



Norwegian University
of Life Sciences

Master's Thesis 2019 30 ECTS
Faculty of Landscape and Society

Social Capital and the Norwegian Red Cross: a study of the influence of discourse

Andries van der Wijk
International Development Studies

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wijk1718@gmail.com

Faculty of Landscape and Society – LANDSAM

Norwegian University of Life Sciences - NMBU

P.O. Box 5003

N-1432 Ås

Norway

Tel.: +47 67 23 00 00

Internet: <https://www.nmbu.no/en/faculty/landsam>

Declaration

I, Andries van der Wijk, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature.....

Contents

1. Introduction.....	2
1.1 Research objective	2
1.2 Research question	3
2. Background.....	3
2.1 Humanitarian principles.....	5
3. Conceptual and theoretical framework	7
3.1 Capital and Bourdieu	8
3.2 Coleman and Putnam	9
3.3 Putnam vs Bourdieu.....	13
3.4 Critiques.....	14
4. Methodology.....	15
4.1 Data gathering.....	15
4.2 Data analysis	17
5. Findings	18
5.1 Bourdieu in the Norwegian Red Cross.....	24
6. Conclusion	26
8. Bibliography	27
Appendix 1: Analysed documents	29
Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form.....	30
Appendix 3: Questionnaire	35

1. Introduction

The influence of the concept of social capital on organisations has been significant (Gittell & Vidal 1998, p.1; Harriss 2002). Non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and civil society organisations in particular because they are seen as being the most efficient in creating social capital within a society (Putnam 1993). Measurements of social capital often place Scandinavian countries on top, which appears to support the suggested correlation between civil society and social capital (Andersen & Dinesen 2017; Rothstein & Stolle 2003). According to Dag Wollebæk and Karl Hendrik Sivesind Norway and Sweden had the highest volunteering rates globally in 2009 with 48 %, followed by Iceland at 40 % (Wollebæk & Sivesind 2010, p.23). Civil society and the state have a tradition of strong cooperation in Scandinavian countries. Some even describe the Scandinavian model of organising society as a type of 'civil society regime' (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, pp.1-24). In Norway the biggest humanitarian organisation is the Norwegian Red Cross (*Norges Røde Kors*) (NRC) (Norwegian Red Cross 2016, p.8). In addition, the humanitarian policy of the Norwegian state gives the International Red Cross the largest sum of financial support among supported NGO's (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014). This makes the influence of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement and its programs significant at both national and international level. Given the influence of the concept of social capital on organisations, it is easy to envision that the NRC also has been influenced by this concept. Since the NRC has such a prominent place in Norway the concept might then also have a significant influence on Norwegian society.

Every concept has proponents and critical opponents. The same applies to social capital, which critics have described as being misleading and distracting from more structural problems such as power and class inequality (Harriss 2002). This is only one example among many other kinds of critique which are discussed further in this thesis. This study aims to uncover the extend of influence social capital discourses have on the NRC and its programs, in order to make those associated with the NRC more aware of what is driving the underlying motivations of the organisation. It does this by analysing documents published by the International Red Cross / Red Crescent movement and the NRC, including documents that circulate internally in the organisation. In addition to an analysis of documents, a questionnaire has been handed to several people who are part of the NRC followed by interviews with the same people. Before commencing in this study, I participated in the NRC as an intern for the programmes of homework support and refugee guide at the local office in Ås - Norway half a year prior to conducting this research. In addition, during the study I assisted the NRC in gathering data for a national survey. Being an intern and being involved in a study run by the NRC has benefitted this study by deepening my understanding of the NRC. It also provided me with access to data and interviewees I would otherwise not have access to. Using discourse analysis based on the concept of discursive frames the gathered data is analysed to determine themes that reflect social capital discourses within the NRC, followed by discussing the extend of these findings and what this might mean for the NRC, its beneficiaries, and Norwegian society.

1.1 Research objective

The primary objective of this study is to uncover if social capital discourses influence the NRC, and if so, to what extent. Given that the NRC holds a prominent role in Norwegian society and in international humanitarian aid this study gives insight into elements embedded into the organisational culture of the NRC that inform the decisions made by the organisation. It is possible that people associated with the NRC might have adopted ideas related to social capital discourses either knowingly or without being aware of this influence. Either way, if social capital discourses have influenced the organisational culture of the NRC then this shapes the way the NRC operates and how the NRC in turn influences other actors, including Norwegian society as far as the influence of the NRC goes. Furthermore, this study also serves as a case-study to further insight in how discourses

can spread from its theoretical academic origins, to large international organisations, to an individual volunteer embedded in the organisational culture of a single office of an NGO.

1.2 Research question

The main research question of this study is:

To what extent is the Norwegian Red Cross influenced by social capital discourses?

Sub-research questions of this study are:

1. *Which social capital discourses are predominantly influencing the Norwegian Red Cross?*
2. *How do social capital discourses in the Norwegian Red Cross translate into actions taken by the organisation?*

2. Background

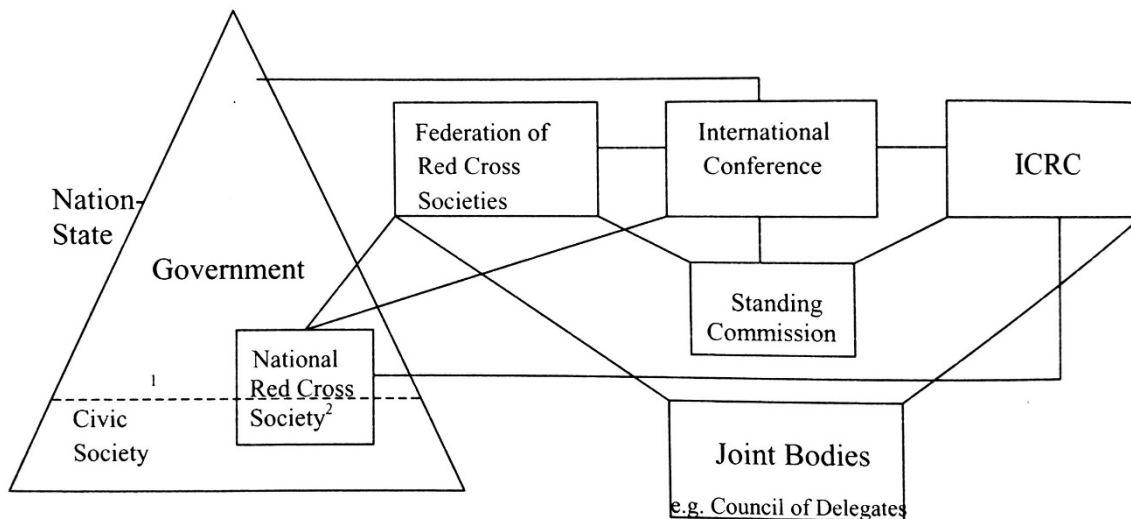
The Norwegian welfare state has a long history of collaboration between the voluntary sector and the public sector. It is not uncommon to find examples of services that were initiated by the voluntary sector which have later been taken over by the state. For example, nurse training was one of the main activities in the early days of the NRC's existence in Norway. This training was later taken over by the university college system in 1973. Today many welfare services in Norway are still provided by large, national, member-based organizations such as the NRC, the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association (*Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening*), the Norwegian Heart and Lung Patient Organization (*Landsforeningen for hjerte- og lungesyke*), the Salvation army (*Frelsearmeen*), and Blue Cross Norway (*Blå Kors Norge*). In addition, several welfare service institutions are owned by foundations such as the Church City Mission, diaconal foundations, the BI Norwegian Business School, and a number of smaller foundations (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, p.102; Norwegian Red Cross 2016, p.6). The influence of these organisations – in particular the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association, the Norwegian Health Association (*Nasjonalforeningen for folkehelsen*) and the NRC – became an ideological force around which a large and historically important social and political mass movement formed around the time of the First World War. Around this time Norwegian society had been largely homogenous for centuries and the state church and state administration were practically interwoven with each other. Local elites were typically weak around this time, the population was generally poor, the few rich people showed little interest to sacrifice their resources, and the state had few resources available as well. This led to a situation that demanded more resources to fulfil both human and institutional needs (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, p.144).

The emergence of a new political and social space did not do away with the old orientation on the Norwegian state. Instead the new space joined forces with the old which led to the modern, democratic era. Because the small population in Norway was only around two-million people possibilities for having a voluntary sector separate from the public sector were slim. At the time the new voluntary organisations had a different ideological outlook about improving people's health and living conditions. Nonetheless, both sides realized that alone they could not solve the challenges Norway faced. A large-scale tuberculosis outbreak between the two world wars and a weak market had left the state weakened and the voluntary sector was still too young to handle the problems alone. However, by combining their resources and efforts the Norwegian welfare state started to emerge (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, p.145).

The NRC was already present in Norway since 1865 as the ‘Society for the Care of the Sick and Wounded in the Battlefield and for the Support of the Wounded and the Families of those Killed’, which was one of the first national societies the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement established. For the first twenty years the NRC limited itself to fundraising. This money was to be used in times of war and was administered by state authorities. This changed in 1891 when it was decided that the NRC would also focus on peacetime activities. It was not until the First World War until the activities of the NRC gathered under a common umbrella. Over the years the organisation developed multiple specialist sections, such as The Red Cross Search and Rescue Corps, the NRC Visitor Service, and the largely independent Red Cross Youth organisation. In 1969 the NRC set up a special international office which occurred around the same the Norwegian state set up the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) in 1968 (Norwegian Red Cross 2016, pp.6-7).

Today the NRC is among the largest humanitarian organisations in Norway. In 2014 the organisation reported to have around 43.000 volunteers, of which more than 30.000 were above thirty years old. Almost every municipality in Norway is represented by the NRC. Its national activities are divided among three areas; Search and Rescue, Care Activities, and Red Cross Youth. In addition, all volunteers are involved in Disaster Preparedness (Norwegian Red Cross 2016, pp.8-9). The NRC also has a strong international commitment which receives strong support from the Norwegian government as is stated in the humanitarian policy of Norway. The main international focus of the NRC lies on reducing vulnerability of local communities, although some activities do involve the national, regional, or global level (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014; Norwegian Red Cross 2019).

Although every national society of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement is largely independent they are still part of the larger international organisation. As can be seen in figure 1 national societies, such as the NRC, are governed by the International Federation of Red Cross Societies (IFRC) and the International Conference (Forsythe 2005, p.316; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2019a). The International Conference that occurs every four years is the movements leading body. The conference is attended by all components of the movement, 194 states that are part of the Geneva Convention, and observers from other humanitarian organizations, the United Nations (UN) system, and national societies that are still under development or await formal recognition. The Standing Commission serves as trustee between meetings and prepares the provisional agenda that is prepared by the Council of Delegates. The Council of Delegates and the national societies meet every two years at the General Assembly to determine the general policies of the IFRC and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). In between General Assemblies the Federation’s Governing Board meets twice per year. The Governing Board is the supreme governing body of the IFRC and consists of a president, five vice-presidents from the Swiss Red Cross, four vice-presidents elected at the previous General Assembly, a chair of the audit and risk commission, a chair of the finance commission, a chair of the youth commission, and representatives of twenty national societies. At the time of this study Norway does not have a representative at the IFRC’s Governing Board. The ICRC has little influence on the national societies as it is not its mandate. The only exception is that a national society can only be a member of the IFRC if it is recognized by the ICRC. This recognition by the ICRC can be withdrawn if a national society acts strongly in contradiction to the conditions of recognition, one of which is to honour the seven fundamental principles of the movement (International Committee of the Red Cross 2011; Pictet 1979, p.9). The ICRC and IFRC are considered independent bodies from each other. The mandate of the IFRC is to work together with national societies to address disasters around the world combined with development work (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2019a). National societies cannot exist outside the influence of governments and act therefore as auxiliaries of the public authorities. Within this role the national societies strive to remain as close as possible to its seven fundamental humanitarian principles (Pictet 1979, p.10)



¹The location of this line will vary, depending on whether the government is limited or totalitarian.

²The Red Cross or Red Crescent Society may be more or less within the governmental sector, varying with each case.

Figure 1 The Red Cross / Red Crescent movement (Forsythe 2005, p.316)

2.1 Humanitarian principles

The entire Red Cross / Red Crescent movement informs its identity and practices from its seven fundamental principles; *humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, and universality*. To form a basic understanding all fundamental principles are briefly addressed. Note that the fundamental principles overlap with each other which is by design. The movement recognizes that the philosophy of its principles is optimistic but it asserts that it is “valid to the extent that it expresses itself in concrete realities” (Pictet 1979, p.11). The leading principle of *humanity*, from which all other principles emerge, refers to the desire to “prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found” (Pictet 1979, p.12). This principle stems from the historic origins of the movement, which came from the desire to assist wounded soldiers in times of war. This principle remained after national societies decided to also work during times of peace and expand their mandate from only soldiers to all human beings. With ‘alleviating human suffering’ the principle is intended to focus on unnecessary suffering, as some suffering might have a therapeutic necessity. Jean Pictet (1979) also mentions that the understanding of suffering does not only refer to pain but also to injury that might not be felt. The Red Cross / Red Crescent movement aims to prevent and alleviate all forms of unnecessary suffering. This includes physical, emotional, and moral suffering (Pictet 1979, pp.12-23).

Impartiality for the Red Cross / Red Crescent means that the organisation does not discriminate between nationality, religion, class, or political opinions. It only discriminates by giving priority to the most urgent cases of human suffering. This principle already has its starting point in the former principle of ‘humanity’. Already at the founding of the movement by Henry Dunant, the Red Cross aimed to take care of both allied and enemy soldiers. This principle of non-discrimination was later adopted by the Geneva Conventions and in legislation on human rights. It is also found as a long-standing principle of medical morality and ethics, although it is not written in the Hippocratic oath.

Instead it is found in the more recent Geneva Oath and the Code of Ethics of the World Medical Association. In exceptional cases it might be necessary to discriminate. For example, when medicines are scarce and only a limited number of patients can be cured. In such cases a Red Cross worker is required to rely on the social and human attitudes of the community he / she resides in. The principle is not the same as equal treatment but rather as equitable treatment. Pictet asserts impartiality can essentially be divided in three principles; humanity, non-discrimination, and proportionality. The first two have already been discussed. The later can be understood as endeavours “to relieve the suffering of individuals in proportion to the degree of their suffering and to give priority according to the degree of urgency” (Pictet 1979, pp.24-33).

Neutrality relates to the position of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement between opposing sides of political, racial, religious, or ideological parties. This principle is often cause for confusion, as the word has many different definitions. Neutrality differs from impartiality in the sense that a neutral person refuses to make judgement whereas an impartial person judges in accordance with certain rules. One of the reasons for the movement to aim for neutrality is that it wishes to maintain confidence of all parties in order to be able to carry out its mandate of addressing suffering among all members of all parties. The initial understanding of neutrality refers to military neutrality. In return for its neutrality in times of war the Geneva Conventions state that authorities are expected not to hinder the activities of the Red Cross in any way. Furthermore, the principle also refers to political, racial, religious, or ideological neutrality. The most difficult is probably to uphold political neutrality, in particular if a country has an authoritarian regime. Indeed, the movement recognizes this and expects that national societies at least do not militate for projects that have no connection with the mandate of the Red Cross / Red Crescent. This means that national societies cannot associate themselves with any political party, which includes the need for leaders within the organisation to abstain from performing any public function that is political in nature. As an international organisation the movement inevitably gets involved in political events, especially the ICRC. Because of the impossibility of avoiding politics altogether the principle act more as a strict guideline than as an absolute rule (Pictet 1979, pp.34-39).

The principle of *independence* refers to political, religious, and economic independence. It also serves as a guarantee for the movement to uphold its principle of neutrality. Independence is an interesting principle because national societies serve at the same time as auxiliaries of the humanitarian services provided by governments. They are also subject to laws of their respective countries and often receive financial support from governments. It stands to reason that this principle is often under pressure, especially for national societies that lack financial resources. Nonetheless, through acting on its principle of neutrality the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement hopes that other parties respect the independence of the movement. In cases where parties do not respect this principle (or any of the other principles) the movement tries to disassociate themselves. The auxiliary status of the movement is born from the necessity of the movement to co-operate with authorities if it wants to perform its mandate. This is not an ideal situation but rather a practical consequence of the realities under which the movement operates. As with many things it is a matter of proportions rather than absolutes (Pictet 1979, pp.40-45).

Voluntary service refers not only to the fact that people who perform voluntary work do so without pay, but also that they do so from their own free will. However, the decision to perform voluntary work may involve certain commitments and obligations that a volunteer cannot be free of after deciding to become a volunteer. Since its inception the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement has always relied on voluntary service. The reasoning behind this is that a volunteer is assumed to be motivated by the respect and esteem received by doing what needs to be done. Even in absence of receiving respect and esteem a volunteer is seen as someone who is driven by an inner motivation to help others in need, almost akin to people who take religious vows. A paid worker is instead more likely to be motivated by what he / she can earn through their work. Nonetheless, the movement does

hire a certain number of paid workers to avoid the organisation descending into amateurism. Amateurism can lead easily to a lack of discipline, poorly defined responsibilities, and aid being given only sporadically and on a small scale. Having a degree of paid workers ensures that the organisation maintains continuity, preserves a standard of skills and knowledge, and provides an environment in which volunteers can act at the best of their abilities (Pictet 1979, pp.46-53).

Unity refers to three concepts: unity of leadership, multiudinism, and generality in its action. The first concept ensures that there is only one national Red Cross / Red Crescent society in each nation. This instils a coherent identity of the organisation which is represented at the international level by its elected leaders. Multiudinism strengthens the idea of non-discrimination further by stating that anyone can have membership to the organisation regardless of race, sex, class, religion, or political opinions. This does not mean that there are no exceptions to whom are accepted. National societies do hold the right to deny individuals based on their moral character, or in regards of their ability. Positions that require certain skills or knowledge (for example, medical skills) cannot be given to those who are incompetent. Finally, generality of action simply means that the national societies shall extend their activities to the entire country they reside in (Pictet 1979, pp.54-56).

The final principle, *universality*, refers to the way national societies relate to each other. All societies have equal status and share the same duties and responsibilities in assisting each other. It also refers to the first principle of ‘humanity’ and to non-discrimination. Universality is a logical result from these two ideals. Universality can express itself in two forms; through federalism or through the principle of unity. Since the national societies are independent and self-governing institutions they are not governed by this principle. It is the international institutions of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement that practice this principle without geographical boundaries to their actions. Nonetheless, national societies do have ties of solidarity among each other. Through solidarity it creates a culture of co-operation wherein working independent does not mean the same as working alone. Each national society works, in varying degree, for the welfare of the whole organisation. This reciprocal independence is considered a unique aspect of the movement (Pictet 1979, pp.57-60).

3. Conceptual and theoretical framework

Social capital as a concept has been around for longer than a century. The first ‘sighting’ in literature was in 1916 (Harriss 2002). Ever since, the concept has grown in popularity among governments, NGO’s, and other organizations. One expert at the World Bank described it as ‘the missing link’ development (Grootaert 1998). On the surface the concept seems simple. It refers to the general knowledge that people can use social connections as a resource to achieve certain goals. Somehow this general knowledge was ignored, in particular in the field of economics, until it was made popular. Robert Putnam (1993), a professor from Harvard University, has probably contributed the most to the rise in popularity of the concept (Harriss 2002). However, when taking a closer look at the literature about social capital it become clear that the concept is strongly debated, both on its definition and its use as a scientific and political tool. Putnam’s definition might be the most well-known and most used one, but there exist many other ways of understanding what social capital is (Adam & Rončević 2003; Fine 2010; Harriss 2002; Siisiainen 2003). Martin Paldam (2000) and Christian Grootaert (1998), members of the World Bank’s Social Capital Initiative, recognise three to five different definitions already. Here it needs to be noted that both Paldam and Grootaert have based their understanding of social capital on the work of James Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1993). They ignore an earlier, and rather different conceptualization of social capital by Pierre Bourdieu (1986). The decision to ignore Bourdieu’s concept has been a source of critique against the World Bank and the use of social capital as a concept (Fine 2010; Harriss 2002; Siisiainen 2003).

To form a deeper understanding about the different concepts of social capital the definitions of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam are compared. Of course, there are many other authors that have written and contributed to the development of the concept. Where necessary some authors are discussed, but no attempts are made to uncover the entire historical roots of the theory or to list everyone who has contributed. Such an attempt is impossible as concepts similar to social capital exist using a perplexing variety of names (Paldam 2000). In the majority of literature Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam are seen to be the primary contributors and are thus considered to be the most representative authors on social capital. Critiques of these definitions are also explored; in particular the critiques of John Harriss (2002) and Ben Fine (2002, 2010) who dedicated much of their careers advocating against the use of social capital as a concept.

3.1 Capital and Bourdieu

Before addressing social capital, a short exploration of the definition of *capital* is needed to understand how, and why, the concept of social capital was developed. In fact, the use of the word ‘capital’ for the concept has been a source of debate already (Grootaert 1998, p.1). Some critics suggest that the term should be changed. Robert Solow (2000) suggests the term ‘behaviours patterns, and Kenneth Joseph Arrow (2000) prefers the terms ‘networks’ or ‘social interactions’ instead of social capital (Hjerpe 2003, p.3). Regardless, a widespread change of the term has not yet been adopted. The popular definition of capital is that of ‘assets’ or ‘resources’ that have value because of their utility in producing goods and services (Pennant-Rea & Emmott 1983, p.21). It is easy to see how social connections can be understood as resources. An opposing view from Karl Marx does not see capital as ‘stuff used to produce things’ but defines all forms of capital as a social relation, rejecting the notion that social connections are a type of resource that is different from other types (Fine 2002; Harriss 2002). The term social capital suggests that other forms of capital are not social. This turns other forms of capital into an oxymoron that make little sense if capital is understood from a Marxist perspective. One way to solve this is to understand social capital not as a form of capital but rather as conditions that enables organization of social connections between large numbers of people towards collective projects. For the Marxist these conditions relate to the way the working class under capitalism becomes organized and able to change the social relations of production (Harriss 2002). Regardless, the majority of the literature about social capital does not use the Marxist definition of capital, instead opting for the popular definition of capital being ‘assets’ or ‘resources’ used to produce goods and services (Pennant-Rea & Emmott 1983, p.21). This creates the first point of critique against the term. Defining capital as ‘assets’ or ‘resources’ does not separate it from the social dimension and merely avoids addressing this oxymoron (Fine 2002).

The use of the popular definition is already evident in Bourdieu’s work who defined capital as ‘accumulated labour’ which is typically understood in terms of money and assets (Bourdieu 2011, p.1). This is interesting because for the most part Bourdieu’s work *The Forms of Capital* (2011, first published in 1986) is strongly influenced by Marxist ideas, recognizing that capital can be used as an instrument of power between social classes (Bourdieu 2011; Harriss 2002). Bourdieu argues that restricting our understanding of *capital* solely to money and assets, which he termed as *economic capital*, is detrimental to our understanding of the social world. He proposes that capital can present itself in three different forms: as economic capital, which can be converted into money and property rights; as *cultural capital* which are social assets such as language and cultural knowledge, and can be represented by educational qualifications, and converted into economic capital under certain conditions; and as social capital which he defines as

“the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the

collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (Bourdieu 2011, p.3).

Social capital in Bourdieu’s understanding is “made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility”¹ (Bourdieu 2011, p.1). Several variations on Bourdieu’s definition of social capital exist, the most notable one is developed by Alejandro Portes (1998), who defined social capital as “the ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures” (Portes 1998, p.6). In addition to economic, cultural, and social capital, more forms of capital have been developed over time. The concept of *natural capital* (e.g. a lake) is proposed by Costanza and Daly (1992) to better understand natural resources and promote sustainable use of them (Costanza & Daly 1992). In 1994 Becker argued that the concept of *human capital* (e.g. health) allows for greater understanding of the actions by individuals (Becker 1994). For this paper the focus is on social capital while keeping in mind the relationship with other forms of capital.

Bourdieu’s understanding of social capital needs to be understood within the context of his critical theory of society, which distinguishes his concept from the normative approach applied by Putnam and Coleman, and the network utilitarian approach of Ronald Burt and Nan Lin who have sought to operationalize and make social capital measurable (Adam & Rončević 2003). Unlike Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, his concept of social capital has not been included in a systematic empirical analysis. Nonetheless, Bourdieu can be seen as the pioneer who laid the foundations of theorizing and research into social capital. His work on the different forms of capital (economic, cultural, and symbolic) aims at understanding the mechanisms behind the preservation of the social stratification system and how dominant-class reproduction strategies are legitimized. In other words, Bourdieu was concerned with developing a theory of social stratification based on volume and composition of different forms of capital, keeping in mind the conversion of one form of capital into another (Adam & Rončević 2003). Bourdieu argued that “the convertibility of different types of capital is the basis of strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in social space)” (Bourdieu 2011, p.6).

As mentioned before, Bourdieu’s notion of social capital is rather different than that of Coleman and Putnam. Coleman’s definition is important, because it shows the shift from Bourdieu’s egocentric approach to Putnam’s sociocentric approach (Adam & Rončević 2003). After developing an understanding of the concepts from Putnam and Coleman we look how Bourdieu and Putnam compare to each other.

3.2 Coleman and Putnam

In his paper *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital* Coleman (1988) presents social capital as a conceptual tool to support his broader theory of describing and explaining social action. Coleman, who has a strong connection to rational-choice theory, argues that there exist two intellectual streams to describe and explain social action which can be unified in a theoretical orientation that draws from both these intellectual streams. The first intellectual stream explains social action emerging from a socialized actor governed by social norms, rules, and obligations. The other intellectual stream sees the actor as independent and self-interested in maximizing utility. This second intellectual stream lies at the core of neoclassical economic theory and several political philosophies, such as utilitarianism, contractarianism, and natural rights. Coleman argues that both intellectual streams are flawed, but when combined in a conceptually coherent framework can complement each other and neutralize some of their flaws (Coleman 1988).

1. Bourdieu terms the various ways capital – in whatever form – is represented as *symbolic capital*. Symbolic capital is not to be understood as an additional form of capital but rather as a manner of how capital is recognized and misrecognized within a group culture (*habitus*) (Bourdieu 2011, p.6).

Coleman's conceptualization of social capital shifts the definition of Bourdieu by illustrating how social capital can be a valuable resource for individuals but also for groups. He argues that the function of capital is to facilitate action in different ways (Coleman 1988). This is different than Bourdieu's concept of capital, who defined capital as 'accumulated labour' (Bourdieu 2011, p.1). Bourdieu's definition seems to be an outcome, whereas Coleman's definition sees *capital* as a means towards an outcome. Coleman asserts that

"social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman 1988, p.5).

Here we see the shift from Bourdieu's definition that focused on individual (egocentric) outcomes to a concept that defines social capital as a function for individuals and groups (corporate actors). Putnam later shifts the definition even further to outcomes for groups, organizations, institutions, and entire societies (Adam & Rončević 2003).

According to Coleman the main difference with social capital and other forms of capital is that social capital, and transitions thereof, typically does not only benefit those who perform the necessary labour, but everyone included in a social structure. As the title of his paper suggests, Coleman examines how social capital can be used to create human capital (Coleman 1988). The term human capital is a concept developed by Gary Becker to whom Coleman was a close colleague (Adam & Rončević 2003). Human capital consists of skills and capabilities that allow a person to act (Becker 1994). Coleman thought of social capital as a catalyst for human capital, consisting of relations between people that facilitate action (Adam & Rončević 2003). Trust, information, and norms of reciprocity, expectations, obligations, and effective sanctions are identified as essential components of social capital that account for different outcomes at the individual level and aid in the micro-to-macro transitions of individual action towards system-level behaviour of groups and organizations. In addition, the social structure in which actors behave has a strong influence on trust, information, and norms. These components are stronger in social structures with strong social ties and weaker in social structures in which individuals are more self-sufficient and less dependent on each other. The actual needs of individuals, existence of other sources of aid, the degree of affluence, cultural norms to lend aid and ask for aid, and the logistics of social contacts are further factors that influence trust, information, and norms (Coleman 1988).

Trust is such a central component in the concepts of both Coleman and Putnam that some authors, such as Francis Fukuyama, basically equate social capital with trust. Stating that "social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it" (Fukuyama 1995). With this interpretation Fukuyama developed a simple method of comparing social capital between societies; distinguishing between low-trust societies and high-trust societies. The use of a single indicator as a measure of social capital has been criticized for being too simplistic. Although Fukuyama already pays attention to different kinds of social capital, which Putnam later defined as "bonding" and "bridging" social capital. Furthermore, Fukuyama also developed measures and proxy indicators for absence of social capital, such as indicators for anomie (Adam & Rončević 2003).

The effect of transforming social capital into human capital that Coleman (1988) describes originates as both social capital in families and as social capital in communities. These forms of social capital can then be used to create human capital in the next generation. Here the micro-to-macro and macro-to-micro transitions between individuals and groups are clearly highlighted. An example of such a transition in families is educational expectations of parents towards their children. Such expectations are indicated as having an influence on the educational performance of children.

Expectation is another essential component of social capital and education is a form of human capital, thus the example shows a transition between these two forms of capital. Similar transitions originate outside the family (Coleman 1988).

Portes criticizes Coleman on the basis that the number of components involved in his conceptualization of social capital make the notion too vague. Furthermore, Portes finds that Coleman does not distinguish between the owners of social capital, sources of social capital, and the resources themselves. Attempting to make a more systematic definition Portes defines four sources of social capital based on consummatory and instrumental drivers of human action: value introjection and bounded solidarity, derived from consummatory norms, and reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, derived from instrumental drivers. He further concludes that the outcomes of social capital can be both positive (norm observance, family support, and network-mediated benefits) and negative (restricted access to opportunities, restrictions on individual freedom, excessive claims on group members, and downward levelling norms) (Portes 1998, p.8).

Lin, who has a network utilitarian approach to social capital, criticizes Coleman's concept of social capital for being tautological because he defines the concept by its function. For her it is unacceptable to define a causal factor by its effect. Furthermore, Lin also criticizes Coleman for seeing social capital as a collective good, containing elements such as norms, trust, sanctions, etc. which are difficult to operationalize and measure. Her proposal is to develop a research programme that is solely focused on distinguishable and measurable variables within an egocentric network approach (Lin 2017). However, such a non-normative approach might make it difficult to know when unsocial or negative social capital arises. For example, what happens when individuals take advantage of social contacts to promote themselves, even though their human capital is lower than individuals who cannot (or will not) use such social support? In the long-term such behaviour means that social capital is destroyed, leading to distrust and social disintegration. An egocentric network approach would not identify this because of its non-normative focus on social capital of individuals. Also, the argument that the tautology of Coleman's concept is problematic can be questioned if we take into consideration that the relationship between independent, intervening, and dependent variables of social capital are not unilinear but circular and multilinear; the same applies for the sources, dimensions and outcomes of social capital (Adam & Rončević 2003).

This leads us to the most influential concept of social capital, developed by Putnam who used the concept of social capital to examine the relationship between social and political life. He suggests that social capital is a public good that is a by-product of other social activities done by individuals (Putnam 1993). This is similar to Coleman's conceptualization by highlighting the micro-to-macro transition (Coleman 1988). However, Putnam applies solely a sociocentric perspective on social capital, using a mezzo- and macro-analysis of the role of civic engagement and active citizenship in the creation and maintenance of democracy and developmental effectiveness (Adam & Rončević 2003; Harriss 2002, p.6). Putnam's concept narrows social capital down to three components; trust, norms, and networks. Although Coleman's concept consists of more components there are clear similarities between Coleman and Putnam, including some of the circular thinking that Lin criticized Coleman of (making social capital a cause and an effect simultaneously). The main difference being Putnam's socio-centric perspective in which civic engagement creates social capital, and social capital in turn creates civic engagement (Coleman 1988; Lin 2017; Putnam 1993). Putnam's understanding of a functioning society is reminiscent to that of Adam Seligman (2000), who wrote that "The emphasis in modern societies on consensus [... is ...] founded on an image of society based on interconnected networks of trust – among citizens, families, voluntary organizations, religious denominations, civic associations, and the like" (Seligman 2000, p.14). This view of a functioning society together with an understanding of social capital that was essentially understood as 'membership in groups' or 'voluntary associations' quickly made social capital a critical element for 'good governance' and economic development (Harriss 2002). However, Grootaert does point out that the mere existence of a

group does not imply social capital. It is the mechanism behind the ability of the group to enforce group norms that constitutes social capital (Grootaert 1998, p.20). It was the connection to good governance and economic development that made social capital resonate with specialists, such as Paldam and Grootaert, at the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Harriss 2002). Note that Putnam already pointed out that existence of social capital does not directly imply good governance and positive economic development. Indeed, similar to individuals who use their social capital to take advantage of other members of a group, groups themselves can also use their social capital to undermine the social capital of other groups or even the society they exist in (for example, the southern Italian mafia) (Adam & Rončević 2003; Putnam 1993).

According to Putnam there are two types of social capital; one inclusive type that exists between people and groups who already know each other (termed *bonding capital* by Ross Gittel and Avis Vidal in 1998), and an exclusive type that exist between people and groups who previously did not know each other (which Putnam terms *bridging capital*) (Gittell & Vidal 1998, p.15; Putnam 2001, p.7). Some authors have argued that these two types of social capital should be complimented with a third type that describes the vertical relationship people and groups have with formal institutions of influence, for example state institutions and banks. This third type is termed *linking capital* (Szreter & Woolcock 2004; World Bank 2000, p.128). Furthermore, the World Bank has also divided Putnam's concept further by introducing two other forms of social capital: structural and cognitive. *Structural social capital* is defined by objective and externally observable social structures. Examples of structural social capital are networks, associations, and institutions including the rules and procedures embedded within them. The second form introduced by the World Bank is *cognitive social capital*, which comprises subjective and intangible elements, such as norms, values, attitudes, trust, and reciprocity. As seen in figure 2, the World Bank added a third aspect to the concept to allow for distinction in economic measurements between micro, meso, and macro level. (Hjerppe 2003, pp.4-6).

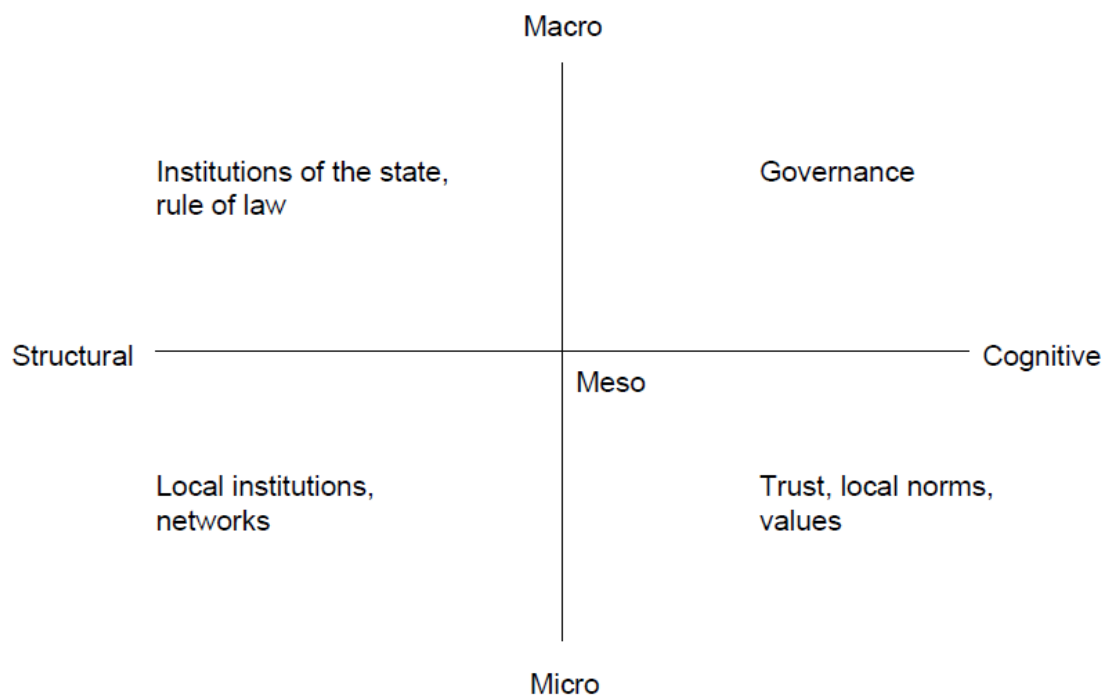


Figure 2 The Forms and Scope of Social Capital in the World Bank (Hjerppe 2003, p.5)

3.3 Putnam vs Bourdieu

Differences between the concepts of Coleman and Putnam are relatively small and are in many ways complementary to each other. However, their ideas are rather different than the ideas of Bourdieu. This comparison draws on Martti Siisiainen's (2003) ideas in *Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam*. His paper compares the ideas of Putnam against Bourdieu but can also be used to compare Coleman against Bourdieu because of the overlap between Putnam and Coleman's ideas on social capital.

Contrasting Putnam's concept of social capital to that of Bourdieu's we see some stark differences. Bourdieu does mention that social capital "provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity owned capital [...]" (Bourdieu 2011). However it approaches social capital primarily as a benefit to the individual involved in a social structure, and ignores the benefits social capital provides to the social structure itself (Bourdieu 2011). Putnam does the opposite by looking at the importance of social capital on maintaining democracy in societies (Putnam 1993). Bourdieu's ideas on capital are strongly connected with his theoretical ideas on class, which leads him to emphasise conflicts and the function of power wherein social relations can enhance the ability of individuals to further their own interests. Putnam does not discuss such conflicts between interests but instead focuses on the import of trust between citizens to develop and maintain a functioning democratic society. The other components of Putnam's concept all serve to create this trust and create a self-reinforcing circle of cumulative social capital. "Trust creates reciprocity and voluntary associations, reciprocity and associations strengthen and produce trust" (Siisiainen 2003). Reciprocity is only a function of these associations, which leaves the problem that Putnam's concept relies solely on voluntary associations as the single source of trust. As a result, Putnam's concept is not effectively capable of addressing distrust, and social movements and voluntary associations that challenge the consensus of the status quo. Three kinds of conflicts of interest are effectively ignored in this way; conflicts between associations that support or oppose social consensus in society, conflicts between civil society and political society (including the state), and internal conflicts within the vertical dimension of voluntary associations. Indeed, Putnam does not address the development of democracy within the voluntary associations that he supposes to be key in maintaining societal democracy. By ignoring conflicting interests Putnam analyses only associations that do not question the prevailing consensus within society. This is problematic in the case of Scandinavian welfare states which are results of conflicting interests that have lead to consensus between opposing parties. Given the role of conflict and power in the development of the Scandinavian welfare states, it is likely to be better understood through Bourdieu's theorization. Note that, – to my knowledge – there has been no debate between Bourdieu and proponents of Putnam's concept (Siisiainen 2003).

Different from Putnam, Bourdieu sees society as a plurality of social fields with different forms of capital. Through these forms of capital, the different actors acquire different forms of power that define the positions and capabilities of the actors within each field. Resulting from the competition and struggles each field develops, at every moment, a balance in the sharing of power, which Bourdieu terms the *division of the work of domination*. Furthermore, it also entails competition over the principle of legitimation and the legitimate mode of reproduction. For example, the power to influence whether a certain certificate or diploma is legitimately recognized within a social field, and how such a certificate or diploma is to be legitimately acquired. Thus, in Bourdieu's definition, social capital is instilled in the individual but depends on the size of the social network and the connections a person can effectively mobilize. Being a member of a group, the size of this group, and the organisational structure of this group determine how effective this social capital can be utilized. For this to happen the group requires a shared cognition and recognition of the elements that shape the

organisational structure, which is communicated by symbolic differences and classifications that are transformed into symbolic capital (Siisiainen 2003).

'Trust' is not something that Bourdieu explicitly addresses. This results from a scepticism from Bourdieu towards altruistic behaviour. He does not seem to believe the idea of disinterested action that is instilled in Putnam's idea of trust. Bourdieu tries to formulate a situation wherein disinterested action is possible if such action is rewarded in the habitus. Such an interpretation makes altruistic and disinterested behaviour akin to a mere calculated presentation by the individual to be rewarded later by the group. Putnam on the other hand seems to believe that individuals can rise above their own personal interests and share the general interests of the group for the sake of the group. As tools for analysis Putnam's concept is useful for understanding the processes of creating consensus and economic welfare if the interests of different groups and conflicts between them is ignored. Bourdieu's concept is useful when analysing the conflicts and power relations between and within groups. Such an analysis could be used to develop a different theory with a focus on obstacles of creating consensus (Siisiainen 2003).

3.4 Critiques

As mentioned earlier, no concept is without its critics. Here we explore two critics, Harriss (2002) and Fine (2002, 2010), who have spent much of their careers advocating against the use of social capital as a concept, in particular the concept of Putnam. Note that the study in this thesis does not focus on the influence of these critical discourses within the NRC. However, the critiques allow for discussing the findings from different perspectives. Of the two researchers Fine is mentioned most often in other literature on social capital. Much of the critiques and Harriss and Fine overlap. In the acknowledgements of *Depoliticizing Development* Harriss explicitly thanks Fine, which suggests the authors had a close collaboration in writing their books (Harriss 2002).

Fine's critique is mostly aimed at the avoidance of social capital proponents of political economy subjects such as power and conflict. The exception of course being Bourdieu. He sees the fact that much social capital research avoids political economy as a threat to scholarly integrity. Furthermore, both Harriss and Fine see social capital as a 'trojan horse' for neo-liberalism that fuels anti-political discourses (Fine 2002; Harriss 2002). Indeed, much of their critiques read as critique against the concepts of Putnam and Coleman but appear to support Bourdieu's concept. However, Fine does provide several critiques to Bourdieu's work as well (Fine 2002, pp.53-81).

Many of the concerns Fine sees as a threat for scholarly integrity by social capital have already been addressed, such as the problematic name of the concept and the difficulties in making social capital measurable. However, he is in particular concerned with the trend among social capital researchers to ignore subjects of political economy, power and conflict. All these subjects are often covered by Marxist scholarship. Indeed, both Fine and Harriss appear to defend Marxist scholarship in their work and it suggests that their critique against social capital serves as an entry point to critique the influence of neo-liberalism in general. Both in the sense that the academic world appears to become increasingly entrenched in neo-liberal ideology, but also the increasing influence neo-liberalism has on organisations, states, and the world in general (Fine 2002; Harriss 2002). The Marxist vs neo-liberalism stances are remarkably normative. Personally, I find this problematic in academia and attempt to minimize normative statements of my own in this thesis as far as it does not benefit the discussion. Nevertheless, it is worth to be aware of the trend towards neo-liberalism within academia that Fine describes. It highlights a potential bias for any scholar involved in political, economic, social, or other related subjects.

The concern of social capital fuelling anti-political discourse stems from the observation that Putnam's concept seems to shift the responsibility for addressing many societal problems to NGO's and civil society. Putnam ignores that an effective civil society depends on an effective structure of

state institutions. This ignorance of institutional structure is further apparent in the fact that Putnam seems to attribute the cause of poverty, and other societal problems, to a lack of social capital. Instead, Harriss argues that the lack of social capital is a symptom on its own caused by underlying structural problems, such as problems of distribution of wealth and power among the population (Harriss 2002). Indeed, for a concept that is aimed at developing and maintaining democracy there is a notable absence on the role of political society in the literature. Organisations in civil society also include political organisations (such as political parties or trade unions) but they do not hold the same democratic accountability as democratic governments do. Furthermore, just like the state and the market, civil society is also a field of power where different interests compete against each other. Civil society is subject to its own power struggles that even a strict interpretation of the humanitarian principles of impartiality and neutrality cannot avoid (Harriss 2002; Pictet 1979).

Fine is generally agreeing with the concept Bourdieu has developed on social capital. However, he does express some criticisms. One criticism is that with the creation of different forms of capital Bourdieu has created a inconsistent, chaotic concept of capital itself. In many cases different forms of capital seem almost synonymous with forms of power. Another point of critique is not directly aimed at Bourdieu but rather at other authors who have adopted his concept of social capital. Many of these authors come from non-economic scholarly backgrounds such as geography for example. This has led to the abandonment of the social, historical, and cultural content of Bourdieu's work, leaving a concept that is used in a wider scope but with a shallower definition compared to that of Bourdieu's original intent. Bourdieu's intent was a rather specific use of the concept but instead it has become a general category that branches of in many other forms of social capital. For example, the concept of *rural capital* is a form of social capital in the countryside. Ironically, Bourdieu's concept of social capital has become a field of power between derived concepts and a habitus on its own for its participants (Fine 2002, pp.53-81).

4. Methodology

4.1 Data gathering

The majority of the analysed data consists of documents published by the NRC, most of which are publicly available and some that are available on the intranet of NRC to volunteers. The method used for gathering the documents is a purposive sampling method that Alan Bryman (2015) terms *generic purposive sampling*. Purposive sampling methods are non-probability methods, which means that the sample cannot be generalized. However, one of the criteria for selection of the documents is their perceived representativeness of the entire NRC. Generic purposive sampling is an approach wherein samples are gathered with the specific purpose to answer the research question(s) and are thus selected based on certain criteria that may be formed a priori (Bryman 2015, pp.412-415). In addition to their perceived representativeness of the NRC, another criterion for selection is that the documents need to be likely to discuss issues related to 'social' themes. For example, a document discussing budgetary policy is not considered relevant but a document discussing methods for recruiting new volunteers is relevant because 'recruitment' is considered a 'social' theme. It is generally known that large organisations produce a large amount of documents. The same applies to the NRC where the amount of documents available is beyond the capacity of this study. As a result, a selection of fifteen documents has been analysed. This number is based on theoretical saturation, where new data no longer grants further theoretical insight (Bryman 2015, p.412). See appendix 1 for an overview of the analysed documents. This selection has been made by judging the import of each document within the NRC as a whole. Documents that only have relevance for a limited target-audience in the NRC have been left out of the selection. Furthermore, a distinction has been made between different types of documents and have been ranked on their subjective import within the NRC. For example, a document outlining NRC policy is considered to have more import than an

informational flyer for new volunteers. The gathered documents have been categorized among the following types and perceived import:

1. Policies
2. Plans / Strategy reports
3. Evaluation / progress reports
4. Informational / promotional documents

Some documents have been written by external partners of the NRC (for example, some evaluation reports). It has been kept in mind that such reports might represent discourses from the external partner's organisation more than discourses present within the NRC. However, such documents also allow for better insight in the context in which the NRC operates. To expand on such a contextual understanding of the NRC a small selection has been made of documents describing the relationship of the Norwegian government and the Norwegian population with the NRC and the humanitarian sector in Norway in general. Lastly, although each national Red Cross society operates largely independent, it is still important to consider the context given by the international nature of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement. Typically documents that span the entirety of the international movement are considered to be of higher import in the selection, except when texts in national documents deviate significantly from international documents. Note, that since this study focuses on the NRC in general such deviations in documents from district or local level are not considered in the same way. Not only the national focus of this study but also the limited access to documents from district and local level offices is reason for giving lower import to documents from district and local level. This does not mean that they are ignored however, but simply given less weight in the analysis that informs the conclusions of this study.

To support the data gained from the documents, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires are conducted with volunteers and employees of the NRC from the local office in Ås, the district office of the Akershus region in Lillestrøm, and the national office in Oslo. Prior to the interviews and questionnaires all participants were given an informed consent form. A copy of the informed consent form is in appendix 2, followed by a copy of the questionnaire in appendix 3. A total of eight questionnaires and interviews are conducted. A limitation is the fact that data collected from the interviews and questionnaire come from only one district office, one local office, and the national office. This limits the possibility to compare and generalise the findings. However, generalisation can be done with documents that can be expected to be present in each office of the NRC; for example, the NRC's constitutional document. For this reason, the data gathered from documents is given more weight in the analysis than the interviews and questionnaires. Data gained from the interviews and questionnaires serves primarily to support, nuance, or clarify the findings gained from the documents. However, some insights were gained solely through the interviews and questionnaires. Where this is the case this is explicitly mentioned, as these findings are especially subject to the limitations mentioned above. Note that the questionnaires proved to be too lengthy for most participants to complete. As a result, the unanswered questions served to guide the interviews instead. References to the interviewees and / or the interview refer to both the answers gained from the questionnaires and the interviews together. Another point of note is that the questionnaire is designed to explore how social capital discourses influence the way the NRC evaluates its own programs. This was the original focus of this study, but insufficient available data in documented form caused the scope of the study to be expanded to study the influence of social capital discourse on the NRC in general. One of the interviewees confirmed that the NRC currently has no formal framework for how it does evaluations. This explains the lack of available data on evaluations in documented form. Gathering enough data in other ways was not feasible, which is also the reason for the limitations on the interviews and questionnaires mentioned above. By expanding the study to focus on the influence of social capital discourse on the NRC in general enough data in documented form was gathered. In addition to the limited sample size mentioned above, the sampling method used for the

interviews and questionnaires does not allow for generalization of these findings either. The method is a purposive sampling method using snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a method that relies on connecting with people via other people relevant to the study. Since this is a non-probability method it is impossible to know if the sample is representative for the population (in this case the NRC). However, Bryman does point out that concerns about generalizability of qualitative research are not as significant as in quantitative research (Bryman 2015, pp.187-188, pp. 410-418).

In addition to data from documents, interviews, and questionnaires I have also participated in the NRC directly as an intern for the programmes of homework support and refugee guide at the local office in Ås - Norway half a year prior to conducting this research. Furthermore, during research for this thesis I have volunteered for the NRC to assist in gathering data for a national survey on the quality of the refugee guide programme conducted by the national office of the NRC. For this I worked together with staff from the national office and the Akershus district office in Lillestrøm. The experiences of being an intern and later assisting the NRC with data collection have given me greater insight in how the NRC operates, which is complementary to the information gained from the gathered data. It also allowed me to meet NRC staff at the district and national level to interview, which would have presumably been more difficult to achieve otherwise.

4.2 Data analysis

The aim of this study is to find to what extent the NRC is influenced by social capital discourses. There are various concepts through which influence of discourse can be studied, such as culture, representation, dispositive, or schema. For this study the concept of *discursive frames* is used, because it has the benefit for focusing the analysis on how people organise information and how they interpret this information. The concept of discursive frames is developed by Erving Goffmann in 1974 and has since been used to study a range of subjects such as economic development, refugee policy, humanitarian intervention, nuclear strategies, and many more (Autesserre 2009, pp.252-256). This section outlines what discursive frames are and how it applies to analysing the influence of social capital discourse in the NRC.

Frame analysis is a constructivist approach, which means that it focuses on a version of reality that is communicated by the people investigated. In other words, a constructivist approach assumes that discourse gives insight in the way people interpret reality (Bryman 2015, p.531; Pan & Kosicki 1993). In frame analysis the “schemata of interpretation” are termed “frames”. These frames allow individuals to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” (Goffman 1974, p.21) their experiences to understand them. Such frames can be communicated with others as stories that provide meaning to events (Pan & Kosicki 1993). Frames can be considered social objects that are embedded in our own minds, social routines, practices, discourses, technologies, and institutions. Frames contain ideologies, “assumptions and definitions taken as given”, and paradigms (including standard procedures and shared definitions) (Autesserre 2009, pp.252-256). Frames can be combined with other elements of public discourse to form a “package”. Such elements can be policy positions derived from frames and symbolic devices that signal the presence of frames and policy positions. There are five symbolic devices that indicate the use of frames: metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images. What stands out about frames is that they both serve as internal structures inside our minds and as devices for discourse between people. For analysis this means that we can either study the way individuals construct and process discourse, or we can study the discourse itself (Pan & Kosicki 1993). In the case of this study on social capital discourse the latter applies.

Séverine Autesserre (2009) discusses two debates regarding the sources of frames. The first debate discusses whether frames pre-exist action or if they originate from practice². Both instances can occur depending on each individual case. For example, Autesserre discusses why the Congo was labelled as a “post-conflict” environment during the Congolese transition from war to peace between 2003 and 2006. He points out that the creation of the post-conflict peacebuilding frame was created

2. Autesserre defines practice as “the act of doing something repeatedly”.

mostly before any action had occurred except for the element of 'post-conflict'. The labelling of the Congo as a 'post-conflict' environment was a result of a continual objective-subjective-objective transformation that allowed the creation of shared interpretations among people. These interpretations translated into activities, and these activities in turn were interpreted by others as symbolic devices that indicated that the Congo had indeed become a 'post-conflict' environment (Autesserre 2009, pp.252-256).

The second debate Autesserre highlights discusses whether frames are located in the internal culture of organisations or external to them. If frames are located internally then different organisations with similar mandates would be expected to behave differently from each other. However, Autesserre observes that this is not the case and instead sees distinctly different organisations exhibit similar behaviours. This suggests that frames exist externally of the organization; at the level of the field, which he defines as "an increasingly structured set of organizations that in the aggregate constitute a recognized area of institutional life" and the level of world polity (Autesserre 2009, pp.252-256). In the case of the NRC one of the fields it is part of is the humanitarian sector, which in turn overlaps with the development sector of which the World Bank and OECD are part of. Cultural and normative understandings that are shared by different actors in the same field and world polity explain why distinct organizations can adopt the same interpretation of a situation and react with similar strategies. Elements coming from the external culture of organisations get translated into routines, rules, and procedures that reproduce and reinforce themselves. Frames shape people's understandings and beliefs, which in turn justifies, authorizes, and restricts their behaviours. Note that frames do not cause action, but they establish the conditions of possibility. For example, the understanding of the identity of a diplomat may constitute that diplomats should concern themselves with international dialogue and not local dialogue. This understanding creates an assumption of diplomats that shapes interests and justifies certain actions and policies and restricts others. Over time this understanding reproduces and reinforces itself and the frames and actions become the 'natural' way (Autesserre 2009, pp.252-256).

To identify discursive frames of social capital in the NRC keywords from the different theories on social capital have been used to thematically code gathered data. Coding of the data is done with the help of ATLAS.ti, which is software aimed to assist with qualitative research. ATLAS.ti allows for analysis of both text and audio recordings without the need for transcription. The keywords are derived from themes related to the concepts of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. With ATLAS.ti it is possible to analyse co-occurrence of codes, which allows for identification of which theory of social capital is most present in the NRC and also which elements of these concepts. For example, 'trust' is an important element of both Coleman's and Putnam's concepts. However, 'human capital' is a concept related to Coleman but not Putnam (Adam & Rončević 2003). Analysing co-occurrence of 'trust' with 'human capital' allows to distinguish between 'trust' from Coleman's concept and 'trust' from Putnam's concept of social capital. Furthermore, ATLAS.ti allows for analysing the frequency of words present in the data and relate this to the codes. For example, it is possible for the word 'trust' to occur more often in texts talking about refugees than in other texts. This can tell us where different concepts of social capital occur within the NRC, how they are applied, in what contexts, and how these concepts relate to different aspects of the NRC.

5. Findings

Analysis of the gathered documents has started with one of the first documents anyone interested in the NRC receives; an informational booklet named "This is the Red Cross". From here fourteen more documents have been analysed while keeping in mind the likelihood that volunteers, members, and / or employees at the NRC read these documents. Examples of such documents are the "Local Branch Handbook", the constitution of the NRC, and the long-term plan for the NRC 2011 –

2020. Although most documents are available in English, a small number (such as the long-term plan) have only been found in Norwegian. Keep in mind that I can understand the Norwegian language but am not fluent. This might have influenced my understanding of the documents.

None of the documents explicitly mention social capital. However, the booklet “This is the Red Cross” states that the NRC considers ‘social inclusion’ to be among its priority areas alongside local disaster preparedness capacity, search and rescue, childhood, and migration. In the description of the childhood and migration priority areas the emphasis on inclusion is repeated (Norwegian Red Cross 2016). This begs the question as to why the NRC considers *social inclusion* to be a priority area. In addition to the seven leading principles of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement, three documents are of particular interest to answer this question; the constitution of the IFRC, the constitution of the NRC, and the most recent assessment report of humanitarian needs in Norway called ‘sosial puls’ (translation: social pulse) conducted by the NRC (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2017; Norwegian Red Cross 2014; Norwegian Red Cross 2017b). Furthermore, I have emailed the participants who filled in the questionnaire why they believe *social inclusion* is a priority area for the NRC and how this priority is translated from paper into practice.

Before answering the question as to why the NRC considers social inclusion to be a priority area it is important to determine whether the NRC’s definition of social inclusion is reminiscent to concepts of social capital. To determine this more keywords have been used that allow for a distinction between Bourdieu’s, Coleman’s, and Putnam’s concepts. Most of the analysed documents suggest that the focus of the NRC is mostly on the wellbeing of specifically targeted groups within Norwegian communities such as immigrants, children, homeless people, and elderly. The focus on the wellbeing of specific groups within communities precedes a national focus significantly throughout the NRC, except for the focus of the International department which is mandated with focusing on cooperation with and development of Red Cross / Red Crescent societies in other nations. The focus on groups within communities is not surprising given the decentralized organisational structure of the NRC which places most responsibility and decision power to local offices (Norwegian Red Cross 2014). This focus is most in line with Coleman’s concept of *social capital* as Bourdieu’s concept is focused on individuals and Putnam’s concept applies to societies as a whole (Adam & Rončević 2003).

To strengthen the suggestion that Coleman’s concept of social capital resembles the NRC’s concept of social inclusion co-occurrence with human capital themes are explored. Texts describing development of skills of both volunteers and recipients of aid from the NRC are indeed a recurring theme among the analysed texts, often co-occurring with themes that describe community integration and participation. A few texts approach the development of skills in a more Bourdieuan way, describing the development of skills as a way to ‘empower’ individuals to improve their social status. Other texts (in particular texts talking about the development of Norwegian language skills among immigrants and refugees) approach the development of human capital with a Putnamian aim, which is to participate within Norwegian society and indeed to participate in Norway’s civil society in return. Indeed, both the Bourdieuan empowerment of individuals to improve their social status and the Putnamian participation in Norwegian society reflect Coleman’s idea that different forms of capital can be converted into other forms of capital. In these particular texts human capital is converted to forms of social capital that are different from Coleman’s own concept of social capital (Adam & Rončević 2003). In addition, note that Coleman examined the conversion in the opposite direction (social capital to human capital). He did not discuss the possibility of this conversion working in both directions (Coleman 1988).

The concept of Coleman that focuses on the wellbeing of groups within Norwegian communities remains the most common concept among the analysed documents. In the case of Putnam’s concept, one important element is lacking among all documents, which is the emphasis

Putnam puts on civic engagement to foster democracy (Adam & Rončević 2003). The Red Cross / Red Crescent movement is explicitly politically impartial and neutral (Pictet 1979). These principles are repeated throughout the documents and are reflected within program descriptions and rapports, including texts focused on integration and participation. No explicit or implicit political opinions are expressed in the documents except for upholding and spreading the humanitarian principles of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement throughout society. Of course, this can be interpreted as only an absence of linking capital. In that case the presence or absence of texts reflecting bonding capital and bridging capital themes need to be explored as well (Gittell & Vidal 1998, p.15; Putnam 2001, p.7; Szreter & Woolcock 2004; World Bank 2000, p.128).

To distinguish between Coleman's concept of social capital and Putnam's concepts of bridging and bonding capital not only the presence of human capital themed texts are included but also whether the texts discuss social inclusion, participation, and integration as a function or an outcome. In case a text discusses it as a function it is associated with Coleman's concept, in case it is discussed as an outcome it is associated with Putnam's concept. The exception being texts that discuss benefits for individuals as outcomes, such texts are associated with Bourdieu's concept of social capital if they co-occur with other themes associated with Bourdieu such as inequality, class, power, and social mobility (Adam & Rončević 2003). The analysis of bonding capital and bridging capital in the documents show an interesting mix of Coleman's concept of social capital and Putnam's concept of bridging capital, especially in texts that discuss NRC's programs aimed at immigrants and children. The texts often refer to integration in the local community as a way to participate in the larger Norwegian society. For example:

“Many refugees and immigrants find settling into Norwegian society a challenge. This may be because they lack a good social network or because their Norwegian is not good enough. The Red Cross helps them through measures and activities that can lead to better integration and a stronger, more diverse community.” (Norwegian Red Cross 2016, p.13)

This example sets “settling into Norwegian society” as the outcome for the groups “refugees” and “immigrants”, which is to be achieved by developing a social network and Norwegian language skills. Networks are among the three components of Putnam's concept of social capital, alongside trust and norms. Trust and norms are absent within this example. Developing Norwegian language skills is development of human capital which is associated with Coleman. The final sentence shifts the focus towards the community instead of the larger, more abstract Norwegian society. In this sentence it appears that integration is not only an outcome but also a function to achieve “a stronger, more diverse community” (Adam & Rončević 2003; Norwegian Red Cross 2016). The idea that groups or communities get stronger through diversity is akin to the concept of *social resilience* which is defined as “the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change” (Adger 2000, p.1). To my knowledge the concepts of diversity and social resilience are not considered in any theory on social capital. The aim of this example text seems to be to convince the community about the benefits of helping refugees and immigrants to integrate. Interestingly the text seems less targeted towards refugees and immigrants themselves. It also does not mention the potential of civic engagement by refugees and immigrants.

The analysis has found few texts that reflect ideas of bonding capital aside from a few mentioning the importance of retaining existing volunteers and what motivates volunteers to keep volunteering. Examples of such motivations are mentioned in the 2012 Local Branch Handbook:

1. The desire to experience the contribution and one's own life as meaningful.
2. The desire to make a difference to those in need.
3. The desire to learn new information and skills that can be documented and used in work and training.

4. The desire for friendship and to feel a sense of belonging and fellowship.”
(Norwegian Red Cross 2012)

The few texts that address volunteer retainment mention development of human capital through training and specialised training as a potential motivation for volunteers to remain active in the NRC, as is presented in point 3 of the example above. Once again this example reflects Coleman’s idea that different forms of capital can be converted into other forms of capital, in this case human capital is converted to bonding capital, which is again the opposite direction of the conversion Coleman examined (Coleman 1988; Gittell & Vidal 1998). Point 1 might be perceived to touch on norms of reciprocity, expectations, and obligations if one ascribes to the idea that meaning of one’s contribution and own life can be derived from such norms. Point 4 satisfies the element of networks in Putnam’s concept of social capital. Point 2 is a motivation to volunteer that does not relate to either Coleman’s or Putnam’s concepts. However, it can be interpreted through Bourdieu’s concept. The sentence assumes two group; “those in need” and those who have the “desire to make a difference” and presumably the means to make a “difference”. Although it does not mention what this difference is, it is possible to interpret this sentence as to reflects a theme of “empowerment”, wherein a more affluent class voluntarily improves the social mobility of a less affluent class (Adam & Rončević 2003).

The question if NRC’s understanding of social inclusion is reminiscent to concepts of social capital cannot be answered with a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Through the analysis most elements of the social capital concepts of Coleman, Putnam, and Bourdieu can be found to different degrees. However, one core element has a notably low presence in the analysis; namely the element of ‘trust’, which some authors, such as Fukuyama, basically equate with social capital (Fukuyama 1995). The analysed texts appear to try to generate trust in the organisation in three ways; through presentation of numbers and statistics (for example, the number of volunteers active in the NRC), through presentation of developed human capital within the organisation, and through presentation of symbolic capital such as the recognition of the NRC “by the King in Council as a humanitarian body of support for Norwegian authorities in times of peace” (Norwegian Red Cross 2014, p.1). One notable exception that does have the element of ‘trust’ has been found at the international level in the IFRC strategy for 2020:

“Voluntary service is at the heart of community-building. Volunteering promotes trust and reciprocity. It encourages people to be responsible citizens and provides them with an environment where they can learn the duties of democratic involvement. Volunteering within National Societies is carried out by people who are committed to the fundamental principles and motivated by their own free will without the expectation of material or financial gain. Our volunteers serve vulnerable people, and work towards a more humane and peaceful world. They contribute their time and skills regularly or occasionally in the delivery of services, in resource mobilization, administrative, governance or advisory functions. National Societies are committed to improve quality, standards, capacities and volunteer retention by creating a welcoming and socially inclusive environment. This environment means providing volunteers with training, supervision, regular evaluation and recognition; development opportunities that include designing and improving the work in which they are involved; insurance protection, equipment and psychosocial support; and a supporting local structure relevant to the tasks that they carry out...” (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2010)

This paragraph satisfies all elements of both Coleman’s and Putnam’s concept of social capital but does not reflect Bourdieu’s concept. However, analysed texts from the NRC do not reflect the same language as the language used in this IFRC document. In the NRC texts there is little use of the word “trust” (including the Norwegian translation “tillit”) with an even lower co-occurrence with other social capital themes. As to the extend NRC’s definition of social inclusion does reflect concepts of social capital, it is safe to conclude that social inclusion has a strong overlap with Coleman’s concept. Since Coleman’s and Putnam’s concepts also overlap with each other, NRC’s

understanding of social inclusion also holds similarities to Putnam's concept. Bourdieu's concept reflects the NRC's definition of social inclusion the least. Some elements of it can be found throughout the analysed documents but to a much lower degree.

This leads us to answer the question as to why the NRC considers social inclusion to be a priority area. As mentioned previously, in addition to the seven leading principles of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement, three documents are examined to answer this question; the constitution of the IFRC, the constitution of the NRC, and the most recent assessment report of humanitarian needs in Norway called 'sosial puls' (translation: social pulse) conducted by the NRC. (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2017; Norwegian Red Cross 2014; Norwegian Red Cross 2017b). Furthermore, participants who filled in the questionnaire have also been emailed to answer this question, including a question that asks how they believe this priority is put into practice.

The IFRC's constitution applies to all national chapters and is thus leading for the development of the NRC's constitution (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2017, p.9). We find that the language used in the IFRC's constitution tends to be less specific than the NRC's constitution, leaving more space for interpretation. In the constitution of the IFRC we do not find any mention to social inclusion. Three related points are mentioned regarding the function of the IFRC. One function is to "encourage and co-ordinate the participation of the National Societies in activities for safeguarding public health and the promotion of social welfare [...]", followed by "encourage and co-ordinate between National Societies the exchange of ideas for the education of children and young people in humanitarian ideals and for the development of friendly relations between children and young people of all countries, and to share good practices for the participation of youth in volunteer services and decision-making processes" and "assist National Societies to recruit, protect, empower and retain volunteers and members from the population as a whole [...]" (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2017, p.6). What stands out here is the strong focus to create both bridging and bonding capital aimed to recruit and retain volunteers from among the whole society; adults, young people, and children.

In the constitution of the NRC we find the language used is more specific. Article 6 of the constitution mentions that "The Norwegian Red Cross participates in humanitarian and social activities including, but not limited to:

- [...]
- developing a social network for, and contact with, people that experience social exclusion and loneliness
- providing care for children and youth, especially children in difficult situations, and providing them with the possibility to participate in activities in a safe environment
- [...]" (Norwegian Red Cross 2014, p.2).

The specific mention of targeting people that experience social exclusion and that the NRC aims to provides possibilities for children to participate in activities appears to be the NRC's response to the IFRC's role to encourage National Societies to have a focus on social welfare and participation of children and young people. As was pointed out by one of the interviewees this response of the NRC is supplemental to the services already provided by the Norwegian social welfare system. Every three years the NRC assess the human needs in Norway to develop a new three-year national plan. In the most recent assessment report from 2017 eight target groups with the most urgent humanitarian needs are mentioned. Although not all humanitarian needs of these groups are social needs the report makes clear that unmet social needs are a common source of human suffering among all the groups mentioned and other groups in Norwegian society.

The groups mentioned in the report are:

1. People with addiction problems;
2. Children who have been subjected to abuse, violence, bullying, and neglect;
3. Asylum seekers, in particular children and those who have been denied asylum;
4. Elderly who reside in hospitals;
5. People with mental disorders;
6. People who have received social support for a prolonged period of time;
7. Poor families with children;
8. Young people with no or little work experience and / or education
(Norwegian Red Cross 2017b).

The seven fundamental principles (humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, and universality) of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement are referred to in most analysed documents and are central to the habitus (group culture) of the organisation. All seven principles can be associated with social inclusion. Indeed, the organisation strives as far as to include every human being under its mandate, “even those one might be tempted to hate” (Pictet 1979). To achieve this the organisation strives to maintain trust of many different, often opposing, groups in society by remaining impartial, independent, and neutral (Pictet 1979). However, these principles prove sometimes difficult to uphold in practice as the NRC remains dependent on funding and recognition of large donors and the Norwegian government. During one of the interviews it was made clear that some programs, such as the Refugee guide, might cease to exist if the government decides to no longer provide financial support. This dependence on support from the Norwegian government does not end with the NRC but extends also to the ICRC. In 2011 17 % of Norway’s humanitarian aid funding went to the ICRC and increased to 19 % in 2013. This support was channelled primarily via the NRC. This support made Norway the sixth-largest donor to the ICRC (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012, p.15; Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014, p.32-34). To remain capable of upholding its principles the principle of voluntary service is crucial. Indeed, the IFRC recognizes that volunteers are a source of economy that strengthens its independence of other resources (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies 2019b). The seven fundamental principles are principles for everyone who is part of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement to strive for. This is not always 100 % possible (for example, the movement does rely on paid staff in addition to its volunteers) but the principles do serve as a way for the organisation to maintain consistent in its identity and practices. Regarding social inclusion, it seems that the principles are mostly designed to keep people involved in the organisation in a unified way that corresponds with this identity and these practices. This makes the principles reflect the elements of expectations and obligations that are central to Coleman’s concept of social capital (Coleman 1988).

Participants of the questionnaire where also send an email that asked:

- Why is social inclusion a priority area for the NRC?
and
- How does the NRC translate this priority from paper into practice?

Several answers referred to the same documents that have been analysed above; the constitution of the NRC, the seven fundamental principles, and the most recent assessment report of humanitarian needs in Norway called ‘sosial puls’ (translation: social pulse) conducted by the NRC. This supports the notion that these documents are indeed central to shaping the identity and practices of the NRC. The respondents see social connection and a sense of belonging as a humanitarian need that causes human suffering if it is not met. Fulfilling this need fits within the mandate of the NRC, which is “to prevent and alleviate human suffering” (Pictet 1979, p.4). The NRC translates this priority into practice by offering a range of different programs through its local offices. Not every local office offers the same programs nor are they always offered in the same way. It is the responsibility of the local offices to

adapt to the humanitarian needs present in their local region. Furthermore, the NRC also fulfils the need for social inclusion by providing a platform through which people can volunteer in a formal, organized way. In one of the interviews the interviewee argued that this formalization of volunteering is typical within Norwegian culture. This is supported in the literature on Norwegian civil society (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, p.27). The interviewee compared volunteering in Norway with another country where volunteering happens more often in an informal way without an organization acting as a platform. If this argument is correct, then measurements of social capital that use volunteering rates as an indicator are likely incorrect. Indeed, even surveys that do attempt to measure both formal and informal volunteering are considered unreliable. A divide between different conceptual definitions, questionable data collection methods, and insufficient sample sizes to generalize the findings are among the main issues (Carson 1999, p.69).

5.1 Bourdieu in the Norwegian Red Cross

The principle of independence is of particular interest because it relates to the power of the NRC versus other actors. This principle can be understood as a component that facilitates social mobility and can thus be explored through Bourdieu's concept of social capital. Broadening up the concept from individual persons to individual actors we can explore how this understanding of the concept expresses itself internally in the NRC. As mentioned, there is little in the analysed documents that reflects Bourdieu's concept. However, Bourdieu's concept has been explored more in the interviews. A core focus here are the relationships between the offices that are responsible for different geographical regions; either at local, district, or national level. Note that of the time of this study the NRC underwent a reorganisation that had already completed in some parts of the organisation but was still incomplete in other parts. As a result, some of the observations made in this analysis might no longer apply as part of the aim of the reorganisation was to change how different groups in the organisation relate to each other. Although some interviewees believe that the reorganisation was primarily motivated by monetary reasons, all interviewees expressed that they felt positive about the reorganisation. Interviewees said that they felt everyone's responsibilities had become clearer, which helped to avoid work being done twice by different people. The reorganisation removed many organisational divisions, aiming to create a stronger sense of unity and lower the impression of hierarchy. Indeed, democratic decision-making appears to have a strong emphasis throughout the NRC. However, this decision-making process is not experienced the same way at different levels of the organisation. Formal policy and intent do not always translate to the same perception.

The formal decision-making process has been explained by one of the interviewees. Formally the decision power within the NRC lies with paying members and honorary members of the NRC. Volunteers who do not pay for a membership hold no vote. Monetary payment or an honorary position can be considered symbolic capital that grants a person voting power in the NRC. Paying members have voting power at their local NRC office which includes election of a local leader who acts as a representative. Per district four delegates are elected from among the local leaders to represent the district. The local leaders and district delegates represent their local offices and districts at the national general assembly that occurs every three years. At the national general assembly plans and strategies for the next three years are made. To make sure that these plans are followed up a national board that consists of elected members from the national council for the search and rescue team, the national council for the care unit, and the national council for the youth unit meet four to six times per year. It is then the responsibility of paid staff at the national office to accommodate the needs of the district offices, and the responsibility of the paid staff at the district offices to accommodate the needs of the local offices. Paid staff members have no voting power but merely

assist other offices to achieve the goals that are decided upon at the national general assembly (Norwegian Red Cross 2017a).

It is clear that elected leaders and representatives hold significant social capital in the Bourdieuan sense of the term, which results in significant power in the organisation. Unfortunately, it is unclear how paid staff members with influential positions in the NRC (for example, managers at the national office or district offices) achieve their positions. Note that the preparedness department, the international department, and the services department are not included in the national board. This suggests that these departments undergo different decision-making processes. However, it is unfortunately unclear what these processes are.

The intent of the formal decision-making process is to democratise the process and put most power at the local level. However, from the interviews it has become clear that this is not always how it is perceived. Since paid staff members are tasked first and foremost with accommodating for the decisions made at the national general assembly, local offices sometimes perceive the national office as the leading office of the NRC. Note that the national office only interacts with district offices and avoids direct interaction with local offices. This is to maintain an impression of neutrality of the national office. The relationship between the district office and the local office that were interviewed did not appear to have a similar perception of hierarchy, as some staff members from the district office paid regular visits to the local office to assist with various issues. This seems to make the relationship like the formal intention. Regarding the relationship between the district office and the national office the interviews reflect a starker misalignment between formal intent and perceived reality. The national office is perceived to be in charge over the district offices, often causing conflict between the priorities that these offices have. An example was made by one of the interviewees at the national office. Staff at the national office are often asked for reports by large donors who like to know if their donations are used in agreeable ways. To make these reports the staff at the national office needs information from the district offices, who in turn need to get it from the local offices. Often the needs of the local offices require assistance from the district office. This often causes a conflict at the district office between serving the needs of the local offices and the needs of the national office. The NRC is aware of this problem, as part of the reorganisation aims to give district offices more independence from the national office. At the moment it is unclear whether or not this is going to work and what new issues might arise from this. My personal speculation is that this increase in power of the district offices will also bring more responsibilities to the district offices which increases the likelihood that they require more paid staff. Therefore, this might entail increased costs for the NRC. However, it can also be expected that this will indeed achieve the decentralization that the reorganisation aims for which might decrease the perceived hierarchies between the offices. Translated to Bourdieu's concept of social capital, it seems that the symbolic capital that is embodied in the different offices of the NRC is being redistributed; less centralized at the national office and more spread among the district offices. This means little change for the local offices, except that their respective district offices might either become overburdened with more responsibilities or become more capable of serving the needs of the local offices as the power and capability of the district offices increases. Less centralized power not only decreases hierarchy but as a logical consequence also reduces upward mobility in the organisation. Unfortunately Bourdieu does not discuss ideas of horizontal mobility (Bourdieu 2011). However, Putnam does argue that "horizontal ties represent more productive social capital than vertical ties" (Putnam 2000, p.10). According to Enjolras and Strømsnes (2018) this change in organisational structure is part of a larger trend seen among voluntary organisation in Scandinavia. Since the 1990s fewer local organisations in Scandinavia decide to connect at regional and national levels, essentially creating a two-tiered organisation with independent local and national offices (Enjolras & Strømsnes 2018, pp.86-90).

6. Conclusion

The analysis reveals the different concepts of social capital in different degrees, with the concept of Coleman as the predominantly reflected concept. Given the overlap of Coleman's concept with that of Putnam, the concept of Putnam is also reflected. However, the focus of most documents is not at the societal level and the documents also miss a focus on maintaining democracy, which are two key elements in Putnam's concept.

None of the concepts are reflected in its entirety in the analysis, except for one analysed document of the IFRC. The language used in the IFRC document was not reflected in any of the analysed documents of the NRC. The most notable is the absence of the element of 'trust' as a theme in the analysis. Since some authors basically equate trust with social capital, this is an important observation.

The fact that social capital is not explicitly mentioned in the analysed documents in combination with the low presence of the element of 'trust' suggests that the influence of social capital discourse on the NRC is limited. Where there are similarities with social capital discourses it seems to be from more indirect influence and the similarities are not intentional. Rather the instances where social capital discourses are reflected seem to be resulting more from the mandate and principles of the Red Cross / Red Crescent movement than from influence of other international organisations such as the World Bank or OECD. One potential explanation is that the World Bank and OECD are both developmental organisations and the Red Cross / Red Crescent organisation is primarily a humanitarian organisation. Although the fields of development and humanitarian aid overlap the influence of social capital discourse might be among the distinguishing features between the two fields. This thesis cannot confirm this but might serve as a case-study for further research into the influence of social capital discourses on both fields.

The study also explored the relationship of different aspects of the NRC from the perspective of Bourdieu's concept of social capital. With the recent reorganisation the NRC has removed many organisational divisions that resulted in the creation of different groups with potentially conflicting interests. By doing so the organisation has effectively redistributed the social capital embedded within the organisation, simultaneously reducing vertical mobility and possible power struggles. Externally however the NRC appears more vulnerable to power struggles since in certain aspects it relies heavily on contributions of large donors such as the Norwegian state. Indeed, the mention that some programs such as the Refugee guide might disappear if the Norwegian state stops providing financial support does indicate a lack of power from the NRC in this regard. An increase of social capital in the Bourdieuan sense to the term might improve the position of the NRC in relation to large donors in this regard.

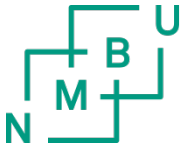
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Appendix 1: Analysed documents

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Informed Consent Form for **volunteers and employees of the Norwegian Red Cross** who are invited to participate in the master thesis research, with the working title “*Social capital in evaluation procedures of the Norwegian Red Cross*”.

Name of student conducting research: Andries van der Wijk

Name of organization: The Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU)

Name of faculty: Department of landscape and society (LANDSAM)

Name of study: Masters in International Development Studies

Name of supervisor: Morten Jerven

This informed Consent Form has two parts:

- **Information Sheet (to share information about the study with you)**
- **Certificate of Consent (for signatures if you choose to participate)**

You will be given a copy of the full Informed Consent Form.

Part I: Information Sheet

Introduction

My name is Andries van der Wijk, master student in International Development Studies at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU) in Ås. I am also a volunteer at the Norwegian Red Cross in Ås. I am doing research for my master thesis on how the concept of social capital has influenced the way the Norwegian Red Cross conducts evaluations. I like to invite you to participate in this research. There is no need to decide right away if you like to participate or not. Please feel free to talk to anyone you are comfortable with about the research and take your time to decide whether you like to participate. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, please feel free to ask me.

Purpose of the research

Social capital is a concept that sees the social connections between people as a resource that individuals, groups, and even whole societies can benefit from. An example of this would be if you ask a friend to help you out with something. By doing so you are using your social capital. This relatively simple idea has gained significant popularity and influenced many governments and organizations around the world. The World Bank described it as ‘the missing link’ in development. With its growing popularity criticism of the concept also grew, describing social capital as being misleading and distracting from deeper issues such as

power, class, and inequality. Whatever the case might be, its influence on the way organizations operate has been significant. Its influence is especially important for non-political organizations, such as charities, who are seen as being the most efficient in creating social capital. The Norwegian Red Cross is one of the biggest non-political organizations in Norway with several programs aimed at helping people in their social lives. Examples of this are the refugee guide program, and the visitor program. When the Norwegian Red Cross evaluates these programs, they will of course look at the points they believe to be the most important indicators of whether a program is functioning well or not. This study aims to uncover how the concept of social capital has influenced these evaluations, followed by discussing the findings from the perspectives of both proponents and critics of social capital.

Type of Research Intervention

The research involves a questionnaire for you to fill in. If it is deemed necessary, this is followed by an interview to get a deeper understanding of the answers you have given on the questionnaire.

Participant Selection

You are being invited to take part in this research because I feel that your experience at the Norwegian Red Cross can contribute to my understanding of the way the Norwegian Red Cross does evaluations at different levels in the organization.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. The choice that you make will have no bearing on your position / job or any evaluations or reports related to your work at the Norwegian Red Cross. You may change your mind later and stop participating even if you agreed earlier.

Procedures

- A. In this research you will be asked to help me learn more about the way the Norwegian Red Cross does evaluations. You are invited to take part in this research project. If you accept you will be asked to:
- B. Fill in a questionnaire, which might be followed by a recorded interview if it is deemed necessary to gain a deeper understanding of the answers you have given on the questionnaire. The questionnaire will be provided and collected by me. You may answer the questionnaire yourself, or it can be read to you and you can say out loud the answer you want me to write down.
If you do not wish to answer any of the questions included in the questionnaire, you may skip them and move on to the next question. The information collected is confidential, your name is not being included on the forms, only a number will identify you, and no one else expect me and my supervisor Morten Jerven will have access to your questionnaire.
During the interview, I will sit down with you in a comfortable place with ample privacy. If it is better for you, the interview can take place at a place via Skype, WhatsApp, or

Facebook Messenger. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions during the interview, you may say so and I will move on to the next question. No one else but me will be present unless you would like someone else to be there. The information recorded is confidential, and no one else except me and my supervisor Morten Jerven will have access to the information documented during your interview. The entire interview will be recorded, but no-one will be identified by name on the recording. The recording will be kept on a password protected and encrypted USB flash drive stored in a locked drawer within NMBU's grounds. The information is confidential, and no one else except me and my supervisor Morten Jerven will have access to the USB flash drive. The recordings on the USB flash drive will be destroyed 26 weeks after the study is completed.

Duration

The research takes place over 8 months in total. During that time, I will ask you to fill in the questionnaire once and interview you once. The interview will last for about one hour. In case you do not have time to do the interview, filling in the questionnaire will suffice. Filling in the questionnaire might take you between 30 to 60 minutes, depending on how extensive you wish to answer the questions.

Risks

There is a risk that you may disclose some personal or confidential information by chance, or that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics. However, I do not wish for this to happen. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the questionnaire / interview if you feel the question(s) are too personal or if talking about them makes you uncomfortable.

Benefits

Participating in this research has no direct benefit to you, but your participation might benefit the way the Norwegian Red Cross evaluates its own programs.

Confidentiality

This research project will not handle sensitive or personal information in general. However, I wish to assure you that I will not be sharing information about you to anyone except my supervisor Morten Jerven. The information collected from this research project will be kept private. Any information about you will have a number on it instead of your name. Only me and my supervisor Morten Jerven will know what your number is and will protect that information with a secure password.

Sharing the Results

The knowledge that we get from this research will be shared with you before it is made widely available to the public. Each participant will receive a copy of my finalized thesis. Nothing that you tell me in the questionnaire / interview will be attributed to you by name unless you specifically want that to happen.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

You do not have to take part in this research if you do not wish to do so, and choosing to participate will not affect your position / job or any evaluations or reports related to your work at the Norwegian Red Cross in any way. You may stop participating in the research at any time you wish without your position / job at the Norwegian Red Cross being affected. I will give you an opportunity at the end of the interview to review your remarks, and you can ask to modify or remove portions of those, if you do not agree with my notes or if I did not understand you correctly.

Who to Contact

If you have any questions, you can ask them now or later. If you wish to ask questions later, you may contact any of the following: Andries van der Wijk, Søråsveien 9, 1430 Ås, Norway, andriwijk@nmbu.no, tel. 95 414 833.

The proposal for this research has been approved by the Thesis Review Board of NMBU at the Faculty of LANDSAM.

Part II: Certificate of Consent

I have been invited to participate in a research about Social capital in evaluation procedures of the Norwegian Red Cross. As a participant I will be asked to fill in a questionnaire. This might be followed by an interview if it is deemed necessary. I will be granted confidentiality.

I have read and understood the foregoing information, or it has been read to me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it and any questions I have been asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.

Name of Participant _____

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Statement by the researcher/person taking consent

I have accurately provided or read out the information sheet to the potential participant, and to the best of my ability made sure that the participant understands that the following will be done:

1. The participant will be asked to fill in a questionnaire which takes about 30 to 60 minutes.
2. The participant might be interviewed if deemed necessary to gain a deeper understanding of the answer given in the questionnaire, and the interview will last for about 40 minutes to an hour.
3. The interview will be recorded and safely stored.
4. The results of the questionnaire and interview will be shared with the participant once the study is over.

I confirm that the participant was given an opportunity to ask questions about the study, and all the questions asked by the participant have been answered correctly and to the best of my ability. I confirm that the individual has not been coerced into giving consent, and the consent has been given freely and voluntarily.

A copy of this informed consent form has been provided to the participant.

Print Name of Researcher / person taking the consent _____

Signature of Researcher / person taking the consent _____

Date _____

Day/month/year

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Social capital in evaluation procedures of the Norwegian Red Cross

Please fill in the questions as complete as possible. If necessary, the questionnaire might be followed up by an interview to deepen my understanding further. To respect privacy of others please do not mention any names in this questionnaire, but rather refer to positions in the Norwegian Red Cross if needed. You do not need to fill in any questions you are not comfortable to answer. The last two pages are blank and can be used to write any comments you might have.

The following questions apply for everyone filling in this questionnaire:

1. What is your role in the Norwegian Red Cross?

2. Why did you choose to become active in the Norwegian Red Cross?

3. Outside of the Norwegian Red Cross, are you politically engaged in any way? If yes, how?

4. Do you think your choice to participate in the Norwegian Red Cross was influenced in any way by your political views? If yes, how?

5. Do you think your participation in the Norwegian Red Cross has influenced your political views in any way? If yes, how?

6. Do you think your participation in the Norwegian Red Cross has influenced in any way how politically active you are? Please elaborate on your answer.

7. How would you describe the typical person who is involved in the Norwegian Red Cross?

8. If you need to choose between focussing on the wellbeing of individuals or on the wellbeing of the community. Where would you place yourself?

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Wellbeing of individuals

Wellbeing of community

9. If you need to choose between focussing on the wellbeing of individuals or on the wellbeing of the community. Where would you place the focus of the Norwegian Red Cross?

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Wellbeing of individuals

Wellbeing of community

10. Have you ever taken part in an evaluation of the Norwegian Red Cross in any way? Designing, conducting, or filling in.

Please fill in the following questions if you took part in designing an evaluation for the Norwegian Red Cross. The questions apply to the last evaluation you designed:

1. Where you paid for designing this evaluation?
2. Why do you think you were chosen to design this evaluation?
3. What did it mean to you that you were chosen to design this evaluation?
4. How did you choose the people who conducted the evaluation?
5. How did you choose the people who filled in the evaluation?

6. How did you decide on the questions in the evaluation?

Please fill in the following questions if you took part in conducting an evaluation for the Norwegian Red Cross. The questions apply to the last evaluation you conducted:

1. Where you paid for conducting this evaluation?

2. Why do you think you were chosen to conduct this evaluation?

3. What did it mean to you that you were chosen to conduct this evaluation?

4. How did you choose the people filled in the evaluation?

16. If there was any other organisation involved in the evaluation, do you think this might have influenced the evaluation in any way? If yes, how? If no, why not?

17. If you need to choose between focussing on the wellbeing of individuals or on the wellbeing of the community. Where would you place the focus of the evaluation?

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Wellbeing of individuals

Wellbeing of community

18. What has been done in reaction to the outcomes of the evaluation?

19. How was this decided and by whom (To respect privacy please do not mention any names, but rather refer to positions)?

20. How were the people chosen who decided what should happen in response to the results of the evaluation? Do you agree with this process? Would you change anything if you could?

21. Do you agree with the decisions taken? Would you change anything if you could?

22. Do you agree with the process of how these decisions were made? Would you change anything to this process if you could?

23. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Why?

A: Being part of the Norwegian Red Cross has increased the amount of social connections I have in my community.

B: Being part of the Norwegian Red Cross has strengthened the quality of the social connections I have in my community.

C: If I need help or assistance with anything, I can find someone to help me with relative ease (This applies in general in and outside your involvement with the Norwegian Red Cross).

D: I have contact with people I know at the Norwegian Red Cross outside the Norwegian Red Cross.

E: If someone does me a favour, I should do something back in return.

F: Some of the activities done by the Norwegian Red Cross should be done by the Norwegian government instead.

G: I feel a moral obligation to contribute to my community.

H: In general, I trust that people will treat me fair.

I: In general, I trust that people will return a favour I have done for them.

Room for comments:



Norges miljø- og biovitenskapelig universitet
Noregs miljø- og biovitenskapelige universitet
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Postboks 5003
NO-1432 Ås
Norway