funds the 'institution' rather than a collection of projects and programs. It is assumed that mature NGOs, if well-managed and founded on clear development principles, will have the sort of impact that they and CIDA espouse" (Smillie 1994: 192). This would seem to be a positive step insofar as participating NGOs are given greater autonomy and independence in selecting the parameters and policies adopted in their projects.14

The second critique, which suggests that political limits are placed on the issue areas where concessional funding is available, has greater validity in the Canadian context.<sup>15</sup> The Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative, for instance, which provides funding for short-term "innovative, rapid-response peacebuilding activities," also requires a significant element of 'Canadian content' to further develop "sectoral priorities, or Canadian niches" (CIDA 1999a). Moreover, Canada provides financial incentives for NGOs to implement programs in certain politically-motivated (albeit broad) sectors - such as humanitarian relief or gender issues - by changing the traditional "matching funds" requirements in favour of a higher percentage of CIDA funding. Contracts tend to be on a short-term basis, as the maximum length of 18 months for peacebuilding initiatives illustrates.

The final issue raised earlier concerns evaluation of NGO activities. In 1994, CIDA began planning its 'results-based management' (RBM) assessment strategy, which it claims seeks to find a "pragmatic balance between the use of our litative and quantitative indicators" (CIDA 1999b).16 However, opponents of 'blueprint' thinking would be critical of the RBM, since it includes determining causal relationships; describing or measuring changes; defining realistic expected results; identifying program beneficiaries; monitoring progress; learning lessons; and reporting results (CIDA 1990b).

## 2.2 CARE Canada

As one of the five largest NGOs operating in BiH, CARE Canada's involvement expanded dramatically beginning in 1995. At this time, it was granted C\$500,000 by CIDA to provide 50 Canadian-made, solar-energy powered mobile water units. Its project "REACH" included providing food, clothing, medical attention, care-giving, as well as counselling to vulnerable members of Bosnian society, i.e. to the elderly, disabled, women, and youth (DFAIT 1998).17 The program was partially funded by a contribution of C\$1.79 million from CIDA and spanned a five year period between 1994 and 1999. In terms of the personnel used for its

<sup>14</sup> While institutional funding seems to deal with the linear thinking critique, Smillie argues that it raises other problems, namely that it is "a step backward from the concept of NGOs as independent expressions of civil society" because this policy allows CIDA to scrutinise the entire NGO, i.e. its structure, management, programs, policies, and attitudes (1994: 192.).

<sup>15</sup> It seems that men - to the extent that they are not seniors, disabled, or youths - are not explicitly addressed in either CIDA's or CARE Canada's mandates.

<sup>16</sup> Examining the extent to which this claim is justified is beyond the scope of my paper. For my purposes, what is important is the reaction that the two NGOs under investigation have to the RBM policy, which has been determined on the basis of their official reports to CIDA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> CIDA also allocated C\$44,000 to CARE Canada for distributing Canadian-supplied paper among educational and cultural groups in Sarajevo; and a further C\$3.5 million for a reconstruction plan.