METHODOLOGY

The data were collected from interviews, questionnaires and published material from the main donors operating in Kosovo, BiH, Montenegro, FYROM, Serbia and Albania. Information was gathered on the overall amounts of funding, the proportion of funding allocated to civil society development; specific initiatives and issue focus; and target recipients.

The list of donors was compiled based on information provided by EU/TACSO and from various existing databases. The categories of assistance types were selected based on current strategies and activities identified by international donors operating across the region. The definitions offered for each category (Table 1, below) were devised by the research team, based on the most inclusive interpretation of the activity as operationalised by donors, and reflected in the types of project underway across the Western Balkans.

Respondents were asked to provide information on the period 2010-11, but to forecast changes and to identify initiatives that had ceased or were about to end. Data was checked and cross-referenced with published information from websites and annual reports. Respondents were asked whether their organisation / foundation prioritised various themes and strategies, and to answer "yes" or "no", or to state that a theme or focus was "cross-cutting" (CC), i.e. was an outcome of other assistance initiatives, or was an objective that ran through all strategies (e.g. gender mainstreaming, concern for the environment, youth etc.)

Drawing on Carothers' conceptualisation of a *political* approach - assistance geared towards ensuring that democrats are securely in power and to consolidate their power vis-à-vis non-democrats, and to achieve this by directing aid towards key political institutions and processes, including advocacy-oriented civil society organisations (2009: 6-8) - the following priorities are classified as *specifically* characteristic of a "political" approach: (i) **institution building** (**including support for political elites and political parties**); (ii) **capacity building and technical assistance for government and state agencies. These are shaded in blue on the table.**

Drawing also on Carothers' conceptualization of a*developmental* approach "look(ing) beyond an exclusively political definition of democracy to broader conceptions that incorporate socioeconomic concerns" (2009: 8), and based on the notion that support

channelled through civil society rather than elites is essentially characteristic of a developmental approach to democracy promotion that sees change as "a slow, iterative process, measured in decades and marked by the gradual accumulation of small gains" (2009: 8), the following priorities are classified as *specifically* "developmental" insofar as they focus either on longer-term socio-economic development, on local community development, or aspects of democratic consolidation: (i) **economic and private sector development**; (ii) **assistance for local community organisations / CSOs and CSO networks** (iii) **strengthening civil society – core funding, institution building** (block grants rather than just project funding); (iv) **environment**; (v) **minority rights and inter-ethnic co-operation**; (vi) **infrastructure development**; (vii) **youth and education** and (viii) **service provision.** These are shaded in red on the table.

The columns shaded in purple (Regional co-operation and development; media development and support; specific initiatives for Serb communities in north) are deemed to be potentially a mix of political, developmental and governance-oriented approaches insofar as they may involve support for elite institutions and/or civil society assistance, or focus on building the relationship between sectors across the region. Information relating to the specific activity being supported is included, where available, in footnotes.

Governance-oriented strategies include measures and initiatives designed specifically to build the partnership between sectors and to deliver a shift in hierarchies... and the augmentation of the roles of non-state actors so as to increase their deliberative power and influence. In terms of categories for this research, governance objectives are deemed to include: (i) training ministries to engage non-state and private actors; and (ii) training civil society to engage state agencies. (These are shaded in yellow on the table).

Wherever possible donors were asked to elaborate on their initiatives in order to better identify the nature and focus of the provision and qualifying information is presented below the table in footnotes. Categorising initiatives is not straightforward: some funding initiatives are ambiguous in terms of what they seek to achieve, others are interpreted and understood differently by certain donors, or are not easily categorised. For example, **technical assistance for civil society** may involve advocacy training to

enable elite-focused NGOs to lobby parliament (*political*), or result in building the basic capacities of enmeshed local networks and nascent organisations to facilitate social and economic development (*developmental*); the impact may also help support the interaction between CSOs and state ministries (governance-oriented). Again, it is only through qualitative interviews that such information is revealed and the exact focus iterated and the qualifying information, where appropriate and necessary, is provided as a footnote.

Respondents were specifically asked to elaborate on their organisation's provision of support for civil society so as to identify whether this involved working with political parties (*political*), with citizen organisations (*developmental*), or directly with government / state agencies (*governance-oriented*). Similarly, more information was sought with regard to **Regional co-operation** initiatives insofar as it is acknowledged that these may involve government-to-government initiatives (more *political*), NGO to NGO co-operation and networking (*developmental*), or multi-level interaction around specific policies and initiatives (*governance-oriented*).

TABLE 1: Definition of funding categories

Environment	Funding for environmental	Developmental focus
2. Tomion	clean-up programmes; education	Developmental focus
	and awareness campaigns;	
	environmental organisations	
	working on "green" projects	
Assistance for local community /	Specific assistance made	Developmental focus
CSOs / CSO networks	available for local (as opposed to	
	national level) organisations and	
	networks – training, project	
	funding, facilitating co-operation	
Consider / Assissingle spinters of fire	etc.	D1
Capacity / technical assistance for civil society	Training specifically for CSO / NGOs; network development at	Developmental focus
civii society	local or national level.	
Economic and private sector	Programmes designed to boost	Developmental focus
development (incl. rural	employment, engender	Developmental focus
development)	entrepreneurialism and support	
· r · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	trades, crafts and other economic	
	sectors.	
Minority rights and inter-ethnic co-	Support for NGOs/CSOs	Developmental focus
operation (including Roma)	working with ethnic minority	_
	communities; support for	
	advocacy; training and the	
	facilitation of dialogue	
Youth and education (including	Programmes designed to engage	Developmental focus
funds for NGOs and training	young people in a range of	
schemes)	activities from sport to political	
Camina anasisian	leadership.	D
Service provision	Direct provision of financial assistance for social and	Developmental focus
	economic services such as credit	
	facilities, health care, schools	
	etc.	
Infrastructure (water, energy,	Direct provision, or finds	Developmental focus
transport)	channelled through	•
•	intermediaries, for the	
	development of physical	
	infrastructure	
Strengthening civil society – core	Assistance for the <i>institutions</i> of	Developmental focus
funding, institutions	civil society, usually in the form	
	of core funding for organisations	
	(as oppose to short-term project	
	grants); resources not targeted	
	towards particular projects and money that can be used to build	
	the organisation (salaries, rents,	
	equipment)	
Training ministries to engage non-	Assistance specifically geared	Governance
state actors (NSAs)	towards engaging government	Governance
(1,5715)	and state actors with NGOs /	
	CSOs / private sector, and	
	building relations between	
Training civil NSAs to engage with	Assistance specifically geared	Governance
ministries and state actors	towards engaging NGOs / CSOs	
	/ private sector with government,	
	ministries, state agencies, and	

	building relations between	
Regional co-operation and	Programmes and initiatives	Developmental / Political
development assistance	specifically to stimulate and	/ Governance
	support regional co-operation	
	(all levels)	
Media development and support	Vocational and other training;	Political / Developmental
	monitoring and capacity	
	building; advising governments	
	and officials. But may also focus	
	on civil society and involve	
	training for NGOs to deliver	
	change in content and production	
	as core democratic institution.	
Specific initiatives for Serb	Initiatives may include training	Developmental / Political
communities in north (Mitrovica and	for political elites, or (more	
environs)	typically) support for NGO/CSO	
	networks.	
Institution building (including	Mentoring, training and support	Political focus
support for political elites)	for political parties, governments	
	(central and local), judges and	
	law enforcement; some high-	
	level non-governmental	
	organisations (trade unions)	
Capacity / technical assistance for	Specific aid targeted towards	Political focus
government	ministries and officials at central	
	and local level.	