose target groups are large and have diverse needs and interests. *Forum Zena* in Bratunac, which concentrates on education for women and girls, noted that the majority of callers to its centre are women seeking help in completely different areas and that it takes a high degree of resolve to resist the temptation to diversify and to become all things to all women.

The final reason for inappropriate diversification is the chasing of increasingly scarce donor funds in BiH. There is a tendency for organisation's to apply for any funds available for whatever purpose in order to maximise the chances of both continuing to remain active and in many cases to provide some kind of income to hard-up NGO workers. It is not uncommon, therefore, to find an environmental group running educational seminars on the dangers of drug abuse, an organisation dedicated to

providing cultural events in the community providing computer classes or a centre for citizen's education acting as a distributor of livestock to returnees.

A common theme in mission statements, visions and goals is the need to provide education. Ordinary citizens are isolated from the mainstream of social and political events owing to their physical distance from the centre and their inability, due to general poverty, to travel even short distances regularly and to pay for information resources (books, newspapers, and telecommunications). In most rural towns, the range of television, radio and printed material available to the public is considerably less than that which the urban dweller has and in many villages there are no newspapers and no telephone lines. There are few public libraries, and municipalities distribute little material informing the public on services, government working or citizens' rights. Parents are concerned that ill-equipped schools are unable to prepare their children for life whilst older generations feel that during the last ten years of war and reconstruction they have missed out on opportunities to develop the skills and knowledge needed for productive life in the post- socialist BiH within the electronically dominated wider world.

While a great many NGOs and CBOs are attempting to tackle this problem through efforts to decrease poverty (humanitarian aid to encourage agricultural activities, specific skills training for employment, facilitating business development), most commonly they aim to provide computer skills training often in association with language teaching (usually English, followed by German and Italian). In the sample group, 37 organisations possess computers and are providing courses for use of basic software and a further 27 are aiming to do so. 30 organisations are providing language teaching with a further 22 planning courses. 55 of the 64 organisations providing or planning computer training are women's and youth groups, reflecting a tendency among these organisations to organise around a physical centre accessible to their members, to use electronic technology themselves to participate in wider networks of like-minded organisations and to place a value on innovation and social change. Services provided in all but two cases concentrate on generalised technical skills and there is no evidence of instruction being combined with approaches to accessing information and thematic learning. This, combined with the fact that access to computers and the Internet in particular is beyond the reach of the average citizen, means that the true educative value of this work is questionable.

In contrast to this, the number of organisations that are providing more accessible forms of information and educative material (books, brochures, newspapers, official documentation and announcements etc) to their users and the public generally is low. There are a number of reasons for this including, poorly informed and un-educated staff, lack of financial resources, poorly defined target groups, isolation from sources of information and lack of imagination, but the rural sector as a whole is underachieving in its efforts to educate and inform the public.

II.5 Capacity of the sector

During the early days of NGO development taking place in the major towns, it was observed that under ill-directed international influence 'an unwieldy meso-level NGO sector' had appeared in BiH, which was too small to act at state level and too large to reflect grassroots concerns and lacked social vision (Stubbs, 1999: 30). The findings of this study suggest that the later development of the sector in rural places suffers from a contrasting problem. All but a handful of organisations interviewed are small, even by BiH standards, and are dedicated to solving practical problems within the local community. This community is commonly defined as the municipality, but some cases includes a region of 3 or 4 neighbouring municipalities or in FBiH, the canton. While these organisations reflect grassroots concerns, they commonly lack the capacity, that is, skills, experience, information, personnel or finance, to plan and execute programmes that cater to community interests and point the way to possible substantive social

change. A generally inadequate level of financial resources, an indicator of both lack of capacity in other areas as well as disadvantage vis-à-vis funding sources owing to the problems surrounding geographic isolation, illustrates the point. Within the 154 organisations interviewed it is estimated that the average yearly income[7] for 2002 is little more than 15,000KM (7,500 Euro), with 65 organisations receiving 2,000KM (1,000 Euro) or less and only 12 with incomes of over 100,000KM (50,000 Euro) annually.

Lack of income does not necessarily illustrate poor or inhibited performance. Some organisations are in their first months of operation and are therefore in the process of mobilising support and establishing a reputation, which will attract donations later on. Those organisations with higher incomes are often running costly buildings, providing expensive specialist services (the hiring of experts, transport and accommodation) and are fully professionalised, with 3 or 4 full-time paid staff. Of the 12 organisations with over 100,000KM at their disposal, 7 run buildings and 9 have three or more full-time professional staff[8]. Conversely, while lack of finances is a limiting factor for many of the sample group, the poorest section includes many that work on a purely voluntary basis and attempt to achieve their ends by motivating the community to undertake communal actions and to provide free services (community development and environmental groups especially), rather than provide specialised, expert services or material support. In their cases effectiveness is dependent on a supply of dedicated community volunteers, knowledge and contacts with all stakeholders, and skills in publicity and lobbying at the local level.

The prevalence of wholly voluntary organisations (those that seek no remuneration for its staff) distinguishes the rural sector from that in the large towns. Previous studies, concentrating on the growth of civil society in the immediate post-war period assume that all organisations aspire to professional status. This is almost certainly because early international efforts to encourage and support fully professional civic activity (IBHI, 1999a: 6) raised expectations amongst NGO workers. In this study 98 organisations emphasised their commitment to voluntary work. The other 56 all expected or hoped to receive some reward for their work, but only 13 are in a position to guarantee paying all core staff for a period beyond the next six months. All 13 are in receipt of some long-term international revenue funding of 18 months of over.

Although the exact definition of voluntary work varies, as there are differences of opinion on what constitutes expenses or indeed whether expenses should be provided for or not, the greater majority of people who engage themselves as regular CBO workers in rural BiH do so out of a moral commitment to and enthusiasm for the local community and its environment. Despite the obvious high level of commitment in the sector, the essentially voluntary groups cannot command the dedication that a professional organisation can. Within these groups core staff are most likely to work part-time, often at irregular hours and dedication at any particular moment may be determined by the perceived opportunities for activities and funding. There is evidence amongst the sample that where INGOs have ceased to operate in a particular area, perhaps owing to reduced need for infrastructure work or simply due to budget cuts, voluntary effort within existing groups is often reduced. CBOs are discouraged not only by the possible decline of locally available funds, but also by the reduction of informal advice, contact information for training and fundraising and moral support from INGO field workers. In an environment where local municipalities are unwilling or unable to offer help and the local population is still learning to understand how civil society may serve its interests, the isolation felt by

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[7] This is estimated from calculating from project funds, municipal contributions, self-financing schemes, and estimated wage bills and other regular costs, as most organisations were unable or unwilling to estimate the annual income.
[8] One organisation, the youth group "Preporod" in Bosanski Petrovac, has no office and is fully voluntary, but will have an income of around 150,000KM in 2002, owing the receipt of major funding for the renovation and adaptation of a public park

CBOs in rural areas becomes a considerable psychological barrier to energetic engagement.

Box 1
Mobilising the community

The environmental group **Ekotes** works in and around the spar town of Teslić in north central Bosnia. In the post-war years littering, chemical and organic pollution of the municipalty's rivers and uncontrolled illegal logging in the area's surrounding forests, are threatening to spoil the appearance of the locality, as well as destabilise the natural sytem of groundwater control, causing siltation of the rivers and regular, but upredictable flooding.

Ekotes aims to carry out three types of action: 1). education of children on the environment 2). environmental monitoring in the municipality and applying pressure on the municipality to enforce environmental laws against polluting waterways, illegal logging and destruction of wildlife, 3). conservation work to clean up and maintain the local environment. *Ekotes* is administered by a core group of three part-time, voluntary enthusiasts who are employees at one of the hotels in the spar complex. Other leading members include those with with relevant specialist knowledge, such as arboriculturists, chemists and lawyers. They regularly plan and write proposals that have included: educational work in schools, participatory camps with the local children and renovation as a local amenity and tourist attraction of the local "Kiseljak" spring.

To date *Ekotes* has not been successful is gaining funding. Despite this, they have organised a number of significant activities in the two or three years of their existence by mobilising the community. Youth and children are organised, through semi-autonomous 'sections' under local teachers in all the local schools and regular communication and cooperation has been established with the local authorities. In summer 2002 *Ekotes* cleared 20km of riverbank of rubbish and a number of abandoned vehicles, organising a total of 800 volunteers over 8 weekends. The action included all sections of the community, with the municipality contributing refreshments, local firms bulldozers and machinery and four other CBOs additional volunteers.

Through organised and regular representation, *Ekotes* has managed to convince the municipality that the region's economic future is crucially linked to the effective management of the environment. The municipality welcomes the advice *Ekotes* offers. Ekotes members undertake regular monitoring of the environment and any violations of the law are reported to the council with demands for prosecution of the perpetrators. This lobbying is backed up by quickly mobilised Media and poster campaigns in the town and in the school 'sections'. Such action has led to the prosecution of a local chemical firm for dumping waste in the river and the enforcing of regular water inspection by the municipality. Ekotes also succeeded in imposing a legal ban on a local landowner from destroying a large flock of migratory birds on his land.

Ekotes' only signicant income in the last year has been 1,000KM from the municipality, that was used to employ a professional river watcher on a stretch or river recently restocked with young trout. Elsewhere the the principle of using voluntary labour to mobilise more voluntary labour and pubic opinion is followed in order to carry out practical projects or force action from the authorities.

III. ORGANISATIONAL CAPACITY OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN RURAL BiH

This section analyses the general features of the organisational capacity of NGOs and CBOs in rural BiH in order to assess the sector's potential for meaningful and lasting social action. The potential for effective sustainable activity is not simply a measure of an organisation's ability to attract or generate funds. It is a composite of characteristics, behaviours, working methods and attitudes that includes identity, structure, technical skills and experience, internal management and communication, relationships with the community and other stakeholders and the ability to learn, adapt and forward plan. In setting the questions for interviewing and the criteria for analysing CBOs here, the researcher has complemented his firsthand experience of Bosnian civil society with the published output of a number of international NGO experts[9] and a number of assessment grids used by international organisations in appraising individual NGOs[10]. It is important to bear in mind, that while a simple reading of proficiency according to the criteria necessary for organisational capacity will serve as a rough diagnostic tool, actual and future performance cannot be accurately read in this manner. All organisations, being dependent on the mass of human interactions within its staff and between itself and its stakeholders, are unpredictable complex organic systems. Bearing this in mind, the approach taken here lays greater emphasis on ideational aspects of organisations' working rather than technical skills and rigid systems; that is, the sense of purpose within the organisation that drives activity, the spirit of enquiry and learning that facilitates adaptation and change and the ability to imagine and experiment that enables innovation and attracts support.

III.1 Identity

Identity, or organisational culture, is the sum of the shared meanings, shared understandings and shared sense-making (Smillie & Hailey, 2001: 51) in an organisation that expresses how the organisation sees the world around it, what the organisation stands for and what it actually does. The organisation's identity may be seen as an invisible thread that binds aspiration, behaviour, and action together, creating a common purpose and motivation within the organisation, but also serving to make the organisation clearly understandable to users, donors and other stakeholders. This identity is commonly articulated in three keys ways: firstly, through the jointly expressed core values of the organisation; that is, moral principles, beliefs and assumptions that underlie all activity, together with the reading of society around the organisation. Secondly, the symbolic properties of organisational culture, which include the mission statement or a clear expression of what the organisation does in relation to its core values, and a vision of the future or what the organisation broadly aspires to achieve both in society and within the organisation itself. Both the mission and vision act as guides to concrete activities carried out or planned for. Consequently, the third articulation of identity is what the organisation actually does, or more exactly, the degree of correspondence of activities with cores values, mission and vision.

Core values, mission, vision and activities for each organisation were assessed according to their level of sophistication and their relevance or practicality within the existing social situation. In order to give a general illustration of the extent to which organisations in rural BiH are succeeding in developing the key elements of a strong identity, these assessments are included in an assessment grid that plots the distribution within the

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[9] Fowler, A. (1997); James, R. (1998); Adirondack, S. (1998); Fowler, A. (2000); Smillie, I. & Hailey, J. (2001);

[10] McKinsey Capacity Assessment Grid in McKinsey & Co. (2001), *Effective Capacity Building in Non-Government Organisations*, Venture Philanthropy Partners; Charity Know How (1999), 'Organisational Assessment Tool; IRC Sarajevo Office, current 'Organisational Assessment' grid.

sample group of different levels of sophistication for each element of identity. This grid is presented in table 4 on page 17. Within the grid each assessment gained a score of 1 to 4 where 1 is the weakest and 4 the strongest. Each organisation was then given a combined score for all elements assessed in order to obtain a very rough estimate of identity. The results of this exercise are given in table 5 on page 19.

As might be expected, identity is generally weakest in new and recently formed organisations. Apart from the fact that it is nearly impossible for these groups to have turned their thoughts to a long-term vision, most of them are still in a process of informal negotiation within the group and with new members in order to find consensus on what they believe in and what they want to concentrate on. These early stages are particularly difficult for those who form to serve a large target group, such as women's and youth organisations, rather than to address a specific social problem. Early on, in their enthusiasm to serve everyone, these groups are characterised by over ambitious plans and ill-defined or abstract mission statements.

There are examples of older organisations (perhaps forming between 1997 and 1999) that have failed to develop identity. This appears to be the result of having been formed in response to locally available opportunities with few conditions from INGOs for the funding of a variety of small-scale projects. Not having gone through a process of first identifying a need or settling upon an idea and actively developing this over time in relation to personal beliefs and the interests and experience of the group, these organisations have remained essentially passive and faceless. In interviews, such groups appeared to concentrate their thoughts on how to gain funding for vague projects that had yet to be thought through.

On the other hand, amongst the most clearly focused organisations were a many who had received long-lasting international funding, including those that had originally been set up by international organisations. These groups had all benefited from extensive training and facilitation by their donors for the development of their identities, including workshops on designing mission statements, setting goals and imagining the future.

III.1.a Core values

Although only a small number of organisations (15) could produce printed material that amounted to carefully thought out public statements of core values, the majority of organisations (109) in interview were able to express a clear and often complex account of how their beliefs, principles and their understanding of society motivate their work and guide them when planning activities. As might be expected, considering the continuing social and economic displacements created by the war, all organisations are informed by a desire to reduce social, political and economic inequality and inequity. Common to all organisations are values of multi-ethnicity, inclusiveness and social equity. This was evidenced by the majority of organisations either having multi-ethnic core staff or actively targeting minority and return populations to their area. In the RS, where both the rate of return and the overall number of returnees is still much lower than in the Federation and where the majority of returnees are villagers, CBOs are often making conscious efforts to either work with returnees in their villages or are actively encouraging them to join in activities in the Serb-dominated towns.

Table 4. Distribution of the elements contributing towards a clear, strong organisational identity amongst 154 interviewed organisations.

IDENTITY	Vestigial identity	Identity discernible, but at early stage of development	Identity clear and developing. Plays a significant role in planning and implementation	Identity clear and serving to direct all planning and implementation
	Score 1	*Score 2*	*Score 3*	*Score 4*
Values	No expression of values, beliefs, principles and assumptions that guide the organisation's working	Unelaborated expression of values, beliefs, principles and assumptions that amount to a reading of the social environment.	Expression of values, beliefs, principles and assumptions that read the social environment and also act as a guide to the organisation's working.	Detailed expression of values, beliefs principles, and assumptions that amount to coherent image of the organisation's role and mode of functioning.
No. of orgs	1	44	94	15
Mission	Little or no idea of purpose of organisation. Inability to define organisation beyond its achieved actions.	Vague expression of organisation's purpose and values. Not written down. An expression of aspiration.	Clear expression of organisation's purpose and values, identifying users. May or may not be written down.	Clear, understandable written expression of organisation's purpose, reflects its values and identifies users, understandable within and outside the organisation.
No. of orgs	18	65	60	11
Vision	No vision	Vague vision of the future of society, not realistically achievable in terms of the organisation's potential capacity or its constituency.	Clearly expressed aspiration for the organisation and/or its impact on the constituency. One or the other missing or not realistic.	Clearly expressed demanding but achievable aspiration of future for both the organisation and its impact on the constituency.
No. of orgs	38	68	41	7
Activities	Planned or achieved activities bear little relation to values, mission and vision	Planned or achieved activities include those that do not correspond to values, mission and vision.	Planned or achieved activities broadly in line with values, mission and vision.	Planned or achieved activities tightly connected with values, mission and vision in all cases and seen as their practical expression.
No. of orgs	8	70	59	17

Where CBOs work in locations that have always been mono-ethnic[11], CBOs address this issue by actively participating in countrywide networks and cooperative activities. Youth groups, in particular, are working in this way.

Embedded in most value expressions is a deep concern for empowering target groups. Belief in the power of education and the transferring of knowledge, the need for skills in the community, whether for work or social participation and the necessity of providing citizens the economic or organisational framework in which to pursue their own interests are common principles. Regardless of the target group, these values in rural BiH are connected to the geographically defined local community (town, village or municipality), and ideas of empowerment are associated with concepts of narrowly defined social solidarity, belonging and social involvement. Even when organisations incorporate universal values into their identity (e.g. environmental or cultural values) or national concerns (e.g the rights of women or youth within the whole country), community values tend to dictate a narrowly focused area of operation.

More common amongst organisations for youth, women and civil advocacy (those sectors that lead civil society) are more sophisticated articulations of the need to raise awareness of social needs in the community and to allow citizens a space in which to voice their concerns and interests. This is in keeping with the essentially political agenda that these three categories of CBO have. In most cases they owe their existence to a moral indignation at the political and social disenfranchisement of their target group. Even where their activities are of a non-controversial nature, these values speak of a deep-seated disillusionment with and opposition to the post-war political settlement and the mainly male and middle-aged politicians and public servants who have benefited by it. Despite this, almost all organisations, even those actively lobbying for citizens' rights, deny the political nature of their work.

Politics is a dirty word amongst Bosnian CBOs, signifying a sphere that promotes social injustice, petty gain for the undeserving and the possibilities of larger scale corruption and fraud, with which they would rather not be associated. Consequently, CBO principles are rarely directed towards effecting change at the political or institutional level, rather they talk of locating social action in a nebulous social space that is disengaged from the political establishments that exist to govern community life. This has important consequences for the execution of activities in the community. Whilst recognising that municipality and cantonal governments in BiH remain poorly funded and often unable to help CBOs directly, there is much that CBOs can do to pressure local authorities into becoming more responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens. Apart from a dozen or so of the stronger, more mature civic advocacy and women's groups, only four other organisations (a one-woman band for the disabled and three environmental groups) in the study sample considered the right to political advocacy as a core value.

In contrast to this, it is much more common for CBOs to emphasise the virtues of cooperation as an ideal. In place of political activism in the municipality, almost all organisations expressed a desire to cooperate with the local authorities. Similarly, this ideal embraces possible work with other CBOs within and beyond the local community and with international organisations, whether they are INGOs, UN departments or the OSCE in BiH or other organisations beyond BiH.

III.1.b Mission statements

The mission statement, ideally written down and internalised by all organisation members, is both directed to the general public and to all those within the organisation. It is at once a statement of values held by those in the organisation and an explanation of why the

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[11] Milići in the RS is one such location. The town has always been virtually all Serb, surrounded by often hard-to-reach Bošnjak villages.

organisation exists, what it does and who benefits from it, which is clear and understandable to all. In this way it serves to reflect organisation culture and also to shape it. It can act, especially early on in an organisation's life, as a powerful tool to motivate workers and to bring them together in a common purpose. At other times, particularly as an organisation matures and evolves, the mission may lag behind culture and need to be revised.

All organisations have a mission, but it may be held implicitly, being expressed partially by different staff members in different ways, or being contained in a composite of statements that organisations make about themselves in proposals, brochures and information sheets. The idea of the formal mission statement is relatively new to civil society organisations the world over (Fowler, 1997: 35), and many NGOs and CBOs are still uneasy with the idea of a fixed expression of identity that demands unanimity from members and workers.

Considering the general immaturity of the civic scene in BiH and the young age of the majority of CBOs in rural BiH, it was expected that carefully crafted formal statements would be the exception, rather than the rule. This was indeed the case, with only 11 organisations possessing a formal statement that fulfilled the criteria set out above. By far the greater majority of organisations did not have a written statement and consequently it was difficult in interview to assess whether the mission was known and understood throughout the organisation. These organisations are, however, almost certainly missing a vital opportunity to make their work clearly understood in their communities.

Table 5. Organisational identity amongst the sample group of 154 according to combined scoring for assessments of values, mission, vision and activities as set out in Table 4.

IDENTITY	Vestigial identity	Identity discernible, but at early stage of development	Identity clear and developing. Plays a significant role in planning and implementation	Identity clear and serving to direct all planning and implementation
	Score 1- 6	Score 7- 9	Score 10-12	Score 13-16
No. of organisations	18	69	57	10

A major problem with mission statements within the sample is that very often they are little more than a list of activities. In the barest form these are a short description of work achieved or in progress. In many other cases, these are an exhaustive list of desired fields of activity with little focus, disconnected from the organisation's realistic potential and the capacities and interests of members and staff. The following, from a well-established youth group engaged mainly as an education and information centre is typical:

> *To support economic development, entrepreneurship and transition, business and social management, education and the development of human resources, the creation of jobs and employment, human rights and communication*.

This kind of over-ambition is very often the result of confusing the organisation's purpose with the goals or objectives set out in its legal statutes. Long lists of goals or fields of activities are routinely included in registration documents in order to allow an organisation flexibility in the future to change direction according to changing social needs in the community or evolving interests within the organisation. In many cases the contents of the statutes are presented to the public in full in place of a mission statement.

In general, a correlation between a clear mission statement and effectiveness was noted in the research. Some of the more mature and sophisticated organisations, well versed in social theory, however, are using abstract language that may not be immediately accessible to their

constituents. An active and well-organised women's centre that provides shelter for battered wives, an SOS line, legal help for family law and education for women and girls presents itself as an organisation that:

> *above all directs its activity to the development of civil society, the stimulation and promotion of the active participation of citizens in democratic processes, the strengthening the capacities of the individuals and organisations in order that problems may be successfully resolved in the local community and at all levels of the state.*

Apart from the fact that the organisation's target group is not mentioned, this statement lacks clarity as it is caught up in 'development speak', using words that reflect the agenda for social and political change in BiH set out by the international community and buzz words current among the INGOs that have been active in training the Bosnian NGO sector. This kind of language is most prevalent amongst those organisations that have received training in NGO management from international agencies[12]. It gives them an edge when applying for international funds, as they appear not only to be more professional, but also to speak the same language as donors. The problem is that words like 'democracy' and 'participation' remain generalised and disputed terms, especially within local communities.

The term 'civil society' is the most problematic. As discussed above in Section I, the term civil society is poorly defined amongst social theorists. Despite this, it has been used by the international community as a unifying slogan to promote the development of all forms of civic engagement contributing to social rehabilitation in BiH. The term has entered the everyday lexicon with incredible speed[13] and this is reflected in the mission statements of the organisations studied here. Over half interviewed included the development of civil society within their mission, but explanations of the term, while often capturing a kernel of its association with democratic or participatory behaviour, were varied and generally very vague (see Box 2).

The common use of such obscure phrases and the lack of consensus within the sample on their meanings, suggests that these CBOs will be poorly understood in their own communities. The general lack of focus of mission statements and the frequent omission of expressions of value also indicates that many CBOs have not spent time to define who they are to themselves, and this, in turn, brings into question the degree to which CBOs act with one voice when they plan and carry out activities.

III.1.c Vision

In light of the lack of clarity in mission statements, we should not be surprised to find that well defined, demanding, but achievable visions of the future for CBOs, both in terms of their effect within the community and as developing organisations, are the exception. Only 7 organisations fulfilled these criteria and no fewer than 38 were unable to express their aspirations for the organisation. Amongst the large group in the middle (107) that had started to imagine the future, but had not yet arrived at a version that incorporated their organisation in any meaningful or realistic way, three types of answer predominated: Some CBOs appeared to exclude themselves and their own role within the community from their vision in favour of concentrating on generalised, almost utopian dreams of a future BiH. For example, answers included 'a society where all individuals are employed or receiving benefits on which they can live', or 'a country where democratic values are upheld and promoted at all levels of society.' These were particularly common amongst groups formed in the past two years. While worthy aspirations, these do not suffice as a vision, as they are not related to the potentially achievable in terms of the organisation and its (local) target group.

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[12] This particular women's group has been in receipt of large amounts of international funding over the last 5 years and has received extensive international training in NGO management.
[13] Before the arrival of international organisations in BiH the term civil society (civilno društvo) merely donated urban society or any social action not attached to the military (Large, 1997)

Many other organisations appear dogged by a complete lack of ambition and an overburdening sense of realism. For them survival was the pinnacle of their aspirations.

A third group, often more established or successful, but also overly realistic, wanted nothing more but to continue with what they were doing.

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Box 2
CBO definitions of civil society

Each person has particular rights and civil society means that those rights are not impeded. Building of civil society will mean greater cooperation between citizens and between nationalities. In short, civil society is civilised behaviour.

Civil society is people who think, people who are educated and informed. These people are striving for a normal life.

Civil society is a healthy tolerant society in which people can live freely and can participate together without fear.

Cooperative activities between citizens

A society that is able to advance itself to the greatest effect and in which problem solving is possible. Where social qualities and advantages are active in the social environment

Civil society is not yet defined. I take it to mean it mean a society where the citizen is the subject, at the centre, and has the power to determine what takes place

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The general inability of CBOs to imagine a clear path for their development is a product of the incoherence hinted at in the many unfocused mission statements. If an organisation is not clear on what it stands for or what it is doing in the present, it is extremely difficult to project itself into the future. On the other hand, for many groups spending time on imagining their future is a diversion from the very real challenges to their survival they face in the present. Despite a general consensus that the novelty of CBOs and NGOs as social actors has worn off and that political bodies and the general public alike no longer regard them as either quasi political parties or vehicles for personal enrichment[14], CBOs report that in all other regards the conditions in the non-government sector are harsher now that at any time since the end of the war. CBOs established for two years or more note that not only have foreign donor funds fallen, but also that financial support within the community is harder to come by, owing to a worsening economic situation. Gaining active participation and interest from the community is increasingly difficult, as citizens are ever more sceptical that CBOs can achieve real results and as they tend to devote more of their energies to finding ways of alleviating their personal poverty. Above all, respondents expressed the view that, despite the gathering speed of political and economic reforms at the state and entity levels and the continued increase in return, the perceived experience in rural BiH is one of stagnation, inertia and hopelessness.

III.1.d Activities

We have commented earlier (pp.10/11) on the general slippage between mission statements and activities carried out, resulting in a general lack of focus within rural CBOs and NGOs. At the same time just under a half of those interviewed (76 of 154) are carrying out activities

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[14] See EU, 1997: 27; MSI, 2000: 19-20; Sterland, 2000: 56-57; Stubbs, 1999: 32.

which correspond to their mission statements, possibly suggesting that the potential problems to effectiveness caused by the failure to concentrate resources, skills and learning are confined only to one half of the sector. However, this relatively positive assessment of the correspondence between activities and mission statements is the result of the generally unfocused nature of those mission statements. Unclear mission statements and seemingly unrelated activities are a barrier to organisation development, stakeholder confidence and effective action in the community.

III.1.e Identity: summary

CBOs in rural BiH are generally founded upon strong social values and a clear moral purpose that are directed towards addressing the social and political dislocations in BiH caused by the war and the difficult transition from a command to free market economy. Almost universally CBOs affirm the values of multi-ethnicity, inclusiveness and social equity within the framework of promoting the interests and needs of the local community. A particular emphasis is placed on empowering people through education and skills training and by creating a space in which local citizens can voice their concerns and interests.

Core values, however, are rarely built upon to form clear organisational identities and a commonly held sense of purpose. Mission statements are often vague, rarely written down and unevenly understood within the staff and members of individual CBOs. In many cases mission statements are little more than a list of a variety of social actions, bearing little relation to the CBO's actual, more focused, field of activity and not referring to the desired social purpose of this activity.

Those with the clearest mission statements and the closest fit between activities and mission are usually older, more established organisations that have benefited from international training. These CBOs regularly over use 'development jargon', which may make them difficult to understand within the local community. Overuse in mission statements throughout the whole sector of the term 'civil society', whose meaning is particularly problematic and poorly understood, makes CBOs difficult to understand within the community.

Weak identity is most apparent in the general lack of well-defined visions of the future and overall direction in CBOs. This reflects a lack of theorising on the part of CBOs about the possible realistic contribution to communities that their work could provide. Incoherent visions of the future are partly the product of the inability of many CBOs to define their core purpose and activity, but it is also related to the harsh social and economic conditions in which they operate. Faced with a constant battle for survival, CBOs find it hard to imagine a challenging but feasible path for their development in the distant future. Accordingly, vision statements tend to fall with two extremes: the impractical dream of a utopian society, apparently external to the particular CBO, or simply unambitious hope for the CBO's continued existence.

III.2 Stakeholder relations

Stakeholders are all those interested groups, parties, actors, claimants and institutions – internal and external – that affect or are affected by the organisation. These comprise primary stakeholders, or the direct beneficiaries of the organisation, including staff members and volunteers and secondary stakeholders, or those individuals or institutions that may contribute to or enable the work of the organisation or may themselves be indirectly affected by its actions. These include the authorities, state institutions such as the police and social services, donors, other CBOs and business. An assessment of the number and, more importantly, the quality or depth of these relationships serves as a guide to an organisation's performance defined as 'the effective satisfaction of the rights and interests of legitimate stakeholders in keeping with its mission' (Fowler, 1997: 132). Performance is, however, is both constructed and contextual, being defined by the standards the organisation sets itself, the standards and

perspectives of the various stakeholders within the community and the prevailing legal, economic and political environment.

As the quality of stakeholder relations establishes what is possible and not possible for the CBO, it may also be seen as a key determinant of sustainability. For example, the organisation that is not in close contact with, and does not understand its beneficiaries is unlikely to carry out actions that serve their interests and will, in the long run, lose their base of popular support. Similarly, the organisation that is unable to gain, at the very least, the acquiescence of often more powerful bodies in the community will find its ability to operate blocked by legal, financial or political obstacles.

The establishment of good stakeholder relations, may also be seen as the means to enable the freer exchange of information and the building of civil values in society necessary for increasing social capital and creating social solidarities that enable good governance.

Good stakeholder relations are based on the exchange of information and the building of trust whose benefits include: access to funding through donor relations or contracts for the provision of services, the development of policy that is based on community need and that avoids duplicating the work of others, new expertise and the learning of new methods, cooperation on activities and the development of partnerships that increase scope and pool organisational capacities, and the building of wider support, moral, financial and political within the community.

CBO relations with primary and secondary stakeholders are considered in the two sections below. Under secondary stakeholders emphasis is placed on relations with the authorities (municipalities and cantonal administrations), local business and other CBOs or NGOs in the community and around the country. While donors are considered as crucial secondary stakeholders, relations with them and INGOs (whose role in BiH vis-à-vis CBOs tends to be as a donor) are considered later in the section on financial viability and funding sources. In order to gain a rough overview of the extent to which CBOs in rural areas in BiH are developing stakeholder relations, the results for all 154 organisations interviewed are summarised in a capacity grid, given on page 25. According to four steps of increasing development and sophistication, those organisations that have little or no contact with beneficiaries and other organisations score least, while those that have achieved the status of key actors in the community, are creating social policy, are leaders of opinion and whose practices are being spread to other CBOs and government, score highest.

III.2.a Primary stakeholders / beneficiaries

The establishment of good relations with its beneficiaries is vital for the CBO to build knowledge and understanding of their needs and interests and essential for effective planning and implementation. These relations are as important for the informal youth group wishing to carry out recreational activities at the weekend as the professional service provider aiming to offer, for example, specialist educational courses in the community. In interview, the quality of these relations was assessed by looking for evidence of regular contact with the organisation's target group, information on beneficiaries and methods (informal or formal) for acquiring and recording this information, means of informing beneficiaries of the organisations work and evidence of the inclusion of beneficiaries in the planning process.

As might be expected from a sample of community-orientated organisations emerging within the local community (see page 18), the majority of CBOs in rural BiH are in close contact with their constituency and have a solid basic understanding of their beneficiaries' needs and interests (91 or 59% of 154). All groups working to facilitate return have this knowledge by virtue of the fact that these organisations generally represent, and are embedded in a small community of returnees from one geographically identifiable area to another. During research, four such groups demonstrated their close relations to their members by taking the researcher on a tour of returnee settlements to meet their beneficiaries. CBOs that were originally based

on small social networks, clubs or a communal activity are also commonly well informed of their membership, even if they have never succeeded in carrying out a 'development project'. These tend to be women's groups that meet regularly as a large group in order to socialise or form a network of friends and contacts that are connected by a variety of informal ways, such as through house visits, meetings in the marketplace and kinship. Youth groups, also growing out of peer groups at school or sports clubs, may also be well-informed of their members needs.

Within the above group, however, there are very few CBOs that have established organised systems or procedures for gathering information and opinion from their target groups or for recording and plotting this information. It is noticeable that those that do carry out this work, whether by questionnaire surveying, regular visiting and interviewing of beneficiaries and/or careful monitoring and participatory evaluation of activities, tend to be well-funded, professional organisations that provide specialist services, such as advocacy for human rights, legal advice, education and training and medical services to often large or dispersed target groups. There appears to be a correlation between the level of activity of organisations of all types and the closeness of the organisation to its beneficiaries.

There remains a large proportion of CBOs of all kinds (63 or 41% of 154) whose relations with their direct constituency are weak or non-existent. Many organisations report that mobilising community interest and participation in their work is extremely difficult. Respondents generally offered two explanations for this. High levels of poverty arising mainly from both unemployment and inadequate levels of pay for those with jobs are considered to be creating general social despondency and apathy. Youth groups in particular cite this as a reason for failing to excite the interest of their peers. Secondly, many organisations believe that there is still a general mistrust amongst the general public of NGOs[15]. These groups say that NGOs are resented, as people are under the misconception that all NGO staff are over paid and are exploiting foreign donor funds for their own personal gain. These two opinions are convenient excuses for the inability of organisations to maintain relations with their constituency. A large number of groups reporting problems with raising public interest have on paper large memberships of anything up to 500 members or more. These are generally people who expressed interest in the organisation at its founding. The very act of 'signing up' is a clear indication of these people's acceptance of and support for the idea of CBOs. Also there is plenty of evidence within the sample group of CBOs mobilising large sections of the community to either participation in a range of voluntary activities (see *Ekotes*, Box 1) or to pay for services offered.

For many groups, lack of basic organising ability and understanding of the need to communicate are the reasons for poor relations with beneficiaries. For obvious reasons, these include many of the 16 groups that have registered as NGOs during the course of 2002. Others face more challenging problems. The continuing return process means that beneficiary groups and whole communities are in a state of flux. For example, the women's group *Priroda* (Nature) from Bratunac was set up in 1996 by a group of Serb women displaced from other parts of the country. Many of their original members have returned home since then to be replaced, first by other Serbs returning to the area and more recently returnee Bošnjaks. Consequently this group has been engaged in a constant process of establishing relations with a constantly shifting target group.

Many CBOs were originally established in towns by volunteers from a mono-ethnic community of domiciled or returnee citizens. In order to fulfil commitments contained in mission or value statements to promote reconciliation and national and civic understanding, they embrace all returnees in their work. Minority return in rural BiH remains concentrated in villages rather

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[15] Earlier commentators note that amongst the first wave of new local NGOs in the large towns of BiH were many that were the creation of the urban middle class who were driven less by social vision or an ethos of engagement in the community, than by the desire to secure short-term employment needs (Stubbs, 1999: 31)

than in towns. For many organisations, with few resources and perhaps no transport, making and keeping contact with these returnees is beyond their capacity.

Very often, in areas of two-way return, social and political tensions surrounding the process make the establishment of citizens groups and their appeal to wider groups very difficult. While ordinary citizens of different nationalities might be prepared to join together, the threat of eviction for some or resentments caused by unequal entitlements among the two (or more) national groups and the general instability in the community can make it very difficult to establish effective communication with the local citizenry.

Box 3
Overcoming division

Over the course of 2002 a number of Croat teenagers in Drvar attempted to set up a group for providing volunteer opportunities and education for young people. Tensions within this small west Bosnian town that is under the control of hardline Croat nationalist interests, have been running high since the majority displaced Serb population started to return about three years ago. In the last year or so, under considerable pressure from the international authorities, the Croat population is being forced to give way to returning Serbs and return to their own properties in other parts of BiH or central Croatia. While all Croats are living under the threat of eviction, with about three evictions per day, returning Serbs are finding it impossible to find employment, as most jobs, whether in state or private firms, remain in the control of Croat interests. There is an uneasy stand off between the two populations, broken occasionally by ethnically motivation acts of violence.

At a UNDP/UNV youth meeting in March 2002, the founder members of Drvar's new youth group, *Doors* reported that they were unable to raise support amongst youth from either national grouping, citing ethnic division and social uncertainty as the reasons, even though all youth study together in the town's single secondary school.

Happily, when *D@dalos* visited Drvar in October, Doors reported that with the help of a responsive class teacher, they had managed to raise the number of interested young people to 20 and that they were about to embark on their first activity in cooperation with RRS (*Refugee Return Service*), the towns largest NGO and a major facilitor of return to the whole of Canton 10. In the weeks running up to new year, each *Doors* member was to visit 10 of the municipality's most socially endanged families to investigate their social needs. While this is an exercise in needs analysis for RRS, *Doors* will also use the results to identify what action for the benefit of the community its members can carry out.

STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS	Relationships undeveloped. Organisation lacking performance and sustainability	Relationships developing. Organisation has potential for achieving performance and sustainability	Mature relationships. Stakeholders contribute to good performance of the organisation. Sustainability probably achieved	Well functioning relation--ships. Organisation established within the community and acting to empower others. Sustainability achieved
Beneficiaries	Organisation has little contact with its beneficiaries. Appears to operate upon the wishes of a small isolated core group.	Building an information base from routine contact with /visits to beneficiaries. Increasing participation of beneficiaries at meetings/ in activities. Credibility with beneficiaries.	Beneficiaries advise in key decisions, including evaluation. Use is made of beneficiaries' capacities in planning and programming.	Organisation provides a high quality service and the views of beneficiaries are paramount in making policy and planning.
No. of orgs	63	64	24	3
Secondary stakeholders (municipality, business, other CBOs and other bodies)	Relations with other organisations few, maybe antagonistic, or the organisation has strong links with only one or two external bodies that are considered as a resource (training, advice, finance) rather than potential partners	Relations with other organisations developing. Exchange of information exists. Possibility of partnerships or contractual /funding relations starting	Relations with other organisations based on regular contacts and agreements. The organisation is recognised by other stakeholders as a credible implementer and a source of advice, information and expertise	Relations based on equal partnership. The organisation is a key actor in the locality.. Creates social policy, is a leader of opinion and its practices are being spread to other CBOs and government.
No. of orgs	80	57	17	0

Table 6. Summary of the quality of stakeholder relationships of 154 organisations interviewed

As mentioned on page 9, youth organisations in BiH, as elsewhere in the world, face the problems of dispersal owing to new educational, family and work commitments, that sometimes make effective communication with their constituents difficult. However, some of the youth groups interviewed were amongst the best informed as to the wishes of their area's youth. Techniques for maintaining contact include regular recruitment of younger members from the community to gain access to new generations, the exploiting of well-disposed local school teachers and sharing of responsibility for devising activities to as wide a group as possible. It is noticeable that many of the youth groups that complain of youth apathy are lacking ideas for activities or attempt to copy youth projects from neighbouring towns without investigating whether they are desired or needed in their own locality.

Box 4
Redefining the target group

The youth group **Sunce** (Sun) from Zvornik, Eastern RS, has recently redefined its mission and narrowed its target group in order to solve problems associated with communication with its beneficiaries arising from a lack of capacity.

Until mid 2002 it's mission was: 'to help young people of all ethnic groups in the fields of education, culture, sport and humanitarian aid'. A long list of goals included finding solutions to youth unemployment, protecting the environment, education for democracy and international cooperation. Since forming in 1999, *Sunce* has attracted regular support from international donors and its members have been active in a large number of local activities, BiH-wide youth work for increasing democracy and protecting the environment and participated in many international camps and training.

Around about a year ago, *Sunce's* members realised that they were too small in number to work effectively in any single field and were losing close contact with their target group, broadly defined as all young people and children in the community between the ages of 7 and 30. While there were officially 306 members, only a core of 14 members was active in any capacity. Taking into consideration the interests of this group, past activities with school children on conflict resolution, communication skills and sex education and their good relations with Zvornik's main primary school (situated 100 metres from the present office), *Sunce* decided to concentrate on providing education in the community for 7-16 year-olds that the formal education system did not, or could not provide, while at the same time ending the formal system of membership. Good relations with the school's director and teachers, continued regular work with the children and organised evaluation will allow them to cater more closely to this targets group's needs and interests. The specialisation implied in this course of action will have the added benefit of concentrating and further developing skills and experience, which *Sunce* hopes will give them recognition as a leader in non-formal children's education.

III.2.b Secondary stakeholders

Good relations with secondary stakeholders serve to enable more effective action on the part of the CBO. The benefits of establishing working relations with the authorities and public institutions, such as the social services or the police, include, legal or political permission to carry out work, access to social statistics necessary for needs assessment, increased access to target groups, possible funding from local government budgets and material support in the form of equipment or premises for work, and opportunities for achieving social change through

lobbying and advocacy. The business sector may be a vital source of funding and support in kind, but may also provide a fund of technical expertise and be a possible partner for certain activities. Exchange with other NGOs, whether local or national, facilitates the sharing of information and skills, may give access to training opportunities or new donors and opens up the opportunity for the pooling of resources and enhance effectiveness and efficiency through joint project planning.

The majority of CBOs interviewed (80 or 52% of 154) are considered to have poorly developed relations with secondary stakeholders, while only a very small group (17 or 11% or 154) possess relations with other organisations that are based on regular contacts and agreements, whereby the organisation is recognised in by other stakeholders as a credible implementer and a source of advice, information and expertise. These assessments are approximate as they cover relations with a range of various types of organisation. For example, it is much more common for CBOs to have established understanding and even cooperation with kindred CBOs or NGOs, than with the municipality. Similarly cooperation with state institutions, such as the police or local schools, is much more likely than cooperation with business. In this case, however, these relations may be short-lived or periodic, as they invariably revolve around discrete short-term projects.

NGO relationships

It is extremely rare to find a CBO that does not have some sort of cooperative relationship with at least one other local or national NGO. A noticeable feature of the NGO sector in rural BiH is that most cantons or regions (RS) possess at least one strong, well resourced BiH NGO located outside the major towns that is acting as an information and advice centre for new and less developed organisations. These groups[16], which usually include NGO development as part of their mission, are often instrumental in organising joint projects or training with a number of local groups and also act as an informal CBO forum. In some places this facilitating role is been carried out by larger urban NGOs whose fieldworkers act as mentors in small towns and villages. Of particular note are, *The Centre for the Promotion of Civil Society* and *Centres for Civic Initiatives* (CCI). It appears that these NGOs have developed this pivotal role fairly recently, as a result of their having increased their own capacity and local profile over the past two or three years. In general, they incorporate their NGO support activities within the budgetary and personnel arrangements allowed for other activities. Their present success suggests a lesson for developing sustainability in the local NGO and CBO sector. Around 1999/2000 a number of INGOs funded other local organisations to set up NGO resource centres. A number of these were included in the interview sample. The common experience was that at the time these groups lacked both the skills and the knowledge of the community needed to carry out this role effectively and also the general capacity to continue after the initial funding period, with the result that most of these centres closed down after the pilot phase.

Most CBOs also claim ties with other organisations working in a similar field. These tend to be with larger national groups situated in the larger towns. These relations tend to be asymmetrical, with the national NGO acting as an information resource and possibly a source of training, for the local NGO, but receiving little in exchange. This is particularly the case with CBOs engaged in environmental issues (e.g. *Ekofund*, Sarajevo), human rights lobbying (e.g. *Helsinki Committee*, Sarajevo and *Citizen's Forum Tuzla*) and health and social service provision (national committees within specific fields). As these relations are conducted at a distance, there is little regular face-to-face contact between the organisations.

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[16] For example, *Centar za građansku suradnju* and RRS in Canton 10, *Solidarnost za jug* in Eastern Herzgovina (RS), *Futura Plus* (questionnaire returned) in Teslić and *Luna* (not interviewed) in Eastern RS, to name a few.

Youth and women's groups are much more likely to be involved in larger cooperative networks or coalitions that have the potential for more regular contact, substantive exchange of information and skills and the development of joint activities and programmes. There are a great many such networks, ranging from small issue-based groupings to entity or nationwide councils (see Lazić, 2002 for youth groups), but this research suggests that the majority of these initiatives do not achieve results in terms of facilitating regular exchange of information, provision of training, or joint projects as they are either too large and unwieldy or underfunded. At the same time, however, a number of internationally funded youth and women's programmes, provide the resources for achieving these results for a small group of client organisations, by bringing staff from different CBOs together regularly for short periods of intensive work. However, close contact by the researcher with one such scheme, UNDP/UNV Confidence Building Programme for 11 BiH youth groups, suggested that the cooperation achieved by the participating organisations through the mediation of UNV coordinators, is unlikely to continue after the end of UNDP funding, as the geographical distance between the groups limits the extent of their mutual interests.

Almost without exception CBOs in rural BiH express a wish to work closely with other citizens groups within the municipality and local region. Despite this, mutual arrangements, whether formally or informally constituted, are the exception. The reasons for this are not always clear, but generally many CBOs see themselves to be in competition with others for resources, personnel and popular support. Sometimes this was illustrated by respondents dismissing neighbouring groups as insignificant, making disparaging remarks about their effectiveness or casting aspersions as to their moral integrity. Better-funded organisations, in particular, are often resented for their success and there is virtually no evidence of organisations sharing information on donors and other funding sources. More commonly, CBOs in a single location appear to acquiesce to keep a distance from each other, rarely communicating and often planning action that duplicates the work of others.

There are examples of networking and collaboration in the locality and the evidence suggests that in most cases this has positive effects for both the capacity of the sector and beneficiaries. At the same time, however, such cooperation is tentative and still in an early stage of development. In and around Bratunac in Eastern RS there are now five women's organisations in the municipality[17], all at different stages of development, undertaking different activities and serving different segments of the female population (and also the general community). There are regular contacts between all of them, most usually informally, but sometimes at set meetings with the local and international authorities. Information sharing leads to more precise identification of needs and also to the transfer of skills and technical knowledge. The two least developed groups, *Maja* and *Golub* (Dove) confirmed that they had benefited from the help of the other organisations when they were beginning to organise themselves as civic associations. The town's largest organisation, *Forum žena* (see also page 11) provided the expert training in a short series of ADF funded seminars on female health social education run by *Maja* in 2002, which also included the donation of computer equipment to *Maja*. Most importantly, staff members are aware that these five organisations provide complementary services and informally advertise each other's services amongst their own target groups.

Relationships with local government

All organisations expressed a wish to cooperate with local government, but very few were satisfied that municipality and cantonal authorities were doing enough to establish working relations with citizens associations. In broad terms, relations between CBOs and the authorities in rural areas appear have moved on from those prevailing earlier in more urban areas[18], which were characterised by mistrust from a belief that the NGO sector posed a political threat

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[17] *Forum žena*, *Priroda* and *Podrina* in town, with *Maja* and *Golub* in the villages of Kravica and Fakovići respectively. *Sara* from neighbouring Srebrenica, may also be included in this loose network of cooperating CBOs.
[18] See EU, 1997: 6; IBHI, 1999: 14; MSI, 2000: 19; Sterland, 2000: 56)

to local hegemonies and was also competing for funds from the international community. Only CBOs in areas that remain dominated by hard-line nationalist interests[19], or work in ethno-politically divided communities[20] complained of hostile municipalities. In general municipalities are considered indifferent to CBOs, showing little interest in CBOs' work and limiting access to municipal leaders to cursory meetings during which little communication takes place. Even in those cases where CBOs described their relations with the authorities as 'correct', it was difficult to gain a sense of what either party might be gaining from often quite regular communication.

The failure to create effective cooperation between CBOs and municipalities may be attributed to failings on both sides. It remains true that the authorities generally do not understand the role of CBOs in society and many local politicians are suspicious of CBOs, seeing them as subversive political elements or, like many ordinary people in the community, continue to suspect that CBOs have easy access to foreign funds and that their staff members are well paid opportunists. It is significant that the lions share of the small amounts of funding that municipalities are able to give to citizens groups each year goes consistently to sports, fishing and hunting clubs (and in some cases to associations of war invalids and other groups for physical disability); that is, those interests that are politically non-contentious and can easily illustrate their popular support or appeal.

Perhaps more important are the consequences of a general lack of capacity within municipalities. Insufficient and poorly trained staff, little and poor equipment and lack of financial resources means that municipalities are ill prepared to engage in any but the most basic of collaborative ventures with CBOs. Very few municipalities have established systems for researching social need, informing the public, and long-term social planning and are therefore at a disadvantage when communicating with CBOs about the feasibility of social activities. Lacking established systems for relations with CBOs, all contacts with CBOs tend to go through local mayors who have neither the time nor the information and skills to contribute in any meaningful way in discussions with CBOs. Contacts with the mayor are likely to be reduced to efforts to raise support for the inclusion of the CBO in the municipal budget. Many CBOs reported that municipalities often resort to giving out empty promises of support in order just to get rid of them. There is also evidence that municipalities offer CBOs, particularly youth groups, free use of war damaged buildings for a limited period of, say, five years and thus kill three birds with one stone. They appear to support the youth group, pass the costs of renovation onto another organisation and have future access to a building whose value has been restored.

CBOs and NGOs themselves, however, are doing little to help themselves here. Too many of them regard municipalities as little more than a possible source of finance. Having failed to secure a slice of the municipal budget, they give up on communication until the next year or the next financial crisis. Very few groups in the sample are regularly and systematically informing their municipalities (or any stakeholders) of their activities, plans, and needs. Connected with this is a general lack of the lobbying and representation skills amongst CBOs necessary to gain support at all levels of society. Particularly lacking is an understanding of the need to give credible evidence of widespread social need or support. During interviews there was indeed evidence of municipalities reacting positively when presented with a strong argument. In Bileća in Eastern Herzegovina, the recently formed *Savjet mladih* (Youth Forum), has been able to persuade the municipality to grant free office space and pay for its registration as an NGO. The youth leaders are convinced that the mayor was persuaded by the attendance of 167 young people at the inaugural meeting and the presence of 10 youth members at a subsequent meeting at the mayor's office. Earlier this year the youth community group in Gradiška, GAM (Gradiška Youth Association), were able to enlist

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[19] These are often areas where return is not an issue or where return is continuing at a slow pace, such as in Herzegovina and Eastern RS.
[20] In Drvar one NGO reported that the municipality had withdrawn all goodwill, refusing to participate in a cleanup of the town that brought together all Croats and Serbs from all sections of society.

considerable municipal support for converting a rubbish dump into a park by giving evidence of a coalition of volunteer, private, business and international support for the scheme. The municipality added 16,000KM to 8,000KM contributed by citizens, over 2,500KM turfing services from a private business, a large SFOR investment and voluntary labour from a large number of GAM members and the local primary school.

Relations with business

CBO links with business remain poorly developed within the whole interview sample and their future potential is as yet hazily understood. The average business in rural BiH, if it is operating, is too small to represent a significant social influence in the community outside of its obvious economic function[21]. Local CBOs are too small to represent potential new markets for businesses involved in services. The one easily identifiable field for cooperation for CBOs with business, as yet hardly exploited, is in the provision of skills training, especially for the use of computers and the learning of languages. Lack of knowledge of business and its association with either old-style socialist state interests on the one hand, and unscrupulous, possibly corrupt, new entrepreneurs, has created a significant degree of suspicion of business among CBOs, especially among older, more established organisations that developed with the exclusive help of international donors.

However, a certain number of more recently founded organisations are establishing links with local businesses. Most of these have missed out on the generally more widely available international funding that offered to citizens associations in the earlier post-war period and consequently they regard business as an essential potential source of funding. Determined by financial need, CBO contacts with business tend to be short-lived and one-sided, the CBO offering little in return. Despite this, some CBOs are managing to mobilise the support of both state industries and private companies, generally gaining grants of a few hundred KM or gifts in kind for recreational activities. Business support is facilitated in most cases through existing contacts (work, friends, family), but it is clear that company directors are giving out of a sense of personal involvement in society and community interest generally. In this way, those organisations that carry out traditional communal work or work of a demonstrably public nature[22], such as cultural, sporting, environmental and youth clubs are more likely to be successful than CBOs working on education, support of human rights or any kind of work targeted at minority returnee populations.

While CBOs do not pretend to offer anything in return for business support, either directly or in terms of creating goodwill for the donor in the community, they are acting in accordance with commercial directors' own understanding of business in the community. A particularly active youth drama and arts club, *Alternativni klub i scena 'Zoran Radmilović'*, from Trebinje, reported that BiH businesses have not developed an understanding of the benefits of public relations and marketing within the community. This group possesses a sophisticated appreciation of advertising and business sponsorship, but have been unable as yet to convince a single local business to enter into an agreement with it.

III.2.c Summary: Stakeholder relations

Reflecting their community-orientated concerns and because staff and members are embedded in the communities they serve, most CBOs in rural BiH are closely connected with their

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[21] There are exceptions where a local company dominates the community by running a great number of socially important businesses outside its main industry. For example, both the food producer Agrokomerc in Velika Kladuša and Boksit in Milići, despite suffering massive reductions in employment levels since the war, still run local public transport firms, petrol stations, department stores etc

[22] There is also the suggestion that directors, invariably being men, are supporting male interests. No women's group regularly receives business support, women CBO staff were generally more reticent about approaching business and almost all business support reported was negotiated between two men.

constituents and possess a clear understanding of beneficiary needs and interests. The importance of establishing close relations with beneficiaries is illustrated by the fact that CBOs with the greatest level of activity are judged to have the highest level of interaction with beneficiaries. Few CBOs are organising to gain deeper and more sophisticated understanding of beneficiary needs and all organisations would benefit by introducing regular, planned systematic information gathering followed by organised processing and interpretation, which could be used for more responsive programming.

Box 5
CBO and business cooperation

The Cultural Club (KUD), from Mrkonjić Grad in central RS, is an active arts club carrying out a variety of regular literary, musical and artistic activities that are funded mainly from business donations with some extra help from the municipality. At the same time, they have been running comprehensive English courses and computer training since 2000 on six computers donated from an international donor from two rooms on the premises of a local manufacturing business. Fortuitously, KUD's executive director is also director of the business, and was able to arrange a mutually beneficial arrangement for both organisations. While ordinary students support the cost of hiring professional teachers with subscriptions, the rooms are provided free of charge in return for free ICT or English lessons to company employees. Over the last two years 30 company workers from all departments have attended classes, approximately one twelfth of all students trained to date

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A large group, CBOs, however, have weak links to their beneficiaries. Often this is a result of the instability the populations of the communities in which they are situated and differential social entitlements according to national ascription, owing to the return process and continuing political discrimination. Other factors militating against the establishment of beneficiary relations are continued mistrust of NGOs in some communities, poverty induced public apathy and the failure of some CBOs to maintain contact its members and supporters.

The benefits of developing effective secondary stakeholder relations are generally understood, but despite CBOs good intentions, these relations are less common and of poorer quality. Competition for financial resources, personnel and popular support are obstacles to effective communication and cooperation between CBOs in the same or neighbouring localities. Coalitions and partnerships between CBOs are virtually unknown and cooperation appears confined to a few irregular and informal local networks with limited scope. The most effective means available to CBO coordination is the small number of large local NGOs that offer information, advice and mentoring for less developed organisations in the locality, but the relationships her are lopsided and the flow of information and resources one way.

Cooperation with local government is restricted to occasional financial help for CBOs on the part of municipalities. CBOs and government alike rarely understand the potential for more practical mutual cooperation. This aside, municipalities are limited in their capacity, lacking capable trained staff, systems for information gathering and analysis of social needs, finance and equipment and are ill prepared to cooperate with CBOs.

Relations with stakeholders are perhaps least well developed with business. Commercial concerns in rural BiH are generally small and weak and rarely exert a social influence in the community beyond that of providing employment. CBOs are often suspicious of business, mistrusting state firms because of their association with old-style socialism and wary of private

firms for fear that they may be involved in corruption. Cooperation with business is confined to occasional small-scale material and financial support of CBOs, usually as an expression of a company director's personal feeling of involvement in the community.

III.3 Human resources, skills and learning

This section assesses the ability of CBOs and NGOs to carry out their mission and agreed aims in light of the total human resources available to them and their potential to increase performance by developing and adapting these human resources.

Human resources include not just the cumulative labour available in terms of numbers of staff and volunteers and the time they may dedicate to the organisation, but also the skills, knowledge and experience contained within the organisation. It is expected that higher performing organisations will possess a wide-range of capabilities distributed throughout the workforce, which are organised in such a way as to create a mutually reinforcing division of labour. These capabilities will include both the generic skills necessary for effective organisation and management of projects and programmes and the specialist knowledge or expertise relevant to the organisation's field of work.

Potential to develop human resources includes the extent to which individuals are encouraged and enabled to develop existing skills or train for new ones. More importantly it implies the extent to which the organisation as a whole is establishing a culture of learning. Learning here refers to collective processes and systems in the organisation, whether formal or informal, which create a culture of constant collective self-examination, reflection and enquiry that prompts a continuous cycle of adaptation and refinement in the organisation's work. These include:
- critical self-analysis, the acceptance of and learning from mistakes;
- routine gathering of information and its communal interpretation leading to the refining of old ideas and the generation of new ones
- passing on of knowledge and experience in the organisation, informally as well as through organised trainings and briefings
- a general spirit of enquiry and the will to experiment

Without minimising the need for technical training, an emphasis on learning from experience recognises the fact that training can only convey a limited quantity of new ideas or information at any one time. New ideas and new awareness provided by training must then be developed by those who have been trained (Adirondack, 1998: 132). Also, 'while training can be effective for bringing in new ideas, it is less effective at helping people let go of old ways of doing things' (James, 1998: 2).

It is commonly acknowledged that CBOs and NGOs that fail to 'learn from experience [ ] are destined for insignificance and will atrophy as agents of social change' (Fowler, 1997: 64). While learning is important for all organisations regardless of their level of development or size, it can be particularly difficult to achieve for the small and youthful CBO that is battling with the combined challenges of limited resources (labour, skills, time, finance) and a complex and unstable political and economic environment (Smillie and Hailey, 2002: 70). Considering the young age of the non-profit sector in BiH and the lack of established role models, all civic associations are pioneers and their need for learning all the greater.

III.3.a Staff numbers

Amongst the interview sample it is often difficult to put an exact figure on the number of staff (paid or unpaid workers, full or part-time who are involved in regular administrative and management tasks) as the distinction between the administrative and management team and

Board of Directors[23] is often blurred. The two may be discrete from each other, contain a number of overlapping members or consist wholly of the same people. At the same time, in essentially part-time organisations, a large pool of volunteer labour may be called upon whose members all work irregularly according to specific needs. Despite this, and as might be expected from the young average age of CBOs in rural BiH, most CBOs are small, lean organisations with a limited supply of labour. 85 or 55.2% are staffed by three of less workers, full or part-time, and of these 68 are completely part-time organisations. There are a total of only 8 organisations that have more than 10 workers carrying out regular duties, whether they are on a full or part-time basis. The former group includes all types of organisation covering all kinds of activities (tables 2 & 3, pp. 10 & 11) and working in a variety of ways. They include high quality professional service providers contracting specialists for a variety of short-term contracts (e.g. for education and training or health care), groups centred on community action that mobilise smaller or larger pools of beneficiaries/volunteers for events in the community (e.g. sport, culture and environment) and those that are providing a specialist and skilled service directly (e.g. legal advice, psychosocial care).

Table 7. Numbers of regular administrative/ management staff

Only full-time staff	
1 staff member	1
2	10
3	6
4	6
5	1
6	0
7	0
8	0
9	0
10	1
Only part-time staff	
1 staff member	18
2	28
3	22
4	6
5	13
6	3
7	4
8	2
9	0
10	4
11-20	1
Full-time and part-time staff	
1 full-time + 1-4 part-time	5
2 + 1-4	9
3 + 1-4	7
4 + 1-4	2
1 full-time + 5-10 part-time	3
3 + 5-10	1
5 + 5-10	1
Total	154

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[23] Or Management Board , trustees or the Bosnian *upravni odbor.* See section III.4 below on governance

Four reasons are apparent for the small average size of CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH. Those that aim to work as full-time professional organisations, even when they are efficiently run, are unable to increase their financial resources sufficiently to employ further employees. This is partly because of the fierce competition for limited financial resources in BiH, and partly because the organisation cannot commit sufficient time and labour to fundraising. Those that aim to work as amateur groups or are resigned to working voluntarily in the absence of financial resources are very often unable to mobilise further voluntary labour from the community. This commonly reflects poor relations with their direct constituents. Very often, CBOs are set up in the home of one of the founding members and lack of available space and equipment precludes the taking on of more help. Lastly, many organisations are in their first few months of operation and have not yet achieved the identity and activities needed to motivate others to participate.

There is a significantly high number (18) of organisations that are apparently run by only one part-time staff member. Predictably, these CBOs are rarely undertaking actions of any substance, for the amount of time available for assessing needs, organising, fundraising etc is severely curtailed. Despite this, with the exception of two or three newly formed groups, all could point to evidence of community involvement in the last twelve months, whether it be, for example, mobilising conservationists in the locality, giving legal advice or organising children's drama workshops. Their limited effectiveness owing to lack of personnel and time is representative of the whole rural non-profit sector in BiH, especially that part relying on part-time labour. A total of 101 organisations are completely reliant on part-time workers who are generally burdened with other commitments, such as other jobs, caring for families, school or university attendance. When asked as to what was their greatest need apart from financial resources, the most common answer was a competent full-time administrator.

In general, those organisations that claimed full-time staff, paid or unpaid, were assessed to be more active in terms of carrying out activities, had better stakeholder relations and were achieving higher levels of support from foreign or community donors. All but one of the 12 organisations that have an annual income of over 100,000KM, fall within those 53 organisations that engage full-time staff. The greater majority of these 53 are also able to pay at least one staff member.

Two categories bucked this trend and illustrate that commanding the services of full-time staff and the financial resources to pay them maybe a sign of high performance, rather than its cause and that this may be based upon understanding its constituency. A significant proportion of youth groups and CBOs that organise cultural events are both active in arranging activities for their members and in enlisting the regular part-time services of these same members. In most cases these groups organise their programmes around their beneficiaries' free time in the evenings and at weekends. Accordingly, they often re-arrange as many core administrative tasks to take place at this time and are able, therefore, to mobilise enthusiastic part-time workers, many of whom may bring relevant skills from day time work or study.

III.3.b Volunteers

Almost all organisations claim to have access to volunteers[24], whether for strengthening service provision, providing labour for participatory community action or undertaking occasional and specific administrative tasks. Not only are CBOs increasingly aware of the potential benefits of voluntary work, they also believe that many in the general public are now

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[24] Volunteers are defined here as all those that contribute freely to the organisations running and activities, but not involved in regular administrative and management tasks. In a recent survey of 40 NGOs, urban and rural, 83% of NGOs said that they engaged volunteers in their work (Šero & Mrđa, 2001: 136)

willing to work voluntarily for the good of the community. This represents a big change from the immediate post-war years when excessive and often indiscriminately deployed foreign donor funds encouraged a fully professional non-profit sector and a culture of dependency that depreciated the value of voluntary work (IBHI, 1999a: 5/6). Despite this, it appears that very few CBOs in rural BiH have the organisational capacity or sufficiently strong stakeholder relations to exploit this source of labour and expertise in a productive way. Only 12 CBOs make use of regular volunteers who are then organised formally with an assigned coordinator or manager. Only one organisation can claim to provide a volunteer service to which members of the public may come at any time in order to seek organised voluntary work that suits their interests, skills and available time. All these 12 benefit greatly from this volunteer help, which provides essential labour for regular programmes, such as community research, staffing information centres or safe houses for women. In this way it contributes to providing sustainability and helps to break dependence of short-term project funding from foreign donors.

Box 6
Mobilising volunteers

Demokratski centar "Nove Nade" (New Hopes) in Bihać was originally founded by the OSCE in 1997 as one of a countrywide chain of citizens reading rooms for providing information on democracy, human rights and legal affairs, with the aim of strengthening democracy in BiH. Now registered and run as a local NGO, _Nove Nade_ retains the overall aim of strengthening democracy, but its emphasis has changed to empowering and mobilising citizens to play an active part in resolving social problems through participatory action in the community.

They run activities under five sections: Education, particularly for youth; democratisation, including election monitoring; information services for citizens and NGOs, continuing the work of the original reading room; media activities, aimed at providing citizens and NGOs facilities for press conferences; youth work in a variety of fields, including training, activity camps and work in schools.

All activities are managed by a full-time administrative/management team of two, with the help of a part-time bookkeeper and cleaner. At present basic costs are covered by an 18-month funding agreement with IRC, but the full range of their activities is made possible through regular voluntary labour, mainly from the town's youth. Voluntary work is obtained and managed through a voluntary service that encourages full participation of young people, provides opportunities for their development through training, offers the chance for self-development by handing over responsibility to volunteers and also acts as a means for enhancing stakeholder relations by giving young people a say in what activities they would like to take place.

Every week an open management meeting is held to which young people and other potential volunteers are invited to attend. Volunteers can either suggest new projects or programmes, which _Nove Nade_ will then help them develop, or can simply put themselves forward for voluntary work on a particular scheme. Volunteers are chosen at the meetings, according to their interests, skills and the time they wish to contribute. Very often volunteers will be sent of external trainings to help them carry out their work or to develop new skills for new work. At present there are 60 members formally signed up to the service.

Regular youth volunteers run education for ICT, English and German languages and culture according to the principles of peer education and also staff the reading room, which is open every day. Less regular volunteers work on one off projects, such as organising festivals and youth camps.

CBOs are invariably founded by one or two people with a vision and high personal ambition. In the early stages of an organisation's development identity, planning, strategy and decision making will be determined by the founders, who will also carry out the bulk of the day-to-day work and be the organisation's public face in an overwhelming majority of cases. The organisation will not only bear the imprint of its one or two leaders, it will also be dependent on them for its continued existence. Depending on the speed of the organisation's development, this phase may last some years, but while it does, the organisation will remain vulnerable owing to an over concentration of power, knowledge and skills in the leadership. Later, when the organisation reaches a stage at which identity reflects the interests of all staff and stakeholders, the leader will no longer be indispensible to the organisation. Routine responsibilities will be devolved, many planning decisions will also be devolved and participatory, and ulitmate control may be found in the Board of Directors,

At the same time, effective leadership is a crucial aspect of the civic association's ability to deliver. This is especially so in an environment such as rural BiH where most CBOs and NGOs are underdeveloped and working within a new sector whose characteristics and purpose are still unclear to many, NGO workers and public alike. At this early stage, the ability to show direction, think imaginatively and create a group identity, while motivating others to participate and to take on responsibility, is more important than the more technical skills of the management of people and finances. Strong leadership is a key element to creating a strong base of support, both within an organisation and among the general public.

During interviews an attempt was made to assess to what extent, if at all, organisations were over dependent on single leaders or existed as little more than one-person bands and to estimate the effect of inspiring leadership within more active groups. As might be expected from a sample containing a high number of organisations that either are relatively recently founded or possess a small pool of regular labour, leaders dominate CBOs in rural BiH. Interpreting the data gathered on staff numbers, individual responsibilities, decision making processes and the way that organisations were presented during interviews, it was assessed that almost exactly 50% (76 of 154) of organisations would cease functioning in the event of the dominant figure leaving, whilst only 25 or 16% were considered strong enough to make a smooth transition with no disruption to existing programming, organisation and identity.

Table 8. Influence of leader on the effective functioning of CBOs in rural BiH

CBO would cease functioning in the event of the leader's departure	76
CBO would survive but in a changed form in the event of the leader's departure	53
CBO would make a smooth transition in the event of the leader's departure	25
Total	154

Small size and young age, however, are only possible indicators, as there are examples of both larger organisations and more established organisations which would cease to function without their charismatic leaders. Conversely a number of small, recently founded organisations were interviewed which from the outset had decided upon ways of working, however informal, that made it nigh impossible for one member to dominate. The determining factor is the extent to which leaders gathered and retained control of all functions. The high number of leader-dominated organisations indicates the persistence in society of authoritarian and paternalistic habits and ways of thinking inherited from socialist Yugoslavia and beyond (Allcock, 2000: 231/2 & 433). This raises serious concerns about the extent to which the civic sector a whole in BiH can promote democratic values and increase social capital. This tentative judgement gains weight when the 25 organisations that are deemed to be free from intrusive or inhibiting

control of their leaders are considered. As might be expected, most (although by no means all) are larger, more heavily staffed organisations that would find it impossible to operate if all functions were concentrated in the centre. All, however, have been the beneficiaries of considerable international support, and in very many cases were originally founded or instigated by INGOs. A large part of the support they have received from international organisations has been linked to intensive training in management and organisation skills and in democratic theory, participatory approaches and human rights. This training has enabled these groups to put in place systems and procedures for achieving an equitable division of labour within the organisation, devolving decision making and developing independent boards of directors (see below in section III.4 on governance), responding to need in the community and enhancing a strong consensually agreed identity. With the reduced availability of such international inputs, the progress of these kinds of approaches throughout all CBOs and NGOs is uncertain.

The flip side of the leadership coin is that most organisations interviewed, regardless of their capacities, benefit from the persistence, energy, and inspiration of charismatic leaders who have strong personal values and are ambitious for their organisations. For a great many of the smaller organisations, held back by lack of financial resources, scarcity of skilled personnel, an unstable local socio-political environment, it is the refusal of leaders to give up that maintains their potential to develop at a later date. Except in the small number of highly trained organisations, most CBO leaders in rural BiH lack experience of managing and organising and are often lacking in strategic and project planning skills, but they make up for this in their ability to influence those around them and maintain the motivation of the few staff or helpers they have gathered around them. Some bring specialist knowledge and experience from previous or present employment in a variety of fields such as, law, school teaching, health and psychological care, but few have entered into work in the community in the hope of safeguarding a pre-war middle class lifestyle and standard of living, a charge that has been levelled at the NGO pioneers in the urban centres in the immediate post-war period (Stubbs, 1999: 31).

III.3.d Skills, training and experience

The vast majority of CBO workers in rural BiH have received scant training for the management and administration of organisations, with 53 or 34.4% from 154 having received no training whatsoever. In only 20 organisations have all staff (two or more full or part-time, paid or unpaid workers) received training. This means that the sector as a whole is under skilled and many routine tasks are undertaken slowly and inefficiently, placing a further burden on organisations that have low levels of labour. There are a number of reasons for this situation. Most training to date has been provided through INGOs and supranational agencies, such as the OSCE, UN departments and the EU. With the fall in donor funds over the last three years, INGOs have scaled down their operations throughout the country, with many even leaving, and this appears to have impacted most heavily upon the rural areas. This is despite the fact that increasingly INGO policy concentrates on reaching the less populated areas, tying civil society support to return and reconstruction work. Particularly disadvantaged are those areas where there is little or no two-way return of displaced populations, such as Western Herzegovina and many parts of Eastern Herzegovina (RS) and Eastern RS, as these areas are not priorities for the donors that are funding the INGOs. All organisations that have set up in the last three years have experienced very great difficulties in accessing professional training. Lack of international presence in the locality coupled with geographical isolation and the common lack of Internet and other telecommunications means that many CBOs are not aware of the few training opportunities available. Even where they have access to computers and the Internet, perhaps at a local Internet café or an OSCE political resource centre, some groups, particularly community and women's groups set up by more mature members of the community, lack the most basic of IT skills to exploit the new technology.

Opportunities for training from Bosnian organisations are also few. The general proliferation of civic associations since the war has not been accompanied by a concomitant growth of local bodies providing training, especially in the rural areas. ALDI, based in Goražde is able to provide regular training programmes to some CBOs in this area, as too is TALDI in the region near to Tuzla. The only other Bosnian NGO found to be giving regular technical training in the areas covered by the research was the *NGO Foundation*, from Sarajevo. In light of this, and the general problems in accessing training those local or national NGOs mentioned on page 28 that are advising and mentoring other smaller CBOSs and NGOs play a vital, if insuffient role.

Training within the sector tends to be concentrated within older, more established organisations that have existed for three of more years. This is partly owing to their relative longevity, but also to the wider availability of training opportunities through INGOs earlier. There is no guarantee that trained organisations have received a sufficient quantity of training to meet their needs, that it is evenly or appropriately distributed within the organisation or that the training has been resulted in more efficient or effective running of the organisation, but in general, those whose staff have all received training are active, have regular systems for short and longer term planning, are well connected and well informed, conduct fundraising in a systematic manner and have high levels of motivation and confidence. The majority of these organisations are the recipients of long-term and ongoing funding and technical support packages from international funders, such as DemNet (currently administered by ADF) and the Swedish NGO *Kvinna till Kvinna*. While the financial security offered by these packages is clearly important for increasing the local partners' performance, so too is the lasting training and mentoring that often takes place in-house and carried out according to the specific evolving needs of the local NGO.

Box 7
Technical training is not sufficient

In the late 1990s, the Cultural Education Centre, **ONIKS** from Višegrad in Eastern RS, participated in over 70 training seminars for technical training, NGO and civil society theory and specialist social and economic themes from a wide variety of international agencies, including USAID, New Bosnia Fund (UNHCR) and OSCE. Apart from illustrating the wider availability of training in all fields that existed in all areas of BiH at that time, their story also shows that achieving expertise and efficiency is not sufficient for achieving success and continued development. This is contingent on multiple factors, including political and community support, the local economy, support and power of primary stakeholders and international donor policy.

When *ONIKS* started work as a youth club in 1996, Višegrad was a particularly isolated, and socially depressed town, with a dearth of social and economic opportunities for all its inhabitants. The domination in the town of intolerant, aggressive, hard-line Serb nationalist elements made it extremely difficult for citizens to undertake any activity that might be construed as having a political agenda. Accordingly, when *ONIKS* started to work towards implementing its mission of protecting human rights, educating children about the principles of democracy and empowering children and youth through cultural and educative activities, it concentrated on providing non-controversial activities, such as English teaching and dance and drama workshops. This work was extremely successful and at one time they had 350 regular attendees.

A major crisis arose in 1999, when they were thrown out of their home and working space in the local cultural centre, for 'collaboration' with the local SFOR force, which had donated presents for a children's Christmas party. The two young women who ran *ONIKS* regrouped and moved into the front room of one their houses, re-establishing *ONIKS* as a local promoter of democracy and human rights.

cont.

Within the interview sample, the number receiving such support is very small, perhaps numbering as few as 15. The majority of trained organisations have received or are receiving infrequent piecemeal training from a variety of (international) organisations, if and when the opportunity arises, at large seminars or workshops alongside other national or regional (Balkans) organisations. While most respondents expressed complete satisfaction with the training they had received, the general impression gained from the interviews is that CBOs have an incomplete understanding of how to run their organisation and plan for community or development action.

Training offered appears to have concentrated on specific technical tasks, such as project planning, proposal writing, strategic planning, maybe computer skills and financial management. Very few organisations possess knowledge of complementary and perhaps more subtle skills, such as stakeholder relations, needs analysis and research techniques, management and leadership, which will help them reflect the interests of the community and their members and enable them to motivate staff, volunteers and beneficiaries. There is the suspicion that much of the technical training offered has reflected the interests of international donors rather than Bosnian CBOs, as their interests lie in funding projects and organisations that can produce quantifiable results in a specified time according to predictable or identifiable procedures. Donor orientation appears to be responsible for a disturbing lack of fundraising training amongst the whole research group. For those with training, fundraising is equated with the project proposal, at the cost of the many different approaches to accessing various

business, community, state and private sources of funding. While technical training clearly enhances an organisation's proficiency and efficiency, the suspicion exists that it may have negative effects in terms of willingness or ability to experiment. It is noticeable that those CBOs that have not received training in project writing are leading the way in attempting to gain funds from a number of community sources. Conversely, those that are trained, whether they are in receipt of international funding or not, rarely conduct local fundraising and are very often unwilling to accept its potential.

Most organisations interviewed have at least one member, usually a founding member or leader, that brings relevant specialist knowledge or experience acquired in other professional or voluntary activities that assists them both to carry out their work and to gain credibility in the community. However prior experience of management generally and of managing CBOs and NGOs specifically is extremely rare. In light of the lack of training available, a great many CBOs are learning how to plan, administrate and manage by trial and error. Lack of theory and experience in this field, coupled with part-time and informal activity, results in a range of styles and methods of working in areas where convention suggests a more limited range of approaches, such as how the Board of Directors works (see section III.4 on governance), or in fundraising. However, in more cases than not, this lack of experience encourages or reinforces the propensity for organisations to become dominated by a single strong figure, as for those with no prior experience, management is commonly equated with control.

The quality of specialist knowledge in a particular field (environment, law, economics etc) brought to an organisation by its staff was impossible to assess during research. It was noticeable, however, that many groups not only cited the number of qualifications within the organisation as proof of its quality and fitness to undertake its stated mission, but also made it clear that they considered their knowledge bounded and sufficient and that this in turn determined how the organisation would work in the community. That is, that information and knowledge have a technical quality, and can be applied directly (as seen above with training for NGO development), rather than being the starting point for discussion, enquiry interpretation and experiment.

III.3.e Learning culture

Within the whole interview sample, only 15 CBOs and NGOs were considered to have established a learning culture. As suggested above, it is rare to find organisations that are clearly able to either interpret or re-interpret data and knowledge, or willing to experiment in programme design, content and ways of working. This was particularly noticeable in the high numbers of similar project designs in all fields that appeared to copy existing programmes by other organisations, regardless of their suitability for their particular community or whether or not they were duplicating work already achieved.

Few actively engage in theorising about their work, neither asking the question "what kind of society and organisation do I want?" nor placing themselves in the position of their beneficiaries and asking, "what kind of action and way of working will really make a difference to our members?" This is perhaps best illustrated in the generally poor vision statements among the interview sample. It is also illuminated by the importance placed on results over social impact, process and consciousness. Time and again, evidence of project success is given in terms of numbers of people attending training, numbers of cows bought, hours of classes given, and so on, without a mention of the meaning or effect within the community.

Lack of reflection is also apparent when organisations talk of training needs. Almost all groups, experienced or new, stress the importance of technical training. Well-trained representatives from well-developed groups often fail to identify their own personal needs for further training. They also confirm a constant need for external training of new members of staff, refusing to consider the possibilities of they themselves establishing set procedures for passing on their technical skills and instigating an internal learning environment. The majority

of less technically able CBOs claim a constant need for further training, but are often unable to specify in what subject and according to what methods.

Lack of time available is clearly a major factor in the failure to establish a learning culture. For the part-time CBO, time is always short and, owing to disparate outside commitments, it is often difficult to collect all staff together regularly for discussion, passing on of information, analysis etc. For the full-time organisation, especially the fully professional ones, time for reflection and learning appears a luxury they cannot afford, especially in light of commitments to undertake donor funded projects with financial efficiency. The propensity for organisations to come under a dominant controlling leader also militates against the learning culture, which requires general participation and consensus within the organisation. In addition, there are three major influences discouraging the emergence of learning CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH. Firstly, the importance that has been placed on technical training, regardless of its availability, has created a technical culture within the non-profit sector in BiH, which elevates the acquiring of an apparently inflexible set of skills over more complex critical faculties. Linked to this, as most training has been given by international organisations, often as part of project funds, is the influence of a project culture. Many CBOs perceive that their best hope of finding financial resources is from international donors, who favour short-term activities with clearly defined and verifiable objectives and results. Under pressure to satisfy these demands, CBOs concentrate on the verifiable actions in project designs, narrative reports, monitoring and evaluation to the exclusion of the real affect on consciousness, processes and social impact. Lastly, the present education system in BiH, the substance of which has been inherited from former Yugoslavia, places a premium on factual learning to the detriment of interpretation and understanding, thus leaving CBO workers ill equipped to undertake more reflective 'higher order' learning.

The 15 CBOs that were considered to have established a learning culture are a heterogeneous group, according to size, age, field of operation and the resources available to them. The group includes five of the largest organisations (according to financial turnover), five youth groups and four organisations that are under two years of age. All of them have in various ways established regular ways of working, systems, procedures, attitudes and behaviours that include the participation of all members of staff and most usually their primary stakeholders in generating new ideas or adapting existing programmes of work. Most common is extensive and systematic needs analysis in the community based on more than one method of gathering information, which crucially is then discussed and reflected on to generate new plans. Methods for information gathering include, regular questionnaire surveying, interviews, house visits, focus groups, observation, comment books, backed up by official data and theoretical material on development, social action and methods. It should be noted that obtaining appropriate literature is a major problem for all organisations, even if they have Internet access, as most documents and books are published in the English language, may not be available in BiH and are often expensive.

A feature of these organisations is their excellent relations with and understanding of their beneficiaries. Some also actively include their beneficiaries in the planning process. Another feature is regular and systematic *qualitative* monitoring and evaluation. Some of the groups might not recognise these terms, but nevertheless they carry out regular informal assessments of their work accompanied by detailed discussions of their findings.

Most have also established procedures for the individual development of their staff. They may ensure that all staff members are either given suitable formal technical training or are included in any advice and mentoring arrangements they have established with other NGOs. Organisations that act more as activity clubs for their beneficiaries, found their programmes on collective specialist training for all their members.

Above all, these groups stand out for the generation of new ideas and their willingness to adapt and refine existing work and to improvise.

Box 8
Learning without technical proficiency

The learning culture is ultimately dependent on communal attitudes to one's work, rather than technical knowledge or the ability to organise in formal ways. The youth drama and arts group **Alternativni klub i scena 'Zoran Radmilović'** from Trebinje is an excellent example of how regular reflection leading to programme development, new ideas and an increase in collective awareness may be established informally through an organisation's routine activities.

The *Alternative Club's* main activities are the production of youth dramas, which it presents to the local public and tours around BiH, taking advantage of festivals organised by other arts groups. At any one time it has about five plays prepared for performance. They started work in 1999 and to date have received no international funding and no training for organising, project planning or proposal writing. The organisation follows a spirit of experimentation, protest or provocation. This is reflected by its penchant for absurdist humour and the social and political themes of many of its plays, which are in the main written by members and developed in rehearsal. At the same time, they claim that they aim to carry out as little administration as possible and have no management structure or set procedures. Although they are heavily dependent on the energy and organisational skills of one member, the informality and participatory nature of the group was apparent during two evenings spent by the researcher with about 10 members. These regular drop-in meetings at their empty 'office' in the town's Youth House serve as rather chaotic talking shops for presenting new ideas for work, considering ways of working, assessing existing work and discussing how it could be improved.

Of course, their regular activity, the rehearsing and performing of plays, is in itself a learning process. Texts and ideas become drama as meaning and understanding are created communally within the group during rehearsal, regardless of what technical (dramatic) level one is working. *Alternative Club* has extended this to include reflection, exploration and enquiry at all levels. At one of the meetings that the researcher attended, a video of an already prepared piece was shown to the group, which included four people from outside the club. The play had already been performed at a festival in Mostar and was soon to travel north to Prnjavor and Banja Luka. The meeting was then used as open discussion to find ways in which the actors could improve their performances and how they could maximise elements of comedy and surprise within the audience.

Using an ever-increasing informal network of contacts with theatre professionals in BiH, Yugoslavia and Croatia, *Alternative Club* has established a twice-weekly workshop-based drama school for two age groups of children and youth. Whenever, they travel to perform, they mobilise professionals and other drama groups they meet to offer free workshops.

The membership of four of the five youth groups that are considered learning organisations have received training for process oriented social skills such as, conflict resolution, non-violent action, confidence building and team building. Many other youth groups in the interview sample, along with a small number of women's organisations have received this kind of training, mainly through internationally funded networks or closed support schemes (e.g. GTZ, UNV, AiBi). These are often led by expert Bosnian NGOs from the main urban centres and include, the *Centre for Non-violent Action* (CNA) in Sarajevo and the *Youth Communication Centre* (OKC) in Banja Luka. In line with the international community's continuing interest in enhancing peace building and reconciliation, funds for this kind of work are more readily available than for other types of training. Although it is not apparent from interviews what the impact of these trainings has had on those organisations receiving it, they are considered important possible enablers of a learning culture as they concentrate on stimulating ongoing change within individuals, groups in society and organisations through continual reflection, adaptation and accommodation and avoid prescribing predetermined results (Miall et al, 1999:63).

III.3.f Summary: Human resources, skills and learning

CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH are small, lean organisations, on average possessing three or less regular staff members, part-time or full-time. By far the greatest number of organisations are run completely on a part-time basis. Small organisation size, particularly in part-time CBOs, seriously limits overall organisational capacity, reducing time available for all activities. In particular, organisations lack the personnel resources to dedicate sufficient time to raise funds for increased project activities, the employment of further staff or running costs. Full-time organisations, especially those that are able to pay staff, are achieving higher levels of project activity, have better stakeholder relations and achieve greater further support from both international and local donors.

Many in the community are now prepared to work voluntarily and all organisations could increase capacity by enlisting volunteers and promoting the idea of voluntary service. Despite the fact that many CBOs can claim large membership numbers on paper, very few CBOs are at present exploiting this resource to the full. Lack of time available for developing stakeholder relations is once again the main limiting factor, but often indistinct organisational identities leading to poor recognition and understanding of the organisation in the community and poor organisation contribute to a failure to mobilise volunteers. There is evidence among youth and

cultural CBOs that for the part-time organisation, coordinating office working hours with the evening and weekend free time of beneficiaries can increase volunteerism.

A majority of CBOs are over dependent on a dominant leader, a phenomenon that is both a cause and effect of small organisation size. Concentration of decision-making powers, skills and administrative responsibilities in a single staff member leaves many CBOs deeply vulnerable to changes internally and externally, and it is predicted that almost exactly 50% of those interviewed would cease functioning in the event of their dominant leader leaving. The persistence of traditional authoritarian and paternalistic cultural influences in BiH society continue to encourage non-participatory and domineering management styles throughout the sector and this is placing severe limitations on the sector's potential to act as an engine for creating democracy and social capital at the grassroots. Those few organisations that have received extensive trainings in CBO management and organisation show a greater degree of consensual and participatory action, both within the organisation and in its work with the community.

In general rural CBOs in BiH are ill equipped to run their organisations effectively and efficiently, as most have received no technical training and it is rare for staff to have management experience before joining the non-profit sector. The principle source of training has been INGOs, but in the past three years INGOs have reduced their activity, especially in rural areas and training opportunities are now in short supply. Because of this, but also from their relative immaturity, newer CBOs that have registered in the last three years (approximately half of those interviewed), are disadvantaged in acquiring the skills necessary for growth and development.

On it own, technical training is not sufficient to guarantee the sustainable development of civic associations. CBOs need to develop a learning culture, based on continual processes of critical self-analysis, information gathering and interpretation and the exchange and passing on of practical and theoretical knowledge, in order to develop the adaptability to cope with a constantly changing environment. Only 15 CBOs interviewed are judged to have developed learning cultures and CBOs generally show low levels of flexibility and an unwillingness to experiment. Problematically, the technical training provided by international organisations, which is task specific, stresses the application of rule-led procedures and gives precedence to results over process, is seen as one of the factors inhibiting learning in CBOs. In organisations that are untrained, the influence of dominant leaders also stifles the growth of learning. Process-based trainings for non-technical staff, such as for conflict resolution and non-violent communication, which are most commonly made available to youth groups, are considered possible ways of encouraging the reflective attitudes and interpretative skills needed to strengthen learning.

III.4 Governance of organisations

By law all registered civic organisations have a governing body (variously named, the Board of Directors, General Assembly, Committee, Management Board, Trustees) that is distinct from the management team and the membership in terms of its composition and role, even in the event that it is made up of the organisations' members. The Board of Directors exists to take on the final legal and moral responsibility for what the organisation does. This includes, ensuring that the organisation carries out its activities in accordance with its mission and its legally constituted statutes and that the organisation is financially accountable to the authorities, its beneficiaries and donors in line with the law and prevailing morality. It also has responsibility to act as the legal entity that employs the senior manager or chief executive (paid or unpaid).

The governing body therefore is the ultimate authority in an organisation and is also envisaged as the key structural element that ensures a level of democracy and transparency within the organisation that corresponds with and is integrated into the organisation's intended role,

however implicit this may be, in advancing democracy and good governance in society as a whole (see pages 2 & 3). The governing body serves democracy not only by being publicly accountable for its decisions, but also by providing its members a forum for the active participating in and practice of democratic decision-making.

The Board of Director's duties include: overseeing the mission and playing a lead role in defining long-term strategy, evaluating and monitoring the work of the organisation and its results, ensuring the necessary resources are in place to undertake any given programme, preparing or checking the organisation's accounts, maintaining democratic procedures and employing and assessing the senior manager or chief executive. At the same time, the board or its members can provide valuable additional resources that enable an organisation to improve its capacities in significant ways by, for example, providing specialist advice (legal, accounting, field specific), undertaking fundraising activities and providing contacts with stakeholders or representing other stakeholders and the community generally. It is commonly expected that board members are not paid for their contribution and in this way they may help to legitimise the organisation in the eyes of the community by strengthening its credentials of public service.

The overall importance of achieving an active and effective Board of Directors to an organisation's performance and its smooth running is disputed. While some see a board as a 'guiding light', others view it as no more than a 'bothersome nuisance' (Ferraro. 2001: 4) and yet others find its presence as 'irrelevant' or even a 'liability' (Adirondack, 1998: 22). The way in which the board operates, its effectiveness and how it is viewed both within and without the organisation will depend on a combination of factors including, how it is constituted (its form and membership), the degree to which it can establish independence from the management, the overall structure of the organisation and the level of development the organisation has reached.

There are approximately three types of governing bodies (Fowler, 1997: 37): self-regulated that consist solely of staff members, self-selected oligarchies composed mainly of outsiders, although often containing some members of staff and thirdly, constituent-based ruled by varying sizes of members' assemblies. The first implies direct ownership of the organisation by the staff and in many cases internal coherence is strong, although accountability and the ability to change may be compromised. The second represents the prevailing Northern model, seen as particularly advantageous for advancing accountability and transparency, but in cases where the Board is particularly proactive, it can lead to serious disputes with staff over long-term strategy and direction. It is this model that has been heavily promoted in BiH through the numerous trainings held by INGOs since the war. The last, found throughout the world, in organisations such as local community groups to worldwide concerns such as, Amnesty International, ensures an organisation's responsiveness to its mission, although the appointed assembly may be restricted by limited access to information.

III.4.a Governing bodies in BiH

In BiH, all three of the above basic arrangements are possible and do exist, whether by design or accident. This is regardless of the basic legal provisions[25] that specify that the ultimate authority in a citizens association lies with an Assembly of founding members whose governing duties may be delegated to specially created organs, such as the Board of Directors or

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[25] The laws that regulate citizens associations and NGOs in BiH are complicated and have been subjected to an as yet unfinished process of revision. Most of the organisations in the interview sample registered as NGOs prior to 2001 under separate provisions operating in the Federation and RS. In both cases these laws required a minimum of 30 founding members who would then constitute the Assembly. The forming of other bodies with delegated powers was then allowed for. Under new laws in both entities and at the state level (the law in the Federation is still waiting parliamentary approval), the founding Assembly need only consist of 3 members. Again other governing bodies may be set up to oversee the work and finances of the organisation.

Management Board (Upravni odbor). In the interview sample only six registered organisations had not made provision in their statutes for forming an Upravni odbor, retaining all functions of governance in the member Assembly. For the rest the situation is often very complicated, as although the Board of Directors is the preferred vehicle for governing the organisation, in very many cases other parallel bodies have been set up, which divide and limit the role or powers of the Board of Directors.

It is very common for a Supervisory Board (Nadzorni odbor) to operate side by side with the Board of Directors, usually taking responsibility for finance. In some cases the Supervisory Board has been established to supervise the work of the Board of Directors, a seemingly irrelevant and overcomplicated measure, considering that by law such a body already exists in the members Assembly. In some cases advisory boards with no formal powers have been set up that, in effect, diminish the role of the Board of Directors to a purely legal function. Apart from once again over complicating the organisational structure, such bodies are most likely to limit the possible input of the Board by reducing its members opportunities for active participation in the organisation.

Despite the fact that in almost all cases a Board of Directors or similar body had been formally constituted and that in all registered groups a governing body was reported as existing, for practical purposes governance very often did not exist. Sometimes constituted bodies had never met, while in others the role of the Board of Directors had become confused with that of the management team and the tasks of the Upravni odbor amounted to no more than those of regular staff in other organisations. Interviews therefore concentrated initially on trying to ascertain whether or not a CBO or NGO had a system of governance. Enquiries as to the governing body's purpose, tasks, composition and the regularity with which it met were then used to gain a broad impression of the Board's (or Assembly or any other body's) contribution and to attempt to answer the question as to whether or not a functioning board was important for effective performance. In other words, can structure be equated with effectiveness?

Using models suggested by Charity Know How (1999) and Smillie and Hailey (2001: 117), we used the interview answers to identify four ascending categories or levels of governance. These are putatively related to time, representing a natural development in the role of governance corresponding to the overall development of the organisation. At the lowest level a governing body may or may not formally exist, but in practice no discernable governance exists. The management is not accountable to the public and all strategic decisions (if any) are made in a haphazard way through the informal control of a leadership of a single individual or small group. In the second phase, a board exists and meets regularly to oversee the work of the organisation, but merely provides routine 'rubber stamping' of management decisions. The organisation remains under personal control of the management and founding leadership. At the third stage, the board begins to be more proactive, playing a role in setting strategic objectives, actively employing the senior manager, carrying out effective scrutiny of programme plans and finances, but management retains overall control of policy. In the final stage, the board is the main protector of the mission and sets strategy and provides guidance to senior management. Leadership is a shared function, carried out by the board and senior management.

All ten non-registered CBOs had not constituted a body for carrying out governance. While this is partly because there is no legal requirement to do so, this situation reflects the incipient stage of their development. 6 of these of these are in their first year of operation and only one, *Help Children* from Višegrad, organising children's activities, may be said to have carried out any regular work in the community. *Help Children*, however, is in reality the combined informal part-time efforts of two dedicated community volunteers.

Table 9. Stages of Governance within CBOs and NGOs in Rural BiH

Governing body may or may not formally exist, but in practice no discernable governance exists. Management is not accountable to the public and all strategic decisions (if any) are made in a haphazard way through the informal control of a leadership of a single individual or small group. (Includes 10 non-registered groups)	82
Board exists and meets regularly to oversee the work of the organisation, but merely provides routine 'rubber stamping' of management decisions. The organisation remains under personal control of the management and founding leadership.	50
Board begins to be more proactive, playing an active role in setting strategic objectives, actively employing the senior manager, carrying out effective scrutiny of programme plans and finances, but management retains overall control of policy.	22
Board is the main protector of the mission and sets strategy and provides guidance to senior management. Leadership is a shared function, carried out by the board and senior management.	0
Total	154

A further 72 registered CBOs were judged to have, in practice, no system of governance. In 19 of these the Upravni odbor was clearly defined as the management and administrative team, meeting on at least a weekly basis and carrying out all functions in the organisation. A further four local NGOs were originally initiated and run by INGOs and on registering as BiH organisations had not replaced governance from abroad with a local board. One organisation clearly defined the Upravni odbor as a purely advisory body, with no legal or overseeing role. In a further 10, no evidence was given that the Upravni odbor had ever met. For the remaining 34, it was clear that the Upravni odbor met infrequently, usually gathering 'according to need'. This need was rarely specified, as the Upravni odbor had no defined role and the distinction between management and administration remained very hazy, as its membership was dominated by staff and contained few if any people from outside the organisation.

Within the whole group, lack of governance is correlated with a lack of organisational development, small income (on average between 2,000KM and 10,000KM per year) and very often, low levels of activity in terms of the sum of programme or project work. (This last is not completely clear, as some groups, such as youth and cultural organisations, achieve high levels of regular 'club' activities with little administration and few financial resources.) As these groups' use of donated resources remains low and their impact in the community is potential rather than actual, it is doubtful whether they are in need of the transparency and accountability provided by systems of governance. As most of these of these groups are run on a part-time voluntary basis and a great many of them (including all 37 organisations registering in 2001 and 2002) are at an incipient stage of their development, establishing a governing body may be seen as an unnecessary distraction from the task of motivating and organising core staff and primary stakeholders. Another characteristic of many of these CBOs (including new youth groups and a smaller group of more established women's groups) is that, lacking resources and technical capacity, they operate more as regular social clubs for their members in which accountability may be ensured through regular participation of large segments of the membership.

50 CBOs correspond to phase two, at which the organisation's governing body has a separate identity from the staff and general members and starts to meet regularly, but in effect serves to react to and approve decisions taken by the regular management. These boards meet anything from between once a month to every six months. They vary in size from three to 15 members and are composed in a number of ways. In a majority of cases the senior manager or main founding member, with maybe one or more other leading members sits on the board as a voting member accompanied by a majority of other members, volunteers or beneficiaries who are not regular staff members. In these cases the CBO is operating, in the formal sense, as a constituent-governed organisation.

In other cases senior, or influential staff members are joined by a mix of members and outsiders or solely by outsiders, moving the organisation nearer to the classical Northern model of the independent Board of Directors. The influence in all these boards of the senior staff ensures continued *de facto* ownership of the CBO by the staff, and most usually, a dominant leader, over either the membership or a wider group of stakeholders. It is significant that among this group, no organisation forwarded the opinion that the role of the board was in any way problematic. The use of the board for these groups is to bring the CBOs formally in line with the law by providing a formal check on work and finances, and to be seen to be doing so. Accountability remains low, either to the membership, beneficiaries or other stakeholders and transparency is restricted in that accounts and board proceedings are never made freely available. The presence of outsiders on the board increases transparency, as very often these members are secondary stakeholders, including municipal (occasionally cantonal) officials, school teachers, businessmen, members of social services etc., along with members of the public that can offer advice or expertise. It was made clear in interviews, however, that the development of outsider boards in this group of CBOs is firmly aimed at increasing the resources available to the organisation, whether they are information or access to funds.

Box 9
Locating the source of governance

Sunce from Zvornik (see also Box 5) illustrates the difficulties that sometimes exist when trying to identify where governance resides in CBOs in BiH. Because of ambiguities about the role of the organisation's different organs, it is not clear whether *Sunce* is self-regulated, controlled exclusively by its staff, or a constituent-based organisation under the strategic direction of its members Assembly.

A management team of four members that includes the executive director and the organisation's secretary carries out the main routine planning and administration tasks, with the assistance of 9 'volunteers'. At the time of the interview five of these 13 were in receipt of fee payments for implementing projects. Apart from the slight confusion between volunteers and staff, the management team is also officially the Upravni odbor or Board of Directors. This body officially carries out the usual board duties, including overseeing the work of the organisation, leading a yearly planning review and carrying out strategic planning. Such an arrangement, while clearly confusing, places Sunce amongst self-regulated organisations.

Yet, in 2001, when the organisation made the decision to revoke its large but inactive membership and narrow its target group to children between the ages of 7 and 15, the organisation's Assembly, or formal membership body made this strategic move. It is not clear whether in practice this move had already been taken by the Upravni odbor or the staff and volunteers, and was then officially 'rubber stamped' in the Assembly to increase its legitimacy, but the granting of responsibility to the Assembly suggests that in this case *Sunce* was acting as constituent-based organisation.

There is also evidence in a number of cases, that outsider boards have been or are being developed under the influence of INGOs advocating such a model in training schemes or making it a condition of future funding. In late 2001, The *Centre for Citizens Cooperation* (CGS) in Gradačac, introduced a new organisation structure which transformed the organisation from a self-regulated group to one governed by an independent board. Where previously two coordinators rolled management and governing roles into one, with the help of a powerless advisory board, now a newly created management team of three full-time workers must officially answer to a board of 7 directors, comprised of three school teachers, a cantonal deputy minister, two businessmen and one student. Members of CGS made it quite clear that, although they were happy with the new system, in many ways it had been imposed on them by the donor ADF as part of the technical assistance package they are receiving as members of DemNet II.

The totally independent board, run according to the classic Northern model, is found in the majority of the 22 organisations that have reached stage three, at which the board is taking an active role in determining strategy (though this is led by the staff and the board is said to 'attend'), is the effective employer of staff and is scrutinising plans and finances. These organisations have all reached a size or complexity in terms of activities undertaken that demands a strong governing role. Within the interview sample these organisations are characterised by full-time professional staff, higher than average turnover (10 of the 12 with annual incomes of over 100,000KM are included), a high proportion of foreign donors funds and a continual programme of work in the community. It is difficult to tease out the causes and effects within this group, but it is more than likely that effective boards are more a general sign of these organisation's growing maturity over time and the influence of international policy and training, than the reason behind the organisation's success. The average age of this group is almost five years and all have received significant technical training from INGOs over this time, including guidance of achieving effective governance. 8 of the 22 were originally set up or instigated by international organisations and from the outset established external boards that employ staff, so bypassing the problems associated with ownership and dominance by founder members. It is only amongst this group that information on finances and board members is regularly made available to the public in publications and on the Internet.

Despite the adherence of these organisations to the principles of good governance, many senior management and staff teams are unwilling to give up control of the organisation. Apart from strategy remaining the property of staff or members, there are also serious questions being asked in some CBOs as to whether an independent board can truly represent the interests of the beneficiaries to whom the organisation caters. Responding to these doubts, the women's group "Budućnost" from Modriča, has recently replaced an Upravni odbor of 7 outsiders with one selected solely from members.

III.4.b Summary: governance

In general, governance amongst CBOs in rural BiH is weak and still a poorly understood concept. This is in large part due to the young age of the sector in which a majority of organisations are young, at a low level of development, relatively inactive and remain dependent on the personal commitment of founding members for direction and capacities. In broad terms the sector follows an evolutionary pattern of increasing governance corresponding to increasing levels of activity and complexity within the organisation. As organisations progress along this evolutionary path, they tend to transform themselves from de facto self-regulated organisations, to constituent-based ones, to those governed by independent Boards of Directors. At the earliest stage self-regulation is de facto, as systems and procedures for governance are rarely present. These fledgling organisations are essentially opaque and non-accountable to the majority of their primary stakeholders, as well as to the general public. Increasing transparency from the outset would be an effective way of improving relations and with their beneficiaries and members in order to increase local support and the organisation's responsiveness.

Organisations that have reached the second stage of basic governance, at which systems formally exist for overseeing operations, often appear to operate with as constituent-based organisations, with Boards or Directors being composed mainly of members or beneficiaries. Sometimes these boards include members from outside the organisation, but there is a tendency for them to remain under the direct control of senior staff. This is a sign of an underlying anxiety that exists within the whole sector about relinquishing control and ownership, which only becomes explicit when organisations have reached a stage where governing bodies are taking on active responsibility for overseeing activities and finances and playing a role in strategy. Governance in this small group of CBOs is dominated by the use of independent Boards of Directors, which have clearly been developed under the influence of the international community.

There is a definite correlation between the increase in both the quality of governance and the increasing use of independent Boards of Directors and increased performance and sophistication of the organisation. However, the advantages of independent governing bodies over membership or self-regulated forms cannot be proved. Increased transparency and accountability is in all probability determined more by the putting in place of systems and procedures that effectively divide the responsibilities of governance, management and ordinary membership within the organisation and an increased understanding amongst all members of the organisations legal and moral responsibilities.

III.5 Financial viability and funding sources

Although it has already been noted that an organisations' sustainability cannot be built on financial resources alone, a solid financial base is a necessary condition of sustainability. All organisations, however small and however much they are based on volunteer services and other forms of community action, need resources to buy and run basic equipment such as, computers and telephones, to pay for regular expenses incurred, such as legal costs, rent,

travel, to access and distribute information and to pay for materials, expert services and resources for projects and programmes. Financial security for each organisation will be dependent not just on the amounts of funding available, but also on its predictability, reliability, duration and the conditions under which is given or generated.

Predictability and reliability refer to the extent to which that sources of funding remain available and may be accessed again with confidence in the long-term. It is only within a stable funding framework that organisations can plan effectively for future programming and organisational development. The duration of any individual source of funding affects the short or mid-term security of the organisations; the longer the duration, the greater organisation's security. Longer funding cycles, whether for organisational costs or single projects, also allow the organisation to plan more effectively and allow more time for other fundraising from other sources. The conditions placed upon any funding received affect the organisation's immediate efficiency and effectiveness. Most funding is given for a specific purpose with restrictions placed on its use. For example, many grants from international donors demand stringent narrative and financial reporting procedures that may make heavy demands on staff time and skills. Also, provision is often not allowed for regular running costs, such as rent, heating or remuneration.

At the same time, a general rule for financial sustainability is that financial resources should be accessed from a wide spread of sources, so that over dependence on single sources and vulnerability to changing funding priorities and economic circumstances are reduced.

The non-profit sector in BiH emerged and developed with intensive and initially widely-accesible foreign aid, made available from INGOs in BiH, international bilateral aid, often administered from embassies located in Sarajevo, multilateral aid from organisations such as the EU and UN departments and international foundations situated abroad. As already observed, foreign donor funds have already fallen sharply over the last three years and this trend will continue in the foreseeable future. The long-term future of all CBOs and NGOs in BiH will, therefore, ultimately depend on their ability to locate and generate a spread of local sources of income. This is particularly so for CBOs in rural BiH, as their generally small size and community focus will make them unattractive to the remaining sources of foreign aid in the long run.

In BiH at present the possible sources of local funding include: self-financing schemes that include charging for services, membership fees and carrying out commercial activities, government grants and donations (from all levels), business sponsorship and donations, support from a small number of BiH foundations and NGOs and donations from the wider community. Although evidence from other countries suggests the that non-profit sectors are initially reliant on a base of international support and later develop through accessing a wide variety of local funding sources (Smillie & Hailey, 2001: 32), expanding the local funding base in BiH is at present fraught with difficulties, including legal restrictions, low government capacity, misunderstanding of the non-profit sector and general economic weakness and poverty.

III.5.a Impoverished underclass, vulnerable elite

Overall CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH are poorly funded and a great many of them have either no or very low regular income. 34 (22.1%) of those interviewed received no financial or other material funding in the twelve months prior to interview and a further 31 (20.1%) received under 2,000KM. Although the majority of these organisations may be deemed non-viable, they all retain some basic potential for development and the undertaking of some kind of action in the community. Included in the wider group of 65 (34 + 31) are all 10 non-registered groups and the greater majority of those registering as NGOs in 2002 and 2001. All these are still unproven in that they are still engaged in defining their identity, raising initial interest in the community and exploring ways of how to access resources. There are also a number of older

organisations, mainly women's and youth groups that, despite a failure to find funding for project activity, continue to act as regular 'community clubs' for communal activities, mutual support or information resources. There are also others that appear to have a more tangible impact upon the community, including environmental groups that are carrying out conservation activities by mobilising volunteers and return groups that, being embedded in a tightly knit community, are able to provide international agencies such as UNHCR and INGOs with valuable information that has a direct bearing on infrastructure programmes.

In general all those in this large group of impoverished CBOs are dependent on the personal financial contributions of their leaders and/or inadequate membership fees from small memberships for their continued survival. They are characterised by inexperience, small part-time staff, poor organisation, low levels of technical skills, and a lack of inventiveness in locating funds and programme design.

At the other end of the scale are the 12 organisations that have at present relatively[26] high incomes of over 100,000KM per year. This is a varied group, including return support groups, organisations for citizens' advocacy and education, economic support programmes and professionally run youth groups. All, to a greater or lesser extent are heavily dependent international funding and all are in receipt of single grants of anything between 50,000 and 200,000KM. All except the youth group *Preporod* are relatively mature organisations with an established record of constant and increasing support from international donors including either repeat funding from individual donors or long-term arrangements of up to three years in duration. These organisations have proved adept at exploiting what has been, up until this time, a predictable and reliable source of funding. Apart from scoring highly on the aspects of organisational capacity already covered, these NGOs understand the value of and are highly proficient at the more intuitive art of public and donor relations. Two organisations, CGS Livno and RRS Drvar, are remarkable for the diversity of their international funding sources, which allows them a degree of short to medium term security.

It is clear that reduced international sources are no longer sufficient to support all of the diverse needs of CBOs. Further, new demands placed on donors by emerging political and economic crises in other parts of the world will make international aid to BiH increasingly unpredictable. All organisations that remain totally dependent of international sources (40) have so far failed to apply their technical abilities to developing significant local sources of funding and should be considered financially vulnerable in the long run. Three of best-funded organisations in particular are almost totally dependent on a single long-term international source and all three expressed uncertainty as to whether the donor would firstly, continue funding after the expiry of the existing agreements around the end of 2002 and secondly, whether this funding would be sufficient to continue covering present programme and organisation costs. A further three NGOs that have in the past carried out extensive activities in the fields of legal aid and the support of human rights were on the point of closing at the time of interview. All three are the victims of a complacent over reliance on international funding and a failure to devise strategies for fundraising from local sources.

III.5.b International funding and CBO perceptions of foreign donors

The elite group of well-funded NGOs in rural BiH illustrate the continued dependence of the sector as a whole on international donors. International funding is the single most common source of finance for CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH, with 84 (54.5% of 154) benefiting from some kind of direct foreign donor support. Of these, 40 (26%) are completely dependent on foreign sources of finance. This mirrors the continuing unhealthy dependence on foreign sources across the whole country, including the urban centres, that has been remarked on since the end of the war (EU, 1997: 20, IBHI, 1999b: 13; USAID, 2002: 47). It appears,

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[26] Informal enquiries during the research period suggest that a comparable elite group of well-funded NGOs in the larger towns have incomes of over 500,000KM per year.

however, that this dependence is less severe in rural areas than elsewhere. A survey of 40 NGOs from all areas in 2001 by the *Centre for the Promotion of Civil Society* (Šero & Mrđa, 2001: 133) noted that 76.5% of organisations were in receipt of international funds and that 15 NGOs (37.5%) were 95% dependent on international sources. Less dependency amongst the interview sample[27] is not a sign of the sector's strength or its greater ability to access other sources.

Table 10. Funding sources for CBOs & NGOs in rural BiH in the twelve months prior to interview. Includes gifts in kind, equipment and free rental

International donors alone	40
NO FUNDING	34
International donors + self-financing	27
Self-financing alone	14
Government alone	6
Self-financing + government	5
International donors + government	4
International donors + government + self-financing	4
International donors + BiH NGOs/Foundations	3
International donors + government + self-financing + business	2
Government + self-financing + business	2
Business + community donations	2
Business + self-financing	2
International donors + business	1
Government + business	1
International donors + government + business + community	1
International donors + government + community	1
Government + business + community	1
International donors + government + business	1
Government + business	1
Self-financing + business	1
Business alone	1
Total	154

The reduction of international donor funds has had a greater impact in rural areas than in the larger towns, as this has been accompanied by the closing of a great many INGO local field offices. These offices were for many CBOs the means of gaining financial support directly and of gaining contacts to other international donors. Very often in the past initial encouragement and small grants for projects and equipment from INGO field offices were the stimulus for the founding of a variety of CBOs. A common feature of much of this foreign help is the failure to offer training for the building of capacity that would prepare these local groups to locate further funding once these field offices closed. Many of the older CBOs (over two or three years old) among those with least financial resources are victims of this unstructured and unpredictable international aid. It is also particularly noticeable that in two areas where there is at present no international presence on the ground other than that of the OSCE, West Herzegovina canton (Canton 8) and the region of Eastern RS around Sokolac and Vlasenica, no organisations are receiving international funding and all are financially weak.

A common complaint amongst those interviewed is a lack of information about international funding opportunities. International donors are accused of favouring NGOs in the urban

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[27] The use of 'snowballing' in the field to locate organisations in this research meant that many smaller less visible organisations that would not have the capacity to access international funds were located. These might not show up on a random selection of NGOs for a questionnaire survey conducted at distance.

centres as they rarely advertise tenders in ways that will reach the rural parts. In the summer of 2002 the European Commission in Sarajevo expressed its dismay (personal communication) that applications for a tender for support of sport and culture were overwhelmingly from the larger towns. However, this tender had been advertised only through the two main Sarajevo/national newspapers and by e-mail through key NGOs and NGO networks. These newspapers are often not available in small towns and their regular purchase is prohibitively expensive for large sections of the impoverished BiH population. Many rural CBOs do not yet possess Internet or e-mail and many also complain that larger and better-informed NGOs in the area or the big towns are reluctant to share donor information under the present conditions of reduced funds. Only two CBOs from the many in the interview sample that might have applied for these EU funds, had heard of the tender before its closing[28].

Many rural CBOs understand that many foreign funds are often best accessed through personal contact and the exchange of information. Few, however, have the time or financial resources to make regular trips to remote donor and INGO offices in the larger towns to present their case. They are reluctant to and anxious of making telephone contact, as very often their only experience of international donors is of silent non-response. Many are angry and bewildered at the unwillingness of donors to respond to unsuccessful funding proposals with either an explanation or even just a polite refusal.

Many donors, especially bilateral donors and the few international foundations with offices in BiH, do not actively advertise their programmes. Consequently a great many CBOs are completely ignorant of many funding opportunities. However, these sources tend to demand high degrees of technical skill in project writing (sometimes even demanding carefully worked out log frame analyses) and all documentation in the English language, thus discriminating against a large section of less experienced and often less educated CBOs and their staff. It is noticeable that those in receipt of bilateral aid or multinational funds such as from the EU, tend to be those that have already received significant amounts of support and training from the international community and whose leaders are confident English speakers.

There is the perception that international donor priorities not only bear no relation to the everyday realities of local communities, such as poor service provision, lack of education and recreational opportunities, but also that they are evidence of a general disinterest in rural living. Many CBOs complained that INGO and international donor representatives rarely visited their communities and that when they did they would come for only a few hours at a time and spend precious little time with local citizens or citizens groups. A prevalent view, voiced on many occasions, is that the international community favours support for education for democracy and human rights to the exclusion of other more material and immediately experienced community activities. Other organisations believe that lack of research by the international organisations is responsible for their (continued) support for poorly developed ideas and inefficiently run organisations.

In order to put these comments into perspective, a number of INGOs were consulted during the research[29]. The reality of what INGOs are presently aiming to support appears quite different. There are various focuses and approaches, but repeated themes include, support within smaller communities for smaller less developed CBOs and NGOs, including technical support, particularly of those working to empower citizens in the locality to organise and advocate for their rights or to carry out practical communal projects. While INGO field presence is certainly reduced, those that were consulted are staffed mainly by local staff who regularly work in the field, giving advice to CBOs already supported and also trying to make contact with new ones[30]. INGOs, that is, those that remain, are themselves limited in their

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[28] *Centar za mlade* in Zavidovići were successful in their application for 25,000 Euro for an extended youth programme of combined sport and arts activities.
[29] Including: *World Vision*, IRC, CRS, SHL and ADF. Knowledge of bilateral donors from *D@dalos'* own fundraising experience was also referred to.
[30] ADF and SHL employed the researcher for periods of the research with exactly the aim of improving their knowledge of civic activity in the field.

capacity, owing to restrictions on their own funding, and are unable to meet the needs of the varied CBO field across the country and compensate for inaccessibility of other international funds.

The amounts and types of international funding that are disbursed vary, but in general the majority of grants to all organisations are short-term project funds of under 20,000KM (sometimes as low as 500KM) for periods of generally no more than eight months. Despite the relatively small size of these grants, for the rural CBO a single grant invariably signifies the largest source of any funding. While such grants usually allow for office expenses and a small amount of staff remuneration, they rarely contribute positively to the CBO's longer-term development. Few grants are tied to training, especially in the skills needed for organisational development or future fundraising. Short project periods may even weaken the organisation, as project implementation often entails increasing administrative or overhead costs, which later on cannot be covered financially. On the other hand smaller grants to smaller organisations (especially from INGOs) often include items of essential equipment, such as computers, printers and telephone-fax machines. Although these often increase the organisation's running costs, such items may be essential to creating initial capacity. It is noteworthy that many organisations that set up in Eastern RS around 1998 or 1999, mentioned that initial help in the form of computer equipment from *CARE International* or *Oxfam* (the first INGOs to operate in this region), was crucial for their initial development.

III.5.c Self-financing

Despite the continued dependence on international funding, there is evidence that CBOs and NGOs are increasingly mobilising locally available funds of all sorts. The most important sources at present in terms of total amount generated and potential for further exploitation in the short-term are self-financing schemes. A total of 57 CBOs in the interview group are generating a proportion of the their income themselves, with 27 being totally self-financed. Most commonly CBOs receive membership fees or charge for services, but some have ventured into other more commercial activities, including the sale of tickets for various cultural events.

Although in practice it is unlikely that a CBO can generate all its required funds on its own, successful self-financing allows a CBO a degree of control over its resources that has the potential to render them predictable, reliable, long lasting and consistent with the organisation's purpose. This can be a valuable tool to offset the negative influences of other sources of funding, such as from international agencies or government, that are susceptible to changes in policy, are often of short duration and often come with strings attached. On the other hand, self-financing is subject to legal and environmental limitations.

According to the present NGO laws in BiH, a registered NGO may undertake profit-making activities that are shown to be in accordance with the organisation's legally stated social purposes and that the profits are to be used for funding of other non-profit making activities. In practice, this means that NGOs may generate a non-taxable surplus from the sale of their services and collection of membership fees, which can be accounted for as expenses, including running costs, equipment, salaries and representation, for advancement of their stated social purpose. Where an organisation wishes to generate income from activities apparently not connected with its purpose, it must register a separate legal entity, which is then subject to all the usual taxes that apply to profitable concerns.

In the community, self-financing schemes will depend on the tacit negotiations with the organisation's members and stakeholders that take place to determine the value that can be placed on the services offered by the organisation (this also applies to fundraising from business and the community generally). A key factor is how much people can afford to pay, but the prevailing moral and cultural environment will also be important. For example, does an organisation's non-profit status create expectations of cheaper services in the community, are

people prepared to pay to support activities from which they might not benefit directly, are people willing to pay for services which they may consider to be the responsibility of another social sector, such as the government, and so on?

Membership fees

A significant number of CBOs in the interview group are running membership fee schemes, whose proceeds are generally being used to cover vital running costs. In general the amounts realised from membership fees are small (500 – 2,000KM /a) owing to small amounts charged and small pools of paying members. These small amounts, used to cover running costs, such as telephone and rent, commonly provide a lifeline for CBOs that are dependent on volunteer labour in the community or dependent on small and unpredictable project funds for occasional activities. A general pattern is that the greater the ability of an organisation to mobilise other financial resources, especially from international sources, the less use is made of membership schemes. Disdain amongst better off organisations for the use of membership fees is partly because they are seen as both time consuming to administer and unproductive in terms of potential return. It is also reflects a general ambivalence amongst all CBOs as to whether membership fees are an appropriate way to generate funds, given the social purposes of non-profit organisations and the current high levels of poverty in BiH.

Many CBO leaders are embarrassed to ask for contributions from members, considering this to be not in keeping with the ethos of the non-profit sector, regardless of the ability to pay of any members. This attitude is more prevalent among those groups whose main way of working is to mobilise voluntary labour for work in the community (see *Ekotes*, Box 1), where members in effect substitute labour for money. Some organisations are concerned that membership fees will be perceived as producing a direct benefit for staff at the expense of the organisations beneficiaries.

A more common belief among CBO leaders is that their members cannot afford to pay more than token fees. Even in the context of the generally impoverished BiH society, poverty and its causes are more widespread and more commonly experienced outside of the larger towns. The target groups of many CBOs are often those that are further economically disadvantaged (returnees, physically handicapped, youth etc). Accordingly, if membership fees are charged, they are rarely more than 1 or 2KM per month. Even when an organisation does charge, it will often seek to create equity and resolve problems of unequal ability to pay among its members, by making payment discretionary.   Such approaches, however well intentioned, clearly encourage opting out or 'freeloading' on the one hand and discourage the engagement of the membership on the other.   A great many CBOs charging membership fees are severely reducing their potential for generating funds in this way and also making these funds more unpredictable.   In the most striking case encountered, an organisation supporting a large displaced population with representation for potential returnees and the location of material resources for house building or renovation, gained only 40KM in membership fees from an informal membership of over 1,000 households.

However, a number of more productive membership schemes within the interview group, yielding between 6,000 – 24,000KM annually suggests that CBOs are underestimating the potential value of their work to the community and missing out on considerable amounts of reliable and generally predictable income.   In many cases fee rates may be raised to much higher levels.   Some are already doing this and it is clear that the rate had been set after general consulting with the membership to find a happy medium between the ability to pay, the value to members of proposed activities and the costs of running the organisation.
In more lucrative schemes, CBOs have in effect made the membership fee a standing charge for services, offering free access to resources such as buildings, the Internet, sports facilities or free or discounted courses, legal and information services. Tying membership fees to personal interests is potentially difficult for newly formed organisations or those that are still lacking the means to offer services, but there are other examples of CBOs that, through the

development of close stakeholder relations and clear explanations of the organisations goals and needs, have been able to raise financial support for work that benefits the whole membership and/or community in general rather than the individual.

Box 11
The potential of membership schemes 1.

Stope znanja (Steps of Knowledge) in Velika Kladuša, originally one of a number of local women's groups set up in BiH and Croatia by *Marie Stopes*, has been run as an independent Bosnian NGO since 1999. The organisation is aware that it faces financial insecurity in the long term, as it is over dependent of two financial sources, one of which is an international donor that will at some time pull out. Despite this, the NGO has developed a considerable base of self-finance from membership fees that counters the common perception that Bosnian people cannnot afford or are not willing to contribute in any significant way for services or activities. Regardless of the organisation's overall financial vulnerabilty, income from membership fees gives it a degree of financial certainty and predictabilty in the short-term, from which it can plan for the future.

The NGO provides a variety of educational courses, including English and German language, computer training, hairdressing and sewing. Around 250 women and their children, organised into 20 groups, benefit from the education, which takes place everyday with the help of 7 volunteer staff. Informal psychosocial help and conselling are also provided and a monthly magazine is published.

All beneficiaries are members, whose fees of 10KM per month entitle them to any of *Stope znanja's* services. When the organisation became independent in 1999, the managers thought that it could be financed solely from membership fees. This proved to be unrealistic, as the demand for their services was not great enough to generate enough income. *Stope Znanja* considers the poor condition of the Bosnian economy, which has deteriorated since 1999, as the limiting factor in mobilising more funds from self-financing. Some of their members have no income at all and accordingly Stope znanje runs a special free membership for these women. It is aware also that not all other members are in a position to pay and the membership fee is not insisted on. At present a total of 200 are currently paying, yielding an income of around 24,000KM pre annum. This amounts to around 50% of all costs, the rest of which, covering upkeep of the building and the salaries of the full-time staff, is paid by the Swedish NGO *Kvinna till Kvinna.*

Charging for services

About 20% of the whole interview group are able to run self-sustainable programmes by charging for services offered to the general public. In almost all cases these services consist of computer training, foreign language courses and Internet access. Language teaching, which is usually facilitated by the hiring of a local teacher or an advanced university language student, is invariably carried out by organisations also carrying out computer training. There appears to be an association among CBOs between the two fields, the reasons for which are not entirely clear, although sometimes computer rooms also provide classroom space for

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Box 12
The potential of membership schemes 2.

A lesson in the effective mobilisation of significant funds through modest fees charged to a large membership is provided by the *Sports Fishing Club* in Teslić. This group combines an appeal to members' own interests in being included in sporting and social activities, as well as their more ultruisitic instincts for enhancing the local environment. The club states its mission as: to preserve and improve fish stocks in Telić's two rivers and streams, and to protect the natural environment.

Although the club dates back to 1937, it is in the post war period that it has developed in size and become a truly community owned organisation, with its membership rising from 106 members to 400 today, who range in age from only 4 years right up to the oldest pensioner. This has been facilitated through an effective membership fee scheme, that makes a crude distinction between the economic power of its members, but offers equal rights to participation. Adults pay 40KM/year, juniors up to 18, 20KM and primary school children, 10KM. Although some members are clearly not paying, a total of over 6,000KM a year is collected from membership fees, amounting to about 75% of total income.

In 2001 this money was used to restock the upper reaches of one of the rivers with 20,000 small trout, pay for two professional river watchers to control illegal fishing, monitor pollution and littering, as well as a number of fishing competitions and outdoor social events for the whole community.

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language lessons. All those organisations that are offering the above services have received international grants to cover the initial purchase of expensive technical equipment (on average between four and 10 PCs), office furniture and the first period of renting a space. Charges made are aimed solely at covering programme costs and in general undercut commercial provision by between 50-80%. Demand for language and computer courses everywhere remains high, but CBOs are unwilling to charge more in order to provide a surplus for other programme or running costs for fear of excluding large numbers of less well-off people. At between 20 - 50KM per month, these services represent a large single expenditure for many in the rural areas.

CBOs that run Internet cafes are very often the only point of public access to the Internet in the locality. In the RS, high Internet charges, mainly as a result of localised service provision monopolies, and expensive telephone connections are forcing CBOs to charge rates that are often beyond the reach of many (hourly rates quoted varied between 4 and 7KM per hour). The result is that public Internet services offered by CBOs are less widespread and less popular with the public than in the Federation[31].

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[31] The costs of Internet provision started to drop rapidly during the research period owing to the installation of an ISDN line from Banja Luka to Trebinje and the introduction of more competitvely priced networks, such as Teol.net,

Small charges made for the use of sporting or cultural facilities are the only other common form of income generation from the range of other services that CBOs offer. Services that replace or enhance inadequate social service provision such as, legal aid, health provision and psychosocial help, are considered to be inalienable individual human rights on which morality precludes placing even a nominal price tag. There is no evidence of CBOs attempting to charge society for these social services by attempting to obtain service contracts with municipal authorities. This is almost certainly the result of the generally poor relations and mutual suspicion that exists between CBOs and municipalities, as well as local government's lack of finances.

One NGO, *Solidarnost za jug* from Trebinje reported that it had been employed by the municipality to carry out a 'local environment action plan', which consisted of identifying local environmental needs and priorities through workshop consultations with all stakeholders and then engaging expert environmentalists to execute the plan. This was only possible with financial support from two international INGO donors, but it points the way for possible future avenues of service contracts between the non-profit sector and local government. However, this option is only open to a small number of the CBOs in the interview group at present, as most still lack the necessary facilitation and management skills and experience.

Lack of organisational capacity and specialist skills is almost certainly the reason behind a total lack directed to business. The cooperative arrangement KUD from Mrkonjić Grad (Box 5) has made with a local firm suggests that so far unexploited opportunities for generating income from educational and skills training programmes for business do exist.

CBOs and NGOs creating income from activities of a more purely commercial nature are as yet extremely rare. Aware of the potential of this avenue, a number have worked out plans for opening cafes or establishing small production plants, but have been discouraged by the onerous tax burden on profits and contributions that would fall on the separately registered legal entities that the NGOs would have to establish to carry out these commercial activities. Apart from this many are worried that estalishing a profit-making company would only confirm the suspicions of those in the community that the NGO sector serves personal rather than social interest. (see page 24). In addition, balancing the different cultural, organisational, accounting and management demands of non-profit and profit-making concerns is complex and difficult (Fowler, 2000: 87), even if few CBOs interviewed appeared to be aware of this.

Government support

Only 29 organisations (18.8%) are receiving any kind of financial help from government sources. The low number and type of organisations supported highlights the overall lack of understanding and goodwill between the non-profit and governmental sector that is discussed above in section III.2.b. Apart from two cases where entity government departments are providing part-time salaries for single key workers in cultural organisations, CBOs are receiving help in the form of grants or free office space from the municipality. Direct financial support is small, generally between 1,000 and 2,500KM per year, the bulk of it going to sports, cultural, fishing and hunting clubs. Low levels of individual support are determined by generally low municipal budgets. CBOs interviewed estimated that their municipalities variously had between 10,000 and 50,000KM a year to spend on civic associations. Despite the low amounts of individual support available, for many CBOs municipal grants represent a significant percentage of their overall budget and are of particular value, as they rarely come with conditions attached and can thus be used for any organisational or programme expense. Most municipal grants also add an element of predictability to CBO funding as they are disbursed as single yearly payments.

A large number of those interviewed are trying to gain free office or activity space from their municipalities, correctly realising that these are resources that municipalities can more easily make available. This was illustrated on the day of researcher's visit to Zavidovići, when the local authority announced that it was granting free office space to all 17 registered CBOs in the municipality. However, such arrangements are the exception and only 10 organisations interviewed had the free use of space in municipally owned buildings. Despite reservations as to the suitability of some of the spaces municipalities make available and the terms under which they do so (see page 30), municipalities have in their power an abundant resource that can effectively substitute for less accessible sources of predictable, consistent and long-lasting financial support.

Apart from overcoming negative or indifferent attitudes towards the non-profit sector from municipalities, it is often difficult for CBOs to know how to approach municipalities and where funds and support can be accessed. Although municipalities may officially place a local organisation within its budget, it is rarely clear how decisions are made, who makes them and how much an organisation can reasonably ask for. In most cases CBOs approach the municipality through the office of the mayor, but in a number of other cases executive officers in a variety of departments had been identified. Of all the municipalities covered by the research, only one had established a formal system for communication with CBOs, and none had set out a procedure for funding with clear criteria and guidelines or established an identifiable body responsible for administering this work[32].

Business support

The absence of common practises and procedures for enlisting the support of firms for civic activities is also a disincentive to approaching the business sector. This remains a largely untried field of fundraising and is poorly understood by CBOs and business managers alike. There are also a number of factors militating against the business sector becoming a major source of CBO funding in the foreseeable future. Firstly, the majority of medium to large businesses, that is, those that might reasonably be expected to have the capacity to support CBOs, are still state owned and largely unprofitable. Private businesses are often very small

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[32] Pale municipality (not covered by the research) has recently established such a body with public criteria and guidelines for NGO applications for support. This is said to be the first of its kind outside of Sarajevo (OSCE Pale field office: personal communication)

and profit margins, particularly in the difficult economic climate, are often small. Also financial law in BiH creates a disincentive for firms to give either generously or regularly by stipulating that only charitable donations up to a total of 0.5% of pre-tax profits will be exempt from the usual company taxes. Apart from the fact that many CBO leaders are also worried about the apparent contradiction of linking their social purpose to the interests of business, they may also be concerned as to whether or not certain firms are free from corruption.

A small number of the interview group (16 of 154) are nevertheless successfully experimenting in this field. In general they are less developed organisations of all types, and, not having received technical training or funding from international organisations (11 are not receiving foreign funds), share an experimental, adaptive and informal approach to fundraising. While none of these organisations commands great financial resources, most of them are accessing income from two or more local sources and also enlisting the support of a number of businesses at the same time.

Businesses supporting civic activities are without exception local, from small shops to private manufacturing businesses to local state factories. Donations may be modest financial contributions of between 100 and 1,000KM, or gifts in kind, including some services. Business managers clearly give out of a sense of general involvement in the local community or from a personal interest in the CBO's activities. (see also page 31). At present there is no evidence that businesses view support as a means of increasing their market share by creating goodwill for themselves in the community, raising public consciousness of their name or as a means of direct advertising. Accordingly, sponsorship deals are as yet untried and donations are generally not repeated.

Community support

Collecting funds and goods from the general public in the classic Western NGO style, hardly appears to register among the organisations interviewed as a possible source of income. Likely reasons for this include, concerns about the inability of an impoverished society to contribute and doubts as to whether the general public can be mobilised to support a social cause from which it may gain no direct benefit, and whether it is morally right to demand help in this way from an impoverished population.

Three CBOs are raising support from the community and their returns, when compared with other forms of local fundraising are impressive, realising a minimum of 6,000KM for individual projects in two cases (see GAM page 30) and providing the basis for two years' humanitarian aid in the third (*Kap ljubavi*, Box 14). This limited evidence suggests that where a CBO is seen to be providing a social good for the benefit of the whole community, such as providing a new park with facilities for all ages, or providing essential aid to those in the community who are too poor or otherwise powerless to secure the basics of living, the community is a potential source of reliable funding that may greatly increase a CBOs ability to deliver projects and programmes.

Mobilising the community for the community

Over the last two years a successful humanitarian operation, *Kap ljubavi* (Drop of love) has developed in Tomislavgrad, West Bosnia, based solely on contributions from members of the local community and local firms and the voluntary efforts of a group of young people.

When Father Raduš arrived in Tomislavgrad in 2000 to join the town's Franciscan monastery and take up teaching duties in the local primary school, he found a group of 20 young adults who wanted to do something to help the local community. He organised the group to carry out a survey of the economic wellbeing in all the villages in the municipality. All those that were considered to be socially endangered for whatever reason (the acutely poor, the elderly, disabled, the chronically ill, single parents etc) and their social needs were recorded by hand in a large ledger. The support of the townspeople was then enlisted by placing collecting boxes at a number of strategic places around the town. The response was enormous and with the mixture of money and items of food that the community gave, the group was able to distribute the first community aid to Tomislavgrad's villages, according to the various needs that had been identified.

Today the group distributes food, medicines, school equipment and clothes about every two months to 140 families. Community help from the collection points remains the main source of goods and money, which is so great that two large storerooms in the monastery are set aside for holding the items before packing and distribution. A great number of local businesses also contribute both goods and services, including in 2002 alone 70 lorry loads of roofing timbers for house renovations. The whole operation, cosnsisting of fundraising, packing and distributing aid and monitoring needs and work carried out, is still undertaken out by the original group of committed part-time volunteers. They have no equipment whatsoever and all documentation is done by hand and distribution is carried out in personal or borrowed cars or on foot.

The researcher was taken out to a remote village to meet an isolated 90 year-old women who for years has been living in what is little more than a shack with tarpaulin sheets for a roof. At the same time the old lady proudly showed off her new bungalow, newly constructed by Kap ljubavi from materials and services donated by local businesses alone.

III.5.d Summary: Financial viability and funding sources

The majority of CBOs in rural BiH lack a solid financial base, suffering from insufficient and irregularly received income. In particular there is a large group of CBOs that are currently insolvent and are dependent for their survival on volunteer labour and personal contributions of their leaders. The rest of the sector is over dependent on international sources of funding and over dependence is most acute amongst larger, more developed groups with high levels of activities and high running costs. These organisations are particularly financially vulnerable, as they have not developed adequate strategies for replacing international funding with local-raised sources of income. On the other hand, organisations that have achieved high levels of infrastructure and specialist skills with the help of international finance may be able to run self-sustainable programmes by charging for services.

Many organisations in rural BiH are at a disadvantage compared to those in the larger towns when competing for the international funds that remain available. Geographical isolation, lack

of information, poor communication resources, shortfalls in proposal writing skills, inadequate knowledge of the English language and feelings of alienation from the international community all contribute to difficulties in accessing international funding.

A number of CBOs have begun to adapt to the changing funding environment by starting to exploit local sources of income. In most cases locally available finance is more predictable and comes with fewer conditions attached than that available through the international community, allowing the organisation a greater degree of control over its finances. All forms of locally available income are as yet under exploited, and the total amount that could be realised from them can be significantly increased. This is particularly so for income derived from membership fees, community support and for material help from municipalities, such as the granting of free office space.

Local sources of income are appropriate forms of funding for the majority of small community-oriented organisations, as access to them entails improving stakeholder relations and increasing the organisations responsiveness to local needs and interests.

The total amount of income that can be realised from all local sources is however, limited by the poor state of the BiH economy. For the foreseeable future, local sources will not be sufficient to substitute for the larger international grants that have supported the development of sophisticated, fully professional NGOs. More effective exploitation of local funding sources will, therefore, lead to the continued growth of a non-profit sector composed of smaller, voluntary or semi-professional organisations that are able to influence issues connected with community development, local governance and social well-being with the immediate locality, but have little impact in the wider social and political community.

III.6 Planning

All organisations, regardless of their size, maturity and level of activity, undertake some form of planning. 'Planning is essentially a process of looking towards some point in the future and imagining, or dreaming, of an ideal situation, then identifying the steps that need to be taken to get from the present (which is known) to the unknown future' (Taylor, 2002: 350). Regular, systematic and focused planning for agreeing on (not inflexible) programmes of work, both of ordinary activities or for longer term development, is essential for the effective and efficient realisation of an organisation's purposes and mission. Planning helps to apportion and coordinate the resources (finance, personnel, skills, time, information, materials) available to an organisation, or within its grasp, needed to achieve any action or programme, balanced against the total demands and restrictions placed on the organisation by the sum of all its activities.

All planning, however informal, is a crucial element in establishing the learning culture (see above, section III.3.e) that allows an organisation to continuously adapt to changing needs and opportunities both internally and externally. Ideally learning is built into an iterative cycle or spiral of planning that contains the following steps: assessing the context, planning, action, evaluation, reassessing the context /learning, modified action…and so on.

Although the benefits of clear planning are generally understood and taken to be 'common sense', the work of organisations is very often unplanned and disorganised (Adirondack, 1998: 62). Unwillingness to consider the longer-term future, the months ahead or even the immediate day-to-day business is a common barrier to creating coherent policies, activities and purpose. Planning is time consuming and for smaller, voluntary and often part-time organisations in particular, is difficult to arrange methodically. Irregular staff hours, lack of time, the dominance of leaders or key staff all militate against careful planning. Also, in a funding environment dominated by short-term project funds and where funding policy is subject to sudden change, as in BiH, spending time on planning may seem to many to be waste of time.

However, organisations that do not carry out planning of any sort commonly find themselves engaged in too many often-unrelated activities (or none at all). This leads to an overstretched staff (or conversely underemployed staff), and fuzziness in their mission and overall identity, eroding internal and public recognition of, and identification with the organisation. Consumed by the daily nitty gritty, the organisation becomes passive in its outlook, reacting to events around it and becoming generally ill prepared to cope with change around it.

III.6.a Ordinary short-term planning

Short-term planning is more than just the executing of project plans. It involves setting a time-related agenda of all activities taking place in the organisation that are in keeping with the organisation's overall identity and advance its mission. This in turn involves the most efficient allocation of resources for achieving this agenda, including: time for fundraising, time for programme planning and development, managing projects and programmes, management of volunteers, training of staff, information gathering, enhancing stakeholder relations, financial management and general administrative duties.

In the interview group three categories of planning activity were identified:

1. CBOs that had formal means of creating work agendas, usually written down, that are then the principle tool by which CBO activities are organised;
2. CBOs that appear to have informal agendas, usually existing as rough plans in the heads of leaders or key staff (with maybe the existence of a number of written project or programme proposals);
3. CBOs that have no apparent means of planning and decide upon their work on an *ad hoc* and often daily basis.

Judgements as to what level of planning CBOs were achieving was based on answers to the following questions, the answers to which were often contained in other enquiries during the interview:

‒ Does the CBO have a regular formal procedure for formulating short-term (6 to 12 months) activity plans?
‒ Does the CBO hold regular staff planning meetings for the review of routine work (e.g. bi-weekly, monthly)?
‒ Is the CBO actively working towards a programme of work (a number of projects) over a period of months that fits with its mission, including activities that serve to enable or strengthen these activities (fundraising, improving stakeholder relations), or does the CBO operate passively, 'when opportunities arise'?
‒ Is there evidence of prioritising of routine activities?
‒ Do staff, part or full-time, have regular hours and have they clearly understood tasks (as illustrated in conversation, not by formal job descriptions) or do they work 'according to need', 'as issues arise'?
‒ Does monitoring and evaluation of both project activities and routine work take place?
‒ Are there procedures for identifying needs for project and programme design, such as research and consultation with stakeholders?

Where interviews took place in the workplace, graphic evidence of planning, such as timelines, project matrices and work calendars was also noted down.

Organised and systematic ordinary planning within the 154 interviewed organisations is the exception, with only 43 (27.9%) CBOs and NGOs undertaking some kind of formal planning activities around which routine activities are organised. Not surprisingly, among the 43 is the small number of well-funded (mainly from international sources), fully professional NGOs that have a constant programme of work. These not only have yearly activity plans setting out an

agenda of desired projects and programmes, but also clear individual project coordination and implementation plans, and procedures for the daily apportioning of time and tasks among all staff and volunteers (where engaged). The very complexity of these organisations demands a high degree of ordinary planning activities.

Ordinary planning	CBOs have formal means of creating work agendas, usually written down, that are then the principle tool by which the CBO is organised over the 6 to 12 month period	CBOs appear to create informal agendas, usually existing as rough plans in the heads of leaders or key staff (with maybe the existence of a number of written project or programme proposals), broadly defining work over the next 6 to 12 month period	CBOs that have no apparent means of planning and decide upon their work on *ad hoc* and often daily basis
No. of orgs	43	51	60
Strategic planning	Strategic plan exists and strategic planning exercise carried out	CBO indicates that informal strategic thinking is guiding its work in one or more key areas of work. No strategic planning exercise carried out, no strategic plan	Strategic thinking not used. CBO shows no awareness of working towards a vision or of adapting or refining its work according to predicted external changes and opportunities
No. of orgs	19	34	101

Table 11. Levels of ordinary and strategic planning taking place in 154 rural CBOs and NGOs

Also in this group of 43 are a number of smaller, part-time and essentially voluntary organisations, that claim to be working to yearly plans of activity that include projected budgets for a twelve month period. These CBOs tend to be independent of, or excluded from international funding and their budgets tend to be modest, anything up to 20,000KM. They undertake a range of small-scale activities of short duration, such as organising cultural events, conservation work and small-scale community development projects that can be carried out with small individual financial inputs. What links these CBOs to the professional and mainly internationally funded organisations above, while also distinguishing them from the majority of other organisations interviewed, is that their yearly planning exercises, and the subsequent regular planning sessions for individual projects, take place in an atmosphere of relative financial security or opportunity. It is these CBOs that have adapted to the changing funding environment in BiH and have already succeeded in gaining a level of financial certainty from local sources.

An organisation's ability to generate funds or its perception that funding opportunities for new activities and one-off projects do exist is the key determining factor for whether or not CBOs in rural BiH are undertaking systematic planning. Most of the 51 organisations that are engaged in informal planning - that is, generating agendas, work plans, funding strategies etc. that may be held in the heads of only one or a few staff, resulting from casual discussions and consultations -, say that they only ever engage in structured planning discussions when the idea or opportunity arises for a new bounded activity which demands new financial resources which they believe they can obtain. Many of these same CBOs are also active in running programmes or repeated activities that do not require special financial inputs, but by their own admission these activities are not subject to planning processes beyond the original allocating

of a programme coordinator or organiser. These include self-financing programmes such as, computer classes or language lessons, or club activities, such as sports or cultural workshops in youth groups, and sewing and crafts workshops in women's groups.   Planning amongst CBOs, therefore, is not appreciated as a tool for learning and for refining, adapting and developing the organisation, but as a means to add to the sum total of its project activities when new external funds are possibly available.

This is confirmed by the 60 CBOs that appear to have no means of planning whatsoever. In general these are the least active, least informed and among the least funded CBOs. They may carry out occasional volunteer based activities and will apply for any or all locally-oriented international funding opportunities if they arise, regardless of their mission and their capacities.

Working from the perception that 'there is nothing to plan' without an obvious source of finance to hand, they are caught in what might be termed a 'reverse planning cycle' of self-perpetuating inactivity and aimless imagining of often over-ambitious activities that bear no relation to either the needs of the community or their own capacities. This group is primarily composed of two types of CBOs that have progressed beyond the initial founding stage that is characterised by high levels of enthusiasm and hopeful, often uncoordinated enquiry and experiment. Both groups are victims of the culture of dependency on international funding sources, discussed early in section III.5. Firstly, there are CBOs that at an early stage received small-scale support from INGOs at the time when the international community had a higher field presence. The experience of receiving short-term finance for work that was essentially conceived outside of the CBO fostered a culture of passivity that inhibited the spirit of invention and experiment and also the urge to develop the organisation through planned responses to stakeholder needs and interests. INGO funding to these CBOs did not include inputs into organisation development and when it ended, left the local organisations ill prepared to adapt to new conditions of financial scarcity and the disadvantages of rural isolation.

The second type of non-planning CBO is that which gained the courage to establish itself in the apparently enabling international funding environment, but subsequently failed to attract any external funds. Reasons for not receiving funds include, the lack of INGO presence in their immediate locality, a mission that did not fit with funding priorities and lack of active members or obvious community support. Lacking role models and experience of CBO organisation, these CBOs have similarly experienced apathy-inducing disillusionment.

Box 15
Losing control of the planning process

The *Maglaj Association of Youth* (MAM) is a large loosely organised membership CBO that achieves high levels of participation on a tight budget, but because of a lack of organised ordinary planning, coupled with little strategic direction, is in a constant state of uncertainty and financial insecurity.

Its 450 members are organised into regular special interest sports and recreation clubs, which are run by individual coordinators and usually make use of municipal amenities, such as the sports hall or cultural house. Using the lever of high and guaranteed demand, MAM has negotiated concessional prices for these amenities that each participating member pays directly at the point of use.

Members may also participate in other events that MAM organises. Some of these are purely voluntary, such as conservation days and election monitoring. Others, such as campaigns against drug abuse, participation in various cultural and sporting festivals around the country in association with particular club activities, need small amounts of financial support. These costs are partly covered by the 2,000KM that the municipality grants them each year. Of their own admission, the seven part-time leaders, who appear to have no set tasks, have no process for short-term planning, do not hold regular planning meetings and have not undertaken strategic planning. At any one time they hold in their heads a rough agenda of possible events that MAM will organise in the coming few months. No event is pencilled in without some consideration of whether it can be funded. For most activities, they believe they can top up their limited funds with donations from business. In 2002 they also had US$ 2,000 after joining the Confidence Building Programme run by the UNV, their only international donor.

At the time of *D@dalos'* visit, they had clocked up a 1,200KM debt with the municipality (from an estimated total annual budget of between 6,000-10,000KM) on the use of a small office space. MAM blamed the debt on the municipality, which had unexpectedly imposed a 50% rent rise at the beginning of the year. Funds would quite likely have to be reallocated from clubs and planned events, resulting in some cancellations.

While MAM is achieving a lot on a small budget, its lack of forward planning, uncertain budgeting, undefined tasks within the leadership and failure to set procedures for fundraising, communications with the municipality and problem solving have placed it in a position of financial jeopardy and reduced the degree of control it can exert over its own future.

III.6.b Strategic planning

Strategic planning[33] is long-term planning that entails seeing the big picture beyond the daily routine and the immediate pressures acting on the organisation. It aims to set a feasible set of actions, broadly defined, that enable the organisation to work towards its vision. These actions are decided upon according to predicted changes in the circumstances surrounding the organisations: social needs, funding environment, legal and political conditions. Being predictive, the strategic plan does not determine a final destination, but acts more like a rough compass bearing, being in character something between a working plan and vision (Smillie and Hailey, 2001: 93). Providing a common framework for all activity, it is also a tool for reinforcing identity and for spreading consistency within the organisation and for increasing understanding of the organisation on the part of stakeholders and the general public.

Being based on careful analysis of the external environment in conjunction with honest and detailed appraisal of the capacities of the organisation, strategic planning is not an easy exercise to undertake. It takes time and demands large amounts of information, both of which may be in short supply to small CBOs and NGOs. It also requires that an organisation's identity

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[33] Strategic planning as a generic approach and tool is discussed here. It is an evolving concept in non-profit organisations, gaining inspiration from commercial management theory and practice which has spawned at least 10 models, each with their own emphasis regarding purpose and methodology (Smillie & Hailey, 2001: 92/3)

is well defined, including a purposeful mission and a clear vision. In light of the general lack of organisational development, and in particular the low number of coherent mission statements and challenging visions among the 154 organisations interviewed, it was expected that few organisations would have carried out strategic planning. This indeed proved to be the case, with only 19 CBOs and NGOs having produced a long-term plan for the next three or more years and a overwhelming majority (101) of CBOs giving no indication of developing strategies for the long-term development of the organisation.

No judgement could be made as to whether or not, and in what way strategic plans were being used in the organisation, but it appears that pressure, or at the very least forceful encouragement, from international donors, was the impetus for carrying out the plans in almost all of the 19 CBOs that had completed strategic plans. Most of these CBOs are included in long-term programmes of combined funding and technical support of which strategic planning is an integral part (e.g. DemNet), or are receiving less programmatic regular project support, some of which is set aside specially for strategic planning (e.g GTZ).

Answers to a variety of questions indicated that there are 34 CBOs that have not carried out strategic planning, but do include some element of strategic thinking in the way they organise and manage. The forward thinking and assessments of the external environment that form the basis of this thinking are informal, unsystematic and incomplete. Accordingly these CBOs are following strategies directed to specific areas of organisational development, rather than addressing the whole organisation. In some cases CBOs are seeking to refine or redefine their identity over time by changing their underlying social purpose, narrowing their target group or redefining their core activities. We have already seen how Sunce (box 5) is redefining its mission in response to an assessment of the long-term capacities of the organisation.

In 2001, *Cinvos* from Goražde, recreated itself from an organisation promoting civic rights and education for all citizens to one catering to and run primarily by youth. This was a response to the general apathy and resistance to change amongst Goražde's older citizens and the percieved increasing demand for civic action amongst the town's youth. At present a guiding strategy for achieving its mission, is that all activities should in some way, whether through the use of the Media, active lobbying, or local fundraising, put pressure on the authorities and state institutions to respond positively to social injustice and the needs of young people.

Cinvos remains almost totally dependent on international funding. It reported that it had attempted to carry out strategic planning and spoke for many when it explained that systematic long-term thinking is impossible in a funding environment in which the average project grant is no more than six months. Working towards a solution of dependency on short-term international funds, is where informal strategic approaches are most evident in the rural CBOs in BiH. A small number of organisations have substituted efforts aimed at mobilising a variety of locally available funding sources for proposal writing to international donors. Often in combination with voluntary contributions from members or outside experts, these strategies show the way forward for most CBOs in rural BiH.

III.6.c Summary: planning

Few CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH are carrying out effective planning of any type. In general CBOs have a poor understanding of planning and its purposes and very often consider it to be of use only for activities directly related to securing project funds.

Organisations undertaking regular ordinary planning, regardless of their size or overall capacity, are more like to be active, enjoy financial security and be more adaptable to external change. The large number of CBOs, approaching 40% of the total, that show no evidence of routine planning not only tend to react passively to events around them, but are also poorly connected to the constituency they serve. In between these two extremes are 51 active CBOs that carry out informal *ad hoc* planning, but subvert the process and reduce its benefits of

more efficient use of resources, increased control, financial certainty, more coherent identity and enhanced learning ability, by carrying it out in a partial and unsystematic manner.

Box 16
Not all strategy is written down

The cultural-environmental organisation *Zelenkovac* from near Mrkonjić Grad, defies most of the stereotypes that have been applied to non-profit organisations in BiH. The organisation has not carried out strategic planning, but is driven by strategic thinking that marries the substance of its mission to present and future financial demands and opportunities.

Zelenkovac' staff, consisting of artist and conservationist Borislav Janković and three paid workers, live on and manage six square kilometres of natural deciduous woodland, the 'first ecological zone in BiH'. Based around a centre comprising a gallery, cafe and office converted from a quirky logframe watermill and a collection of log huts, the organisation appears half bohemian hideaway for alternative living, half nature reserve. The organisation's mission links cultural aspirations to green values: 'The creation of a favourable environment in BiH for the development of social and civic activities and cultural progress and in achieving this to realise aims of the environment movement generally'.   This translates into two types of activity: raising awareness of the environment among the general public through educational work and advocacy and the holding of cultural activities, such as artist schools and music festivals.

The organisation believes it can become self-financing in the long-run through developing the idea of eco-tourism for foreign visitors by strengthening the international links it is developing as part of its dedication to international environmentalism. The organisation's cultural programme will be part of the attraction for foreign visitors. At the same time local demand for environmental services and education will be increased as local inhabitants begin to appreciate the possible economic advantages of local tourism. Income from this tourism will pay not just for the upkeep of the centre's woodland, but also educutional activities in the wider community.

This strategy is a long way from being realised, but so far elements towards its completion include: Yearly artists school for foreign visitors, a yearly 3 day international jazz festival with up to 5,000 paying spectators, sleeping space for up to 50 people throughout the year in log cabins, a camping ground for the general public, 10 picnic and barbecue spaces for local visitors who pay a 5KM tax for use of the wood and rubbish disposal, inclusion in a growing number of European and world NGO and green networks, a steady if small, stream of foreign visitors and plans to build a large logframe space to provide an activity and conference space and further sleeping quarters.

Comprehensive strategic planning is a rarity, with only 19 CBOs possessing a long-term plan. Within the sector recognition of the potential value of strategic planning is small and the main pressure for carrying it out appears to come from international donors, as a condition of continued project and technical support. From the point of view of the 101 CBOs that show no strategic thinking in the way they work, the demands of ensuring their immediate survival in the coming months renders strategic planning a meaningless exercise. For many of these,

particularly for recently founded organisations, creating a coherent identity based on a purposeful mission and clear vision, is the immediate priority.

Encouragingly, strategic thinking, as a kind of looser and less far-reaching measure, is evident in the remaining 34 organisations. However selectively applied, this thinking is increasing the ability of these CBOs to adapt to change and encouraging an enabling 'can do' attitude.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

IV.1 Continuing emergence of community-oriented civil society

Since the end of the war seven years ago civil society has been developing slowly and at an uneven pace in all areas of rural BiH, but today CBO and NGO presence on the ground is greater and more widespread than has previously been thought. Early on the initiation of civic activity owed much to the encouragement and support of the international community for inspired local activists who were very often isolated from and mistrusted by the communities that they served. In the last three years, however, local citizens are showing increasing interest in and preparedness to support and participate in activities organised by CBOs in their communities.

The rural non-profit sector is still immature, and has yet to establish a definitive character regarding the composition and capacities of the types of organisation from which it is made up. CBOs operating in rural BiH cater to a wide range of beneficiaries and constituents' interests and needs, but almost universally they are firmly centred in the community and concentrate on the practical, immediate concerns of local citizens and the needs of the municipality and its neighbouring areas. The typical BiH CBO is small, run by three or less part-time staff, most usually on a voluntary basis. While voluntary working is forced upon many organisations owing to financial shortage, the rural CBO is just as likely to be run as a voluntary concern out of a sense of moral duty to the community and an altruistic desire to contribute to society.

Many of the pioneering CBOs, founded in the three or four years after the war ended have failed to achieve sustainable ways of working and have fallen by the wayside. A steady stream of new CBOs under the leadership of local citizens with no prior experience of the non-profit sector is taking their place, testifying to the growing sense of empowerment among local communities. Organisations founded within the last three-and-a-half years account for over half the CBOs currently operating.

The already established pattern of regression and renewal of CBOs partly reflects a natural process of social 'survival of the fittest' that has been remarked on in civil sectors in all countries. It also reflects the particularly fluid and unstable social and economic climate of post-war and transitional BiH. Ongoing return in rural areas means that whole communities remain undefined and their needs constantly changing, international donor priorities are subject to unpredictable revision, the total amount of international aid available is reduced, and the political and legal framework in which CBOs operate has yet to gain stability.

A small number of elite, active and professional NGOs have emerged from those that were founded early. Taken together their work covers a range of activities, but they all share a number of characteristics that mark them off from greater mass of smaller CBOs around them. All are currently in receipt of large sums of international funding, and have built their success on their ability to attract steady and increasing international funding over the years. All have high levels of organisational skills, having benefited from a variety of technical trainings from INGOs. They are well informed and well connected to their stakeholders on whose behalf they attempt to change public policy by engaging in advocacy and running public campaigns. They

have developed systems for organisational management, including basic forms good internal governance.

In contrast to this, the average younger CBO is seriously limited by lack of capacity and is not achieving its potential for substantive action in the community. This is directly caused by small size and part-time working, but has its roots in a combination of other factors including, lack of experience in organising and management, poor technical skills, traditional cultural tendencies to depend upon dominant leaders and an inability to access finance. The pool of prospective volunteer labour in the community is a potential resource for alleviating the disadvantages of small organisation size and inadequate access to finance, which most CBOs have yet to realise. Although most organisations, being embedded in their communities, have a clear understanding of beneficiaries' needs and interests, paradoxically few have been able exploit this knowledge to mobilise significant support from the community.

IV.2 Disparities in the potential of civil society in rural BiH

The community-oriented and practical focus of CBOs and influences the character of civil society in rural BiH and its potential as a process for social and political change. The sector's dedication to the ideals of inclusiveness, ethnic equality, social equity and empowerment of the individual in the community, combined with voluntary working practices, closeness to and understanding of its beneficiaries will enable it to play an increasingly important role in (re)creating stable communities across BiH by building trust between local citizens, inculcating values of reciprocity and mitigating conflicts in the locality. The wide variety of interests represented by CBO activities and the wide distribution of CBOs in small towns and villages indicate a significant growth of the opportunities available for ordinary citizens to participate in society. Lack of capacity and small organisation size are at present limiting impact in this area, so that civil society in rural BiH at present has a potential for, rather than an actual impact on 'facilitating coordinated actions' (Putnam, 1993: 167) that lead to increased social cohesion.

Although the theory of social capital suggests that increased communication and trust between citizens also leads to greater participation in political life and the creation of social solidarities that act as buffers against the abuse of power, civil society in rural BiH, with the exception of the small elite number of NGOs, shows little potential for enhancing good governance. CBOs individually are unable to mobilise large numbers of the community to exert pressure for political change. Coordination and cooperation between neighbouring organisations is generally poor, being inhibited by mutual distrust and competition for resources and there are no examples of CBOs working together on social issues to mobilise a critical mass of public support for political change or increased responsiveness by local governments. The sum of interactions between civil society and local government is extremely low. CBOs are generally reluctant to engage local governments directly through advocacy and campaigning owing to a general aversion to and disillusionment with political circles, which are viewed as serving only to advance the interests of the corrupt. When CBOs wish to approach government, seeking practical cooperation or funding opportunities, access is difficult to obtain owing to indifference on the part of municipalities and their lack of formal procedures for communicating with citizens groups.

Within the community few CBOs are playing an active role in informing and educating the public on their legal rights and social entitlements, a particularly important service in the more isolated areas of BiH, where publicly available information sources are scarce and relatively expensive.

Inside their own organisations, CBOs also are doing little to enhance the values and practice of democracy. CBOs as yet rarely understand the need to show transparency and accountability in their own work and few have established effective systems of organisational governance that promote and practice democratic decision-making.

IV.3 Funding problems and opportunities

All organisations face challenges in accessing sufficient resources to fund activities. The majority of CBOs lack a solid financial base and many are presently insolvent. Most of the sector is over dependent on international sources of funding, which are reduced, increasingly unpredictable and in total insufficient to support more than a fraction of civil society activity. Geographical isolation, lack of information, poor communication resources, shortfalls in proposal writing skills, inadequate knowledge of the English language all place rural CBOs at a disadvantage when applying for international funding.

Over-dependence on international sources is most acute amongst larger, more developed groups with high levels of activities and high running costs. These organisations are particularly financially vulnerable, as they have not developed adequate strategies for replacing international funding with locally raised sources of income.

At present all forms of locally available finance are under exploited, often owing to overly pessimistic assessments of what is possible in the present conditions of economic hardship in BiH. Encouragingly a significant number of organisations are beginning to develop successful strategies for developing a variety of local sources of income and the evidence is clear that people are willing to support activities from which they may gain personally in non-financial ways or which serve an important community need.

CBOs with high levels of infrastructure and specialist skills may run completely self-financing programmes from charging the public for services, especially in the field of non-formal education. Membership schemes, donations from the community, business support and help from local government are all proving important sources for finances in individual cases.

The present lack of wealth in all sectors of the BiH economy and certain legal restrictions will limit the total amount of income that can be realised from all local sources. For the foreseeable future, more effective exploitation of these sources will be sufficient only to ensure the financial viability of those smaller, voluntary or semi-professional organisations that presently comprise the rural non-profit sector.

A recent development is the emergence of a small number of Bosnian grant-giving foundations that are establishing endowment funds that will enable them to disburse funds according to long-term strategic assessments of CBO needs.

IV.4 Factors militating against improved performance and sustainability

The potential for effective sustainable activity is not simply a measure of an organisation's ability to attract or generate funds. It is a composite of characteristics, behaviours, working methods and attitudes that includes identity, relationships with the community and other stakeholders, structure, technical skills and experience, internal management and communication, and the ability to learn, adapt and forward plan. Taken as a whole, the sector is performing poorly in all these areas. This research has revealed the organic relationships between the above areas of competence, showing how action in any one area will have a concomitant effect in any other.

IV.4.a The identity crisis

CBOs in rural BiH rarely build upon strong social values and moral purpose, to form clear organisational identities. Mission statements are often vague, rarely written down and unevenly understood within the staff and members of individual CBOs. There is often slippage between the organisation's stated purpose and the activities it is carrying out. Above all, lack

of an overall sense of direction and failure to theorise about the possible realistic contribution to communities that CBOs' work could provide is indicated in the low number of coherent, challenging but feasible visions of the future.

IV.4.b Difficult relationships

Unclear organisation identity is a key factor in the failure of many organisations to capitalise on their proximity in the community to their primary stakeholders by mobilising more voluntary labour and financial support in the community. In addition, few CBOs are organising to gain a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of beneficiary needs and all organisations would benefit by introducing regular, planned systematic information gathering followed by organised processing and interpretation, which could be used for more responsive programming. Other factors variously contributing to weak links with beneficiaries are, instability in the community populations arising from the return process, differential social entitlements according to national ascription resulting from continuing political discrimination in areas of return, continued mistrust of NGOs in some communities and poverty induced public apathy.

Secondary stakeholder relations are in general poor in quality. Competition for financial resources, personnel and popular support are obstacles to effective communication and cooperation between CBOs in the same or neighbouring localities. Coalitions and partnerships between CBOs are virtually unknown and cooperation appears confined to a few irregular and informal local networks with limited scope. Of vital importance here is the coordinating role that a small number of the larger local NGOs plays in bringing CBOs together in more or less formal forums. Strengthening these arrangements have the potential for increasing the sharing of information and resources and reducing the risk of duplication of services offered with the ultimate aim of increasing the spread of opportunities available to local populations.

Relations with local government are particularly difficult to establish at the present time, and are almost entirely restricted to occasional financial help for CBOs on the part of municipalities. CBOs and government alike rarely understand the potential for more practical mutual cooperation. This aside, municipalities are limited in their capacity, lacking capable trained staff, systems for information gathering and analysis of social needs, finance and equipment and are ill prepared to cooperate with CBOs.

Relations with business are least well developed. Commercial concerns in rural BiH are generally small and weak and rarely exert a social influence in the community beyond that of providing employment. CBOs are often suspicious of business motives and practice and are alert to the possibility that individual firms may be involved in corruption. Cooperation with business is confined to occasional small-scale material and financial support of CBOs, usually as an expression of a company director's personal feeling of involvement in the community.

IV.4.c The skills shortage

The skills and experience necessary to improve stakeholder relations, as well as undertake all routine activities effectively and efficiency are in short supply in the rural non-profit sector. Most CBO staff members have received no technical training and it is rare for them to have management experience before joining the non-profit sector. The principle source of training has been INGOs, but in the past three years INGOs have reduced their activity, especially in rural areas and training opportunities are now in short supply. Lack of skills is most apparent amongst the half of the sector that has emerged in over this period.

Inside organisations procedures for the transference of skills are rarely evident. A further factor inhibiting the development of organisation capacity is a tendency for CBOs to be over dependent on a single dominant leader in whom the bulk of decision-making powers, skills and administrative responsibilities are concentrated. Small organisation size, the youthfulness of

many organisations and cultural pressures favouring authoritarian leadership contribute to this phenomenon.

IV.4.d Limited learning

Scattered examples of high performing CBOs with no identifiable technical skills on the one hand, and of well trained but inactive organisations on the other, illustrate that on its own, technical training is not sufficient to guarantee the sustainable development of civic associations. CBOs need to develop a learning culture, based on continual processes of critical self-analysis, information gathering and interpretation and the exchange and passing on of practical and theoretical knowledge, in order to develop the adaptability to cope with a constantly changing environment.

Only a small number of CBOs in rural BiH are judged to have developed learning cultures. These are all energetic and active organisations, but in many cases they are small and poorly financed. Yet, through constant revision, improvisation and experiment these CBOs are able to maximise the potential of their limited resources. Interesting, technical training provided by international organisations, which is task specific, stresses the application of rule-led procedures and gives precedence to results over process, is often a crucial factor for inhibiting learning in CBOs. This is apparent in technically proficient organisations that are unable to think strategically, particularly in relation to the need to reduce dependence on international funding.

Process-based trainings for non-technical staff, such as for conflict resolution and non-violent communication, which are most commonly made available to youth groups, are considered possible ways of encouraging the reflective attitudes and interpretative skills needed to strengthen learning.

IV.4.e Nothing to plan for

The ability to learn is essential for effective planning. Regular, systematic and focused planning for agreeing on programmes of work, both of ordinary activities and for longer-term development, is essential for the effective and efficient realisation of an organisation's purposes and mission. Few CBOs and NGOs in rural BiH are carrying out effective planning of any type, often offering the excuse that the difficult funding climate renders all types of forward thinking superfluous. Accordingly, planning is very often used only when international donors offer funding opportunities for which the competition is considered relatively small. However, this study shows that the presence of routine planning, including yearly activity plans and budgets, is characteristic of organisations that have a regular programme of work, proactively seek out new resources and are relatively secure financially. The large number of CBOs with no planning are largely inactive, often out of touch with their beneficiaries and are essentially passive, especially with regard to seeking financial resources.

A large minority of CBOs carry out informal *ad hoc* planning by carrying it out in a partial and unsystematic manner. While they may be active organisations, they are often unstable and financially insecure.

Long-term strategic planning, preparing an organisation for future development and external change is a rarity and invariably a response to international donor pressure. It is not clear what these CBOs are gaining from strategic planning, as they are mostly well organised and already well positioned for change owing to their inclusion in long-term international training programmes.

Another group of CBOs exhibit the ability to apply informal strategic thinking in a selective way to specific areas of organisation's functioning, such as identity or fundraising. These CBOs

show a marked increase in their adaptability, hinting at the broader benefits of more systematic strategic planning. However, for most CBOs interviewed the demands of ensuring their immediate survival in the coming months renders strategic planning a meaningless exercise. For many, particularly those that have recently been founded, creating a coherent identity based on a purposeful mission and clear vision is the immediate priority.

IV.5 The way forward: Harnessing community resources

The inherent weaknesses of many CBOs in rural BiH and the economic, social and political obstacles lying in the path of their further development are not insurmountable. The present numbers and variety of CBOs and the growing willingness of ordinary citizens to participate in civic activity within communities indicate a growing potential for a thriving and dynamic civil society. The challenge now is for CBOs to learn from the many, albeit isolated examples of good practice in kindred organisations and for donors and NGO support agencies to devise strategies that will enable community-oriented CBO development, so that a truly community-centred civil society based on community values, participation, volunterism and inclusiveness may emerge.

Ekotes' use of schoolteachers and schools to garner support shows how communities may be mobilised without large expenditures of time by basing stakeholder relations on existing social structures and institutions. Mass support from key segments of the community is then a powerful moral and political lever for enlisting further support within the community, whether this comes in the form of more voluntary labour or financial and material support. In particular, this approach can open the door to apparently inaccessible local authorities. The help *Ekotes* have obtained from the municipality in enforcing environmental laws and the financial contributions *Gradiška Youth Association* (GAM) received in response to community donations clearly illustrate this.

The collaboration the youth group *Doors* has established with *Refugee Return Service* (RRS) for needs analysis shows how NGO cooperation may be mutually enabling, even when the participationg CBOs possess widely differing levels of capacity. As the more experienced and capable organisation, RRS was not in competition with *Doors*, and was able to enable this arrangement from a position of security. It is an example of how the small number of large, professional NGOs may act as both support agencies for smaller CBOs and catalysts for CBO cooperation. A priority for any future international funding to these larger NGOs could be the provision in any funding for the strengthening of this role.

The ongoing exchange of free education to company workers for rent-free premises that the *Cultural Club* Mrkonjić Grad (KUD) has with a local state firm, illustrates that common interests do exist between the non-profit and business sectors and that these can be built upon to the benefit of both parties. This arrangement points the way forward for future funding strategies. Not only must CBOs turn to the community for future financial and material resources, but these should be accessed by social marketing; that is, through a process of 'selling' the social value of their work to identified 'buyers' or 'investors'. The case of *Stope znanja* shows that this approach can reap significant rewards when applied to an organisation's direct beneficiaries. Despite their general poverty, *Stope znanja's* members are sufficiently convinced of the value of the services they receive to invest what amounts to a sizeable chunk of their ordinary income in membership fees. Similarly the successful fundraising experience of the *Sports Fishing Club*, Teslić and *Kap ljubavi*, indicates that social marketing may be successfully applied to community values and altruistic notions of the common good.

In Bihać, *Nove Nade* is proving, through its youth volunteer scheme, that participatory decision-making works and that this in turn can produce increased practical involvement in the community. The inclusion of the town's youth in regular management and needs identification meetings has established a constant process of adaptive learning in the organisation as programme design will depend upon the changing needs and interests of the various young

people that will run them. The *Alternative Club* in Trebinje, whose direct beneficiaries comprise a small, relatively closed, group of members, shows how participatory-decision making in a less organised and formal setting, serves to maintain the dynamism of what is essential a one-activity organisation. Constant reassessments, experimentation and consideration of all opinion all help create the energies needed to produce a constantly changing programme with few material resources.

Not all the examples of good practice uncovered in the course of this research could be included in this report. The message, however, is clear. Without underestimating the weaknesses of the non-profit sector in rural BiH and the difficult environment in which it currently operates, the potential of civil society as a positive force for social cohesion and community development is real. In time this potential will be realised through flexible approaches based on and directed at mobilising community resources for the satisfation of community needs.

Appendix 1: CBOs and NGOs interviewed during research.

Name	Contact	Address	Town	Phone	Phone/fax	Mobile	e-mail
"Unski smaragdi" Društvo za stvaranje kulture čuvanja i zaštite rijeke une	Dževad, Harbaš	Dom kulture	Bihać		037 333 130	061 231 158	unskima@bih.net.ba
Demokratski centar "Nove Nade" Bihać	Halilović, Samir	Bihackih branilaca bb	Bihać		037 311 534	061 764 850	dcnnbi@bih.net.ba
Savjet mladih Bileća	Jeftović, Sergej	Kralja Aleksandra bb (staro kino)	Bileća	059 374 553		065 800 827	
U.G. "Zemlja djece" Bosanska Krupa	Hasangić, Almir	Dom kulture, Trg Avde Cuka bb	Bosanska Krupa		037 471 082	061 180 927	almir.h@bih.net.ba
Srpsko građansko vijece BiH - Pokret za ravnopravnost	Vekić, Duško	Bosanska bb (zgrada pošte, II sprat)	Bosanski Petrovac	037 882 359			
U.žena "Gracija"	Novković, Slavica	Skendera Kulenovica	Bosanski Petrovac		037 882 530	061 767 812	
U.G. "Fin"	Družić, Izmeta	Džemala Bijedica 4	Bosanski Petrovac	037 881 585			
U.G. omladinski centar "Preporod"	Hajder, Eno	none at present	Bosanski Petrovac			061 239 175	e_hajder@yahoo.com
U.G. "Osječenica"	Salupara, Vlado	Skendera Kulenovica 38	Bosanski Petrovac	037 881 613			
U.G. "Krneuša"	Stupar, Drago	Krneuša bb	Krneuša - Bosanski Petrovac			061 197 803	
U. Građanki "Grahovo"	Zelić, Danko	Osnovna škola	Bosansko Grahovo			063 332 294	
U.G. "Struga"	Željka Prša	Peći bb	Peći - Bosansko Grahovo			063 357 448	
Žena Podrina	Saraljić, Zenjaba	Gavrila Principa bb	Bratunac	056 885 092			
U. žena "Priroda"	Pjevalica, Željana	Svetog save bb (Vatrogasni dom)	Bratunac	056 881 662			priroda@rstel.net
Omladinska Organizacija "Odisej" Bratunac	Krajišnik, Mladenka	Svetog Save bb (Vatrogasni dom)	Bratunac	056 887 206			
Forum Žena Bratunac	Tešic, Stanojka	Svetog Save bb	Bratunac	056 882 143			forumbratunac@rstel.net
U. Žena "Antonija"	Kisić, Vesna	Sultana Ahmeda 71	Bugojno		030 242 407		
U.G.P.U.Z "Sunce"	Babić, Olja	Osamska 32	Bugojno		030 251 998	063 370 701	sunce_bugojno@hotmail.com
U. ratnih vojnih invalida Bugojno		Bosanka 51	Bugojno		030 251 022		
Demokratski centar "Nove Nade"	Decovski, Nada	Ante Starcevica bb	Čapljina		036 803 989		nove.nade@tel.net.ba
Forum NVO Derventa	Radanović, Miodrag	Trg Oslobodenja 24	Derventa	053 310 180	053 310 181		forumnvo.de@doboj.net
Ekološko društvo "Ekologika"	Radanović, Miodrag	Trg Oslobodenja 24	Derventa	053 831 109	053 334 219	065 667 330	ekologika@doboj.net
Međuopštinska organizacija slijepih i slabovidih Derventa-	Jaćinović, Milka	Patrijarha Dožica bb.	Derventa	053 612 749	053 333 139		

Brod-Vukoslavlje							
Savez invalida rada Derventa	Pećić, Ratko	Patrijarha Dožica bb.	Derventa	053 833 699		065 625 301	
NGO "Krajina" Agencija za razvoj malih i srednjih preduzeća	Cvijić, Vlado	Cara Lazara 43	Derventa		053 334 216	065 902 542	ngo.dem@blic.net
U. pcelara "Lipa"	Ćorić, Čedomir	Trg Oslobodjenja 24	Derventa			065 575 879	
U. paraplegičara i ostalih tjelesnih invalida regije Doboj	Bekanović, Dragica	Nikole Pašica 57	Doboj	053 221 284	053 333 991		parapleg_reg.do@doboj.net
Zdravo da Ste Doboj	Kovačević, Milja	Brace Jugovica 8	Doboj		053 241 869		zdravodo@blic.net
Krug 92	Sakota, Aleksander	Kralja Petra 20	Doboj	053 221 424			
Mladi u akciji "Most"	Đukić, Ljilja	Kolubarska bb	Doboj			065 587 110	
Dobojska asocijacija mladih	Jasek, Toni		Doboj			065 684 873	
U. studenata "Nikola Tesla" Doboj	Manja, Donald	Solunskih Dobrovaljaca 35	Doboj	053 242 618			manja@doboj.net
Omladinska grupa "Doors"	Filipović, Dajana	Vukovarska 16	Drvar	034 819 424	(after 2pm)		
KUD "Drvar"	Lukać, Mira	Soba 13a, Zgrada općine	Drvar		034 819 001		
RRS - Izbjeglički servis za povratak	Jovičić, Nebojša	Kralja Tomislava 13	Drvar		034 819 678		boris.d@inecco.net
U.Građanki "Lasta"	Sabljić, Živana	Hrvatskih branitelja 20	Drvar	034 819 065	034 819 682		lasta_drvar@yahoo.com
U. žena "Golob"	Randelović, Dragina	Osnovna Škola "Vuk Karadžić"	Fakovići	+ 381 31 856 479			
Demokratski centar "Nove Nade" Foča/Srbinje	Čančar, Vesna	Hotel Zelengora	Foča/Srbinje	058 210 012			d.c.novenade@blic.net
U. "Žene Foca/Srbinje"	Vidojević, Mehada		Foča/Srbinje	058 576 306			
U. povratnika "Drina"	Petrović, Nedeljko		Goražde		038 221 796		
U. žena "Anima"	Kuljuh, Vesna	Šukrije kukovice	Goražde	038 221 423	038 224 019		uzamina@bih.net.ba
Regionalni odbor za povratak u jugoistočnu Bosnu	Petrović, Nedeljko		Goražde		038 221 796		
CINVOS, centar za građanske akcije	Klisura, Slavko	43 Drinske brigade	Goražde		038 228 309		cinvos@bih.net.ba
U.G. povratnika "Zdravo Komšija"	Šekarić, Marijan	Muhidina mašića munje 40	Goražde		038 220 563	065 602 271	
CGS (Centar za granđansku saradnju Gradačac)	Nalić, Nasir	Husejn Kapetana Gradaščevića bb	Gradačac		035 819 827	061 736 434	cgs.grad@bih.net.ba
"GAM" Asocijacia mladih Gradiška	Šipka, Branilslav		Gradiška			065 6620 947	
Demokratski omladinski centar	Jeftić, Nina	Svetih Vraća bb	Gradiška	051 811 628	051813 477	065 588 994	ninajeftic@blic.net
Asocijacija mladih iz Gruda	Pezer, Mario	H.V.Hrvatinića bb	Grude			063 401 300	
Omladinski centar Han Pijesak	Vidović, Saša	Srpska vojska bb	Han Pijesak	057 557 131		065 588 784	ike@paleol.net
Omladinski klub "Pod istim suncem"	Islamović, Ozren	Trg oslobođenja SP-32	Jablanica		036 753 475	061 714 766	okpis@bih.net.ba

Omladinski centar	Jeranović, Irina	Livanska 48	Jajce		030 658 056		COD-Jajce@gmx.net
Društvo za zaštitu kulturo-povijestih i prirodnih vrijednosti Jajce	Milak, Enes	Svetog Luke 15	Jajce		030 656 717		kultpovpr.Jajce@tel.net.ba
U.žena."Viktorija 99"	Puđa, Mira	Kralja Tomislava bb, Zavod za zapošljavanje	Jajce		030 658 069		
U. žena "Knežica"	Zečević, Stojanka	Knežica bb	Knežica (kod Kosarska Dubica)	052 436 201	052 436 239		
HO žena "Prijateljice"	Zukanović, Ramiza	Kostajnice bb	Konjic		036 755 223	061 194 655	prijatel@bih.net.ba
"POUNJE"	Ademović, Branislav	Svetosavska 13/IV	Kostajnica	052 663 240			ekodrustvopounje@hotmail.com
KUD "Podkozarje"	Đaković, Dimitrije	Svetog Save 21	Kostajnica	052 663 074			
Demokratski Omladinski Centar Kostajnica	Palija, Stanislav	Svetosavksa bb	Kostajnica	052 663 144		065 523 079	palija@inecco.net
U.G. "Korak"	Savić, Branko	Davidov Trg 1	Kozarska Dubica		052 410 120		korak@prijedor.com
U.G. "OKO"	Isarković, Dobrila	Svetosavska bb	Kozarska Dubica			065 603 331	
Međuopštinska organizacija slijepih i slabovidih Kozarska Dubica	Savić, Slavica	Svetosavska bb	Kozarska Dubica	052 410 088			
U.G. "21 Vijek"	Ćoralić, Namka	Vojvoda Petar Bojović 7	Kozarska Dubica		052 411 119		ho21vijek@mediaproline.net
U. žena "Maja" Kravica	Đkanović, Nada	Osnovna Škola "Petar Kočić"	Kravica	056 480 000	056 480 107		
"Li-woman"	Hodžić, Emira	Đačko 3	Livno		034 201 033		emira.hodzic@tel.net.ba
Centar za građansku suradnju	Garić, Sonja	G. Jurkića 8a, Livnoputevi	Livno		034 202 770		cgs_@tel.net.ba
CARL - Centar za afirmaciju ljudskih prava i slobode	Šehić, Munib	Sinjska bb	Livno		034 203 816		carl@tel.net.ba
"Koraci"	Čarčija, Dijana	Kralja Tvrtka bb	Livno		034 203 454		
U.G."Pozorište mladih gimnazijalac Ljubinje"	Čuk, Sergei	Svetosavska bb	Ljubinje	059 621 036			
"Evropski humanizam ovdje"	Marić, Memnuna	Stube 20	Ljubuški	039 831 373	039 831 240		
Ekološko društvo "Slapovi Kravica"	Mihajlović, Ivan	Vitinski 8	Ljubuški			063 324 238	
"No time to lose" Omladinska organizacija	Marić, Adis	Stube 20	Ljubuški	039 831 373			
U. žena "Maglajka"	Nalić, Jasna	Dom kulture, Sulejmana omerovića 2	Maglaj	032 603 180			
MAM - Maglajska asocijacija mladih	Delić, Aladin	Dom kulture, Sulejmana omerovića 2	Maglaj	032 603 103		061 758 298	maglaj2000@yahoo.com
U. roditelja mentalno retardiranih djece "Umero"	Obralić, Vesna	Aleja liljana M8	Maglaj	032 603 524			
Omladinska organizacija "Život je lijep"	Đukanović, Aleksandar	Solunskih junaka S-3	Milići	056 740 742	056 741 246	065 595 456	alexd@rstel.net
Organizacija žena "Zora" Milići	Petrović, Mladenka	Radnička bb	Milići	056 741 307	056 740 631		
U. "Milićanin" Milići	Mimić, Mladen	Ustanička 20	Milići	056 740 706			mmiljan@srtel.net

U.G. "Budućnost"	Bajić, Jelena	Vidovdanska 14	Modrića		053 810 200		future@blic.net
Klub umjetničkih duša	Čoćkalo, Slobodan	Milana Budmira 140	Mrkonjić Grad	050 212 781	050 211 745		
Omladinska organizacija "Centar" Mrkonjić Grad	Đurić, Borislav	Svetog save 27	Mrkonjić Grad		050 211 592		boban@yamb.net
Centar za razvoj civilnog društva	Draženko, Nenad		Mrkonjić Grad		050 241 001	065 621 753	crcd@blic.net
"ESKIM" (Demokratski centar Mrkonjić Grad)	Vučenović, Siniša	Nikole Tesle 26/II	Mrkonjić Grad	050 211 332	050 212 777	065 672 121	eskim-mg@blic.net
Ekološki pokret "Zelenkovac"	Janković, Borislav	Podrašnica bb	Prodrašnica - Mrkonjić Grad		050 278 617		bora@inecco.net
U.G. "West Point"	Šerbula, Vojislav	Kneza Lazara bb	Novi Grad			065 653 633	
U.G. "dia"	Šumar, Mladen	Ograde Bno 32	Novi Grad		052 757 050	065 695 911	diang@mediaproline.net
U. žena "Cicmanka"	Tutan, Hasna	Hasana brkića bb	Novi Šeher		032 873 863		
Inicijativa građana "Promotračka grupa" Odžak	Sejdić, Sedika	Omladinska 3	Odžak		031 762 627		
CGSA (Centar za građansku suradnju i aktivnost)	Ćalić, Valentina	Omladinska 3	Odžak		031 762 627		cgsa.odzak@tel.net.ba
U. mladih "Održačka mladost"	Mujkić, Amela	14 April 18	Odžak			063 378 941	lom.odzak@tel.net.ba
"Suedost" Odžak	Čeliković, Hasan	14 April bb	Odžak		031 762 067		suedost.odzak@tel.net.ba
Centar mladih Posušje	Rajić, Ivana	Fra G. Matića bb	Posušje	039 682 298 (home)		+ 385 91 586 92 37	bonic@itcentar.info
HO "Prozorka"	Hadžić, Hašija	Općinska zgrada, Kralja Tomislava	Prozor	036 771 514	036 771 342		
Omladinski centar "Feniks"	Fofić, Mario	Kralja Tomislava bb	Prozor	036 780 320		063 404 490	m_fofic@yahoo.com
U. Roma "Kateacha"	Biberović, Nijaz	Biberović, nr Sapna	Sapna	035 598 142			
Ekološko udruženje "Rodni kraj" Šipovo	Trivunčić, Milan	Hotel Janj,	Šipovo	050 373 175			
U. žena "Aurora"	Dundić, Jelena	Dom kulture Sokoloc, ul. Cara Lazara bb	Sokolac	057 448 407			
Omladinski centar "Luča" Sokolac	Dundić, Jelena	Dom kulture Sokolac, ul.Cara Lazara bb	Sokolac	057 448 407			
U.G. nevladina organizacija "Milenijum"	Lazić, Dario	Zdravko Čelara 6	Srbac	051 840 592			milenium@blic.net
U.G. "Sloga" Srbac	Kosagić, Jovan	Zdravko Čelara 18	Srbac	051 840 440		065 671 262	
Drina	Jukić, Svetlana	Dom kulture	Srebrenica	056 385 729			drinasr@yahoo.com
Amica / Prijateljice	Jovanić, Vesna	Svetosavska bb	Srebrenica	056 385 679		065 660 119	amicas@blic.net
Sara	Bošković, Mladenka	Dom kulture	Srebrenica	056 386 677			sarasreb@rstel.net
Srebrenica 99	Ilić, Slobodanka	Dom kulture	Srebrenica	056 385 609			
Forum Građana Srebrenice	Kokeza Sekulić, Marinko	Dom kulture	Srebrenica			061 732 005	kokeza@bih.net.ba
"Eko Brod" Ekološko društvo	Carić, Srđan		Srpski Brod	053 611 173		065 595 245	
Zdravo da Ste Srpski Brod	Teodor Trifunović	Stevane Sinđelića 2	Srpski Brod		053 610 819		zdravobd@blic.net
U.G. "Brod" za zaštitu	Plehandžić, Meho	Dom sportova	Srpski Brod	053 610 933	053 612 132		

imovinskih i ljudkih prava i sloboda							
Vrata Bosne	Martić, Nikola	Svetog save 35	Srpski Brod		053 610 722	+ 385 98 760 105	vratabosne@hotmail.com
U.G. "Novo Vrijeme"	Dizdar, Azen	Banovinska 9a	Stolac	036 854 165			novovrijeme_stolac@yahoo.com
Udruženje građana "Forum Žena" Tešanj	Vlajković, Ruža	Osmana Pobrića bb.	Tešanj		032 651 300		
U.G. "Povratak" Tešanj	Pejičić, Svetozar	Simetrala 1/40	Tešanj		032 651 397		
U.G. mladih "Cormit"	Alić, Miralem	Osmana Probrića bb	Tešanj	032 653 954			cormit@tesanj.ba
Ekološko društvo "Ekotes"	Aleksić, Mirko	Banja Vrućica, Kosovska bb	Teslić	053 421 200	053 431 391		banjavrucica@skaut.net
Sportsko ribolovno društvo Teslić	Bitević, Goran	Banja Vrućica, Kosovska bb	Teslić	053 431 270	053 431 391		banjavrucica@skaut.net
Esperantsko društvo Teslić	Kragić, Gradomir	Poštanki fah 20	Teslić	053 735 863			est@teol.net
Gradansko udruženje žena "Duvanjke"	Dizdar, Semka		Tomislavgrad	034 352 265	034 353 847		
Omladinska organizacija "Krug"	Numić, Ermin	Bega Kopčića bb	Tomislavgrad	034 353 742	034 353 847		oo_krug@hotmail.com
"Kap ljubavi"	Raduš, Fra Joso	Samostan	Tomislavgrad			063 330 046	
Bosanski kulturni centar Travnik	Imanović, Zlata	Školska 23	Travnik		030 511 907	061 781 111	bkcentar@bih.net.ba
Centar za građansku saradnju Travnik	Žuna Šemsudin	Erika Branisa 25	Travnik	030 518 464	030 511 562	061 787 605	cgs@bih.net.ba
Hrvatsko kulturno društvo "Napredak"	Uzelać, Želimir	Bosanska 40	Travnik	030 511 419	030 511 301		
U.G. "Prijatelji Travnika"	Filipović, Milan	Paša mahala 5	Travnik	030 512 362	030 611 130	061 787 519	filsound@bih.net.ba
U. mladih "Eduka"	Omer Mrakić	Donje Krčevine bb, Karaula	Karaula - Travnik	030 105 852		061 257 253	
U. žena "Oaza"	Dučić, Evelina	Nekarija Zotovića 5	Trebinje	059 220 829		065 650 960	riki_12002@yahoo.com
Alternativni klub i scena "Zoran Radmilović"	Stevović, Blažo	Dom mladih	Trebinje	059 280 242		065 563 621	alterklub@yahoo.com
Forum mladih grada Trebinje	Jakšic, Zoran	Luke Vukalovića 49	Trebinje		059 225 387	065 651 000	zjaksha@yahoo.com
U. izbjeglih i raseljenih srba	Jokanović, Milinko	Prvomajska bb	Trebinje		059 260 548		
Solidarnost za jug	Buha, Stanko	Luke Vukalovića 49	Trebinje		059 225 387	065 904 270	sfs@spicanet.net
"DOM VK" - Demokratska organizacija mladih Velika Kladuša	Kerserović, Kenan	Trg Ahmeta Mržljaka br 1	Velika Kladuša		037 773 911	061 755 801	dom_vk@hotmail.com
U.G. "Stope znanja"	Purić, Jasna	Sarajevska bb.	Velika Kladuša		037 772 885		szvk@bih.net.ba
Renesansa	Mihajlović, Radmilo		Višegrad	058 621 005	058 620 994	065 644 040	renesans@ptt.yu
U. žena "Most"	Kovačević, Dubravka	Vidovska 11	Višegrad		058 620 403	065 529 025	uz_most@yahoo.com
Mali Privrednik	Jovičić, Slavko	Svetog Save 20	Višegrad	058 682 786		065 915 258	
Help Children	Poluga, Bora	Svetog Save 20	Višegrad			065 915 258	
ONIKS	Čarapić, Ana	Svetog Save 16a	Višegrad			065 545 238	
U. oštećenog sluha Zadovići	Dubravac, Rasim	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovici	032 854 572			

U.G. Centar za mlade	Slipić, Ibrahim	Stijepana Radića bb	Zavidovici		032 873 749		cmyav@bih.net.ba
Srpsko građansko vijeće BiH - Pokret za ravnopranost Zavidovići	Kitić, Branko	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići		032 874 714		
Centre za Majke "Plamen"	Džamkić, Senada	Omladinska 10	Zavidovići	032 874 683			senadadz@bih.net.ba
U.G. "Dijete i Majka"	Topalović, Nisveta	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići		032 873 727	061 762 472	
U.G. "Društvo pedagoga fizičke kulture"	Sinanović, Mensur	Stijepana Radića 43	Zavidovići		032 873 425		
"Dijete i Majka" Mjesna zajednica Ljeskovica	Šogolj, Azra	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići		032 873 727		
U.G. paraplegičara i oboljenih od dječije paralize	Hodžić, Subhija	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići	032 872 070			
U.G. slijepih i slabovidih osoba	Šabanagić, Senad	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići	032 871 503			
Čitaonica / Demokratski centar Zvornik	Vejnović, Branko	Braće Jugovića bb	Zvornik	056 230 290	056 230 292		vejnovic@rstel.net
UMZ (Udruženje mladih Zvornik)	Pejić, Slaviša	Čauševac, Trg pobjede 1	Zvornik		056 210 779	065 678 535	umz_zv@hotmail.com
EGO	Jokić, Dušan	Centar za socialni rad, Braće Obradovića	Zvornik	056 210 582			dr.djapan@rstel.net
Klub mladih "Sunce" Zvornik	Jovanović, Vojin	Svetog Save 86	Zvornik	056 211 617		065 672 353	vojinj@rstel.net
CIPP Zvornik (Centar informativno pravne pomoci)	Milena Savić	Hotel "Drina"	Zvornik	056 210 412			cipp@rstel.net
Humanitarni centar Birać	Golub, Vukosava	Braće Jugovića B-2	Zvornik	056 211 415		+ 381 63 82 31 012	saraj@bn.rstel.net
Udruženje žena "Izvor" Zvornik	Čivčić, Dragica	«Papirus» Štamparija	Zvornik	056 210 624			
Središte za mladež "Putokazi"	Bulajić, Miro	Dom kulture	Žepče	032 880 878		061 334 206	
U.G. "Osmijeh"	Mehić Senad	Ulica 1 bb	Žepče		032 881 188		
U.G. "Ekološki pokret" Žepče	Đerik, Mirko	Hotel Žepče	Žepče	032 881 640		061 255 810	
Kulturno umjetničko društvo "Naši korijeni" Bistrica-Žepče	Zrno, Bosiljko	Bistrica - Žepce bb	Bistrica - Žepče	032 881 288		061 769 597	

Appendix 2: CBOs that returned completed questionnaires.

Name	Contact	Address	Town	Phone	Phone/fax	Mobile	e-mail
U.G. "Žene sa Une"	Pečenković, Hatidža-Điđa	Krupska bb	Bihać		037 310 885		Zena-una@bih.net.ba
U. mladih "Otoka"	Omerćehajić, Šerherzada	Čaršija bb	Bosanska Otoka	037 477 762			
U. distrofičara Doboj	Jovanović, Nada	Nikola Pašića 57	Doboj		053 221 630		
U. gluvih i nagluvih regije Doboj	Jović, Slaviša	Nikole Pašica 57	Doboj	053 232 426			
Centar mladih "@" Livno	Brkić, Sanjin	Vlade Marjanovića bb (Intern cafe)	Livno		034 204 046		centar.mladih.livno@tel.net.ba
U.G. "Dar prirode"	Mirić, Vladimir	Centar za socijalni rad, Vidonvdanska	Novi Grad	052 752 337			
U. žena "Lira"	Petić, Vesna	Miloša Obilića 3	Novi Grad	052 756 445		065 522 673	gpk@poen.net
Nevladina organizacija "Most" iz Orašja	Ristanic, Alma	3.ulica 30	Orašje				nvomost@hotmail.com
"Futura Plus"	Špirić, Goran	Sime Lozanića 36	Teslić		053 435 828	065 583 284	futura@inecco.net

Appendix 3: Other CBOs and NGOs

Name	Contact	Address	Town	Phone	Phone/fax	Mobile	e-mail
Ekološki Pokret Bosnaska Krupa	Orašćanin, Hasan	Opća Gimnazija	Bosanska Krupa	037 471 057			
Građansko udruženje Bošnjakinja "Sumeja"	Bevrenja, Nafija	Wagnerova bb	Bugojno	030 251 038	030 253 463	061 807 637	
H.O. "Prvi Dan	Glavaš, Dijana	Kulina Bana 31	Bugojno		030 252 099	063 140 845	novidan@bugojno.cc
U.G. "Petrovčani"	Banjac, Slavko		Derventa	053 331 682	053 331 717	065 583 208	
U. ratnih vojnih invalida	Živković, Jelenko		Derventa	053 333 398	053 333 190		
U. žena "Nada"	Nović, Mira	Milovan Bijeloševića Bijelo bb (kod Privredne banke)	Derventa	053 333 610			
"Ukrina" Ribarsko društvo	Jelić, Duško	Kralja Petra 1 46	Derventa	053 333 958			
"Zlatna Pčela" Pčelarstko-ekološko društvo	Kupres, Bogdan	Lužani bb	Derventa	053 834 796			bkupres@inecco.net
"Motacija" Lovačko društvo	Đeordić, Miodrag	Cara Lazara 33	Derventa		053 333 302	065 567 225	
"Bios Plus" U. lica sa specijalnim potrebama	Tadić, Drago	Ul. 9 Maja 5A	Derventa		053 333 991	065 540 502	
Ekološki pokret "Eko Vaga"	Kuzmanović, Vjekoslav		Derventa	053 831 504		065 586 717	
"DUH" Derventsko udruženje mladih	Knežević, Goran	Osinjskih brigada	Derventa	053 333 594	053 833 622	065 625 364	
"Zdravo da Ste" Opštinski centar	Šerbic, Mišo	Jovana Dučića	Derventa	053 332 081			
Association of Paraplegics and Poliomyelitis	Velić, Sadeta		Goražde	038 220 166			
Association of blind people	Borovac, Rasid		Goražde	038 221 445			
Association of people with cerebral palsy	Čulov, Mirsada		Goražde	038 227 493			
U.G. Roma Gradiška	Mašic, Saša	Mladena Stojanovića 15, Dom kulture /I sprat	Gradiška		051 815 603		
U.G. "Povratak" Jajce	Kunić, Asim	Kralja Tomislava 30/24	Jajce		030 659 844		
Kulturno umjetičko društvo		Donje Krčevine, Karaula	Karaula - Travnik				
U. žena "Desanka Maksimović"	Đurđević, Svetlana	Gimnazija	Kostajnica		052 663 151		
U. žena "Donne Lovnice"	Šogolj Nefisa	Lovnica,	Lovnica, kod Zavidovići	032 876 129			
"Eko-Maglaj" U.G.Ekološki pokret	Pavlić, Sanja	Aleja ljiljana 14	Maglaj	032 603 388	032 603 380	061 824 380	

U.G. ostecćenog sluha	Bosanac, Ljudmila	V. ulica 35/15	Maglaj	032 600 859		061 703 086 (SMS only)	
"Suedost" Novi Grad	Kušomović, Mirdad	Meše Selimovića 8	Novi Grad	052 756 604			suedost_novi@prijedor.com
U. mladih Otoka	Muhagić, Anil		Otoka	037 477 512		061 752 040	anil@bih.net.ba
Izvorno folklorno društvo "Paklarevo"		Osnova škola	Paklarevo - Travnik				
U. poljoprivrednih proizođača "Udrc"	Miladinović, Stanko		Raševo (kod Milici)	056 740 424		065 733 701	
Luna	Milović, Ivana		Rudo	058 712 262			luna@rstel.net
Sportsko ribolovno društvo	Kaulin, Milorad		Šipovo	050 371 589			
Planinarsko društvo "Vitog"	Miličić, Ilija		Šipovo	050 37 213			
U. mladih "Sunce"			Šipovo	050 371 626			sunce_sipovo@blic.net
"Naprijed"	Kudić, Dževad		Šipovo	050 321 089			
Omladinski klub	Bošnjak, Snježana		Široki Brijeg			063 402 702	snjeza1980@yahoo.com
Udruga "Nada"	Buhić,Miljenko	Stjepana Radića bb	Široki Brijeg		036 704 097		
U. žena "Želja"			Skeleni	+ 381 31 857 996			zelja@infosky.net
Pružena ruka	Stanković, Dragoljub		Srbac	051 840 251		065 524 398	
Radio klub Teslić	Lavsević, Branko		Teslić			065 319 300	lavsevic@skaut.net
Suedost	Suljić, Afeda	Ružević bb	Teslić		053 435 245		suedost@skaut.net
Omladinski savez Teslic OST	Kaluza, Luciano	Streljana	Teslic		065 657 865	065 657 865	luciano_beer@skaut.net
U. Žena "Viktorija"	Marković, Ljiljana		Teslić	053 430 573			
Alter Art	Saračević, Darko	Školska 23	Travnik			061 185 860	general@alterart.org
U.G. "Pazi sad....Watch out now"		Bašbunar 33	Travnik				
"Kaleidoskop"	Škrbo, Enes		Travnik	030 518 397			
Radio klub		Školska bb	Travnik				
U. za razvoj i unapredenje tehničke kulture "Dagit"		Erika Bradisa bb.	Travnik				
Ekološki pokret Travnik	Dautović, Vildana	Osnovna škola, Školska bb	Travnik	030 511 197			
Kulturno umjetničko društvo "Borac"	Rahman	Verzirska 18	Travnik	030 530 119			
U.G. Muzičko društvo Travnik	Imanović, Zlata	Školska 23	Travnik		030 511 907		bkcentar@bih.net.ba
Omladinski kulturni centar		Donje Osoje 1	Travnik		030 511 044	061 763 812	
Liga za zaštitu ljudskih prava i privatne svojine	Sekulovic, Nikola		Trebinje	059 261 491			
U. Mladih "Čosić Benjamin-Beni"		Zgrada mjese zajednice	Turbe				
Talija	Škobić, Savo	Dom kulture Višegrad	Višegrad				
Demokratski Centar "Nove Nade" Višegrad	Grančanin, Mila	Olof Palme International Centre, Pionska 4	Višegrad	058 682 009			

Savjet mladih Višegrad	Kršmanović, Duško	PRC, Višegrad, Kozacka bb	Višegrad	058 621 330			
Urban Concept	Andušić, Saša	Miloša Obalića 6a	Višegrad	058 683 007		065 565 453	
U. za unapredenje statusa žena "Žena ženi" podružnica Vozuća	Madžić, Hanija	Vozuca	Vozuća, kod Zavidovići			061 785 147	
Univerzalna škola sporta	Mumihović, Amir	Zlatnih ljiljana	Zavidovići	032 875 719		061 264 506	
U.G. "Savez za sport i rekreaciju invalida općina Zavidovići"	Parić, Muho	Omladinsko naselje bb	Zavidovići	032 871 101			
U. invalida rada i invalidskih penzionera općina Zavidonvici	Sinanvić, Fahro	Radnička bb	Zavidovići	032 871 220 # 239			
U.G. "Invalidsko odbojkaški klub Zavidovici"	Hodžić, Mirdsad	Omladinsko naselje	Zavidovići	032 876 227			
Udruženje slijepih Zadovići	?, Maja	dr. Pinkasa Bandta bb	Zavidovići	032 261 611	032 261 830		
Atletski klub "Krivaja"	Mrdanović, Šerif	Stijepana Radića 43	Zavidovići		032 871 001		
U.G. Privrednika "Motrix"	Malicbegović, Rašid	Zelena pijaca 13	Žepče			061 806 117	
Planinarsko društvo "Vis"	Matijević, Mirko	Stijepana Radića 1 (osnovna škola)	Žepče			061 333 653	
Lovačko društvo "Jelec"	Širić, Ivan	Ulica 1 bb	Žepče	032 881 161			
Kulturno umjetničko društvo "Slovo o Žepču"	Bajrić, Muneverero	Orlovnik 59	Žepče	032 882 183	032 880 621		
Organizacija porodica Šehida i pogunilih boraca "Zambak"	Taboković, Nadžida	Anke Topić bb	Žepče			061 153 882	
U.G. "Orlovik"	Mulalošić, Saim	Autumna Maraka bb	Žepče	032 880 208			
U. raseljenih lica	Đurić, Bogandan		Žepče	032 882 469			
Udruga puduzetnika i poslodavača Žepče	Jović, Mira	Ul. Prva bb	Žepče	032 881 961		061 290 262	mira.jovic@tel.net.ba
"JOB" unija veterana Žepče	Hodžić, Suljo		Žepče	032 405 082		061 769 345	
Zemljoradnička zadruga "Agro-Žepče"	Šumić, Mladen		Žepče	032 881 961			
Odbojkaški klub "Žepče"	Pašić, Džohlo	Žepčanka II	Žepče	032 881 707			
U.G. bivših logoraša opšina Žepče	Šahinović, Nurdehan		Žepče	032 881 039			
Savez za sport i rekreaciju invalida opcine Žepče	Čajlak, Hasan	Zgrada Mahnjace	Žepče			063 348 883	
Karate klub "Viktoria"	Jakić, Stipo	Lupoglav bb	Bistrica - Žepče	032 881 918		063 340 312	
U. mladih "Bonitet" Zvornik		Karakajska 17E	Zvornik	065 912 513		+ 381 63 830 6662	Bonitet_zv@yahoo.com
U. slijepih Zvornik	Stamenov, Nevenka	Braće Obadovića	Zvornik	056 210 602			
U. penzionera Zvornik	Bošković, Boško	Zmajevac Blok C	Zvornik	056 210 244			

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