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# Reconciliation Among Young People in the Balkans

An Evaluation of the PostPessimist Network and Other Youth  
Initiatives



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# **Reconciliation Among Young People in the Balkans**

## **An Evaluation of the PostPessimist Network and Other Youth Initiatives**

**A report prepared by Chr. Michelsen Institute**

Kari Dyregrov (team leader) Centre for Crisis Psychology

Gunn Helen Søvting (team member) CMI

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Responsibility for the contents and presentation of findings and recommendations rests with the evaluation team. The views and opinions expressed in the report do not necessarily correspond with the views of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## South-east Europe



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## Abbreviations

Bosnia	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CCP	Center for Crisis Psychology
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute
FRY	The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FWB	Friendship Without Borders
FYROM	The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
MFA	The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NDC	Nansen Dialogue Centres
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
PP	PostPessimist
PPIC	PostPessimist International Council
PP-youth	Youth taking part in the PostPessimist network
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (a tool for analysis)
The Dayton Agreement	The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo

## Fact Sheet

The report evaluates the PostPessimist network in the Balkans, the main objective of which is to promote increased inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation among youth living in the countries that used to constitute the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The main facilitator of the project was Norwegian People's Aid. From 1994 the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has allocated NOK 7 million to the project.

The PostPessimist network was founded in 1994. Today there are groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Slovenia. Most of the groups are now officially registered as NGOs.

The network's activities happen at a sub-regional and regional level. The former relate to group activities, either as projects implemented by an individual local group, or as joint projects with other NGOs or with other PostPessimist groups within the country. The latter have consisted of major meetings and projects involving PostPessimist groups from two or more countries.

The evaluation asked two questions: Who are the PostPessimists? Has the PostPessimist network achieved results in accordance with the objectives and relevance of the project, given the context of the social, economic and political situation in the Balkans?



## Executive Summary

1. This report is an evaluation of the PostPessimist network in the Balkans. Its main objective is to promote increased inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation among the young living in the countries that used to constitute the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The main facilitator of the project has been the Norwegian People's Aid, and a total of NOK 7 million has been allocated to the project from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
2. The broad evaluation questions are: who are the PostPessimists? Has the PostPessimist network achieved its targets in accordance with the objectives and relevance of the project, and in the context of the social, economic and political situation in the Balkans?
3. The project promotes the idea of tolerance at multiple levels. In general, the types of activity are found to be relevant and in line with the aim of the project. The fact that it has managed to provide a forum with activities in line with the interests of the young is its main strength. The PostPessimist youth have demonstrated a very high level of creativity, initiative and stamina during years of political, economic and social instability. They have adopted democratic methods in their work and have gained useful skills in project development and implementation.
4. Partly because of differences in the political, social and economic context of the countries in which they operate, the groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, FRY, Kosovo and Slovenia have developed quite different ways of realising the aim of PostPessimist work. However, their activities can roughly be said to be a combination of social/political activism, cultural activities and member training. The number of young people involved in the various activities during the project period is estimated at approximately 1000.
5. In general, PostPessimist youth are urban, well-educated and middle-class. Average age of those presently active is 20, and the female/male ratio is 50/50. Most have been recruited to the network through others already involved. Their main reasons for joining are that they regard it as a contribution to peace and that they would like to develop new friendships.
6. The PostPessimists in Kosovo differ from other groups in many aspects. The Priština group meets on a weekly basis, whereas the others meet in connection with the planning and implementation of projects. They have a firmer structure than any of the other groups and adhere to strict age limits for their members. Furthermore, the Priština group has enjoyed better economic conditions than the groups in the other regions. The fact that their activities have been organised as a separate NPA project from the beginning gave the young a co-ordinator and an office. However, our findings indicate that the Priština PostPessimists are presently less integrated in the network than the other groups. Consequently, the aim of promoting inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation has not yet been fully reached for the PostPessimists in Kosovo.
7. The continuing conflicts in the region during the 1990s and up until today have impacted the PostPessimist activities. Due to the long war and the partition of the country into two entities, Bosnia youth have had to surmount many difficulties in their work. For years after the war people did not feel safe enough to travel. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was subject to political, social and economic isolation during the 1990s. FRY PostPessimists opposed the Milosevic regime. For them, the national

election in 2000 clearly represented a turning point in their work. Prior to the election, they had had to work mostly under cover, as many of their activities provoked the regime. After the armed conflict in Kosovo, followed by the Nato bombing in 1999, it became impossible for Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbians to work together locally, as most Serbs are displaced. Their four-year-long efforts to promote inter-ethnic contact suffered a major setback.

8. Our findings indicate that on an individual level, the engagement of young people in the PostPessimist has acted on the youth themselves and their immediate surroundings. They say that the PostPessimist work has indeed had an effect on their lives. Nearly all say that their participation in the network is important to them. Furthermore, many are of the opinion that they have become more tolerant towards others and have developed a better understanding of politics. More than half of them believe that the PostPessimist work has been so important that it will probably influence their future career plans. They also bring their ideas to other NGOs in which they are active, or with which they co-operate.
9. The Norwegian efforts to support the PostPessimist network in the Balkans should continue. The significance of the project is indisputable, and the results when it comes to promoting inter-ethnic contact, reconciliation and democratisation are very good.
10. In light of our findings and assessments, the evaluation team recommends that the PostPessimists should work on clarifying and communicating their goals, organisational structure and strategies and recruit more youth to the network. They should pay particular attention to training members on how to make groups sustainable. Related to the issue of training, there is potential for co-operation with the Nansen Dialogue Centres in the Balkans. We recommend the NPA to consider hiring a co-ordinator for the Croatia-Slovenia region. Furthermore, the reporting system should be improved. The lines of reporting for the co-ordinator in Kosovo should be redirected, and the MFA and NPA should work towards an agreement on how communications relating to the PostPessimist network can be conducted more efficiently.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Project evaluated

This is an evaluation of the PostPessimist network in the Balkans. The network's main objective is to promote reconciliation among young people in the countries that used to constitute the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) has facilitated the project, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has supplied the major part of the funding, amounting to a total of NOK 7 million in the period 1994–2000.

### 1.1.1 The mandate in brief

According to the mandate (enclosed p. 31), the overall purpose of the evaluation is to assess the importance of the PostPessimist network in terms of changed attitudes and behaviour among the participants, particularly in relation to reconciliation and democratisation. Furthermore, the evaluation should analyse the impact of the political, economic, social and cultural conditions in the former SFRY on the goals and achievements of the network, as well as assess the sustainability of the project. A short overview of other relevant programmes within the field of reconciliation, such as the Nansen Academy Project, should also be included in the study. According to the mandate, the evaluation also should address the administrative, financial, monitoring and reporting systems of the network. Finally, the report is to give recommendations related to the project's quality and future relevance.

## 1.2 Evaluation methods and implementation

The evaluation team comprised Kari Dyregrov (CCP), postgraduate in sociology (team leader), and Gunn Helen Søfting (CMI), MA student in social anthropology (team member). Their Balkan expertise was acquired through previous fieldwork and research and both have extensive experience in communicating with young people. Additional resource persons were

Dr Tone Bringa (CMI), anthropologist, and Dr. Atle Dyregrov (CCP), psychologist.

Evaluation findings, conclusions and recommendations are based on the following data:

- assessment of relevant background documents
- interviews with ministry officials
- interviews with NPA representatives in Norway
- interview with the NPA Programme Manager, Sarajevo
- interviews with five (two former and three present) PostPessimist co-ordinators
- interview with a psychologist who previously worked on the project
- interviews with eleven young people active in the PostPessimist network
- a survey of a representative sample of PostPessimist youth
- observation of a regional PostPessimist meeting in Sarajevo
- observation and data collection at one-day seminars in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština
- talks with Balkan Dialogue Centre representatives in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština

As the PostPessimist network is organised by secretariats based in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština, the team identified these locations as the most germane when it came to collecting information in the Balkans. When choosing the methodological approaches for this evaluation, particular note was taken of MFA's concern that the evaluation should contribute to greater collective self-awareness and thus become a learning process. The team has consequently aimed at pursuing a participatory approach throughout the evaluation. This was achieved by organising three one-day seminars in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština, respectively, at which 50 young people from the network participated. The seminars consisted of group

tasks and a SWOT analysis. SWOT is an acronym for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats and is a tool for rapid project or programme analysis. Youth from throughout the region attended these seminars, which were set up in close collaboration with the three regional project co-ordinators.

In addition, a survey of a representative sample of PP-youth was conducted. It comprised a total of 171 young people, mainly from Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo, who were asked to fill in a questionnaire. As 85% returned the forms, this number declined to 145. It included both former (18) and current (124) PP-youth. The sample represented all countries participating in the network. However, Croatia and Slovenia were each represented by a single participant. The questionnaire covered the social and educational background of the respondents and addressed their individual experiences with the network. A sub-sample of 11 young people took part in in-depth interviews. This sample was selected to ensure equal representation of both genders, and people that had participated in the network for an extended period of time as well as more recent members. The interviews addressed similar themes as the questionnaire but allowed room for in-depth reflection as well as clarification of any moot points.

The youth participating in the survey, seminars and interviews were informed of the objectives of the evaluation, as well as given assurances of anonymity and confidentiality in accordance with ethical guidelines for research.

CSS:Statistica (1999) was used for the statistical analysis of the questionnaires. The questionnaires from the Slovenian and Croatian participants were included in the “Bosnian” bracket, while the 18 veterans are not included in most of the statistical analysis. They nevertheless make an important contribution to the report.

### **1.3 Structure of the report**

In what follows, section 2 covers the background and history of the PostPessimist network and describes the various types of activity region by region. A profile of the youngsters participating in the network is presented, and an overview of other youth reconciliation programmes is given. Section 3 gives an assessment of the PostPessimist network in relation to its aims and in the context of the situation in the Balkans from 1994 to today. Finally, administrative aspects are assessed. Section 4 summarises the major findings, and section 5 sets out recommendations.

## 2 The PostPessimist network in the Balkans

### 2.1 Crossing borders

What was formerly known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) officially ceased to function in the early spring of 1990. The wars that followed in the region were largely characterised by “neighbour fighting neighbour”, and on an individual level people were often attacked or betrayed by people they knew and had previously trusted. Such experiences are known to have “special long-lasting pernicious psycho-social effects” (UD Evaluation Report 3.99). What is today recognised as the Balkan PostPessimist network came into being at a time of full-scale war in Bosnia. Since its foundation in 1994, the PostPessimist network has aimed to

*work on improving communication between young people from different national, ideological and cultural groups, spreading the idea of non-violence, democracy and human rights and supporting the creativity of young people. (Building bridges, crossing borders 1999)*

The target group is mainly young people in the 14–20-year-old bracket. In their information brochure, the PP-youth declare that

*The conflicts and wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s have led to a widespread feeling of pessimism and apathy. Young people have been innocent victims of war and the spread of distrust, prejudice and hatred. Some of us have come together in the PostPessimist movement, wanting to show that there is a way out of pessimism. We try to cross borders – both physical borders and the borders in people’s minds. (Building bridges, crossing borders 1999)*

According to the founding members, the name “PostPessimist” was chosen because “We are not as pessimistic as we used to be, but we are not yet optimists. We are the PostPessimists” (Building bridges, crossing borders 1999). The network was first initiated in 1993 in connection

with an international youth conference organised by a range of NGOs including Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA). Young people from the former SFRY were among the participants, and during the event they expressed a wish to meet up with other young people from the former SFRY. The facilitators of the conference responded positively to the initiative and organised a meeting in Austria the following year. The objective of the gathering was to let young people “get to know each other and become friends” and “start local actions at home” (Eskeland 1994).

During the same period local PostPessimist groups were being established in Croatia, FRY, Kosovo and Bosnia. Numerous regional network meetings and camps followed in Norway (1995 and 1996), Hungary (September and December 1996 and 1997), Bulgaria (1997), Bosnia-Herzegovina (1998, 2000, and 2001) and Slovenia (1999).

#### **2.1.1 Organisational structure – an expanding network**

Since the start in 1994, the NPA has facilitated the PostPessimist network. Kristin Eskeland, at NPA’s headquarters in Oslo, has been the project manager from the beginning and has, as such, brought important continuity to the project. As for today, three regional project co-ordinators are employed by NPA to guide the youth in their work. Each co-ordinator has responsibility for one particular region:

- Kosovo
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia
- FRY (Serbia, Vojvodina and Montenegro)

There have also been PostPessimist groups in Norway, Skopje, FYROM, and Podgorica and Kotor in Montenegro but they are not active at present.

A project co-ordinator was first employed in Priština in 1995 and the work of the PostPessimists in Kosovo since 1995 has been organised as a separate NPA project called the *Priština youth centre*. In Bosnia a co-ordinator was engaged in 1998. This position is located at NPA's office at Sarajevo. Finally, in 2000 a co-ordinator was taken on in FRY. She is located at the NPA's office in Belgrade and co-ordinates the PostPessimist youth activities in FRY.

The co-ordinators in Belgrade and Sarajevo report to their respective local resident representatives. As NPA is not formally represented in Priština, the co-ordinator in Kosovo has until recently reported to NPA's mission in Peja/Peć. From May 2001, however, this was changed because the Peja/Peć office was placed directly under NPA's Sarajevo office. The co-ordinator in Priština now has to report to the co-ordinator in Belgrade. All three co-ordinators also communicate with Kristin Eskeland in Oslo on a regular basis. NPA in Oslo submits project reports to MFA.

At a network level, a *PostPessimist International Council* (PPIC) was founded in 2000. Its objectives are to work with network-related matters, secure the distribution of information to the groups, develop plans of future joint actions, delegate various tasks and organise common meetings. Two teams were formed, each with specific duties aimed at strengthening the public relations network and improving the distribution of information within the network.

The activities of the network have been conducted on two levels:

- *Sub-regional activities*: group activities, either as projects implemented by single local groups or as joint projects with other NGOs or with other PostPessimists within the country.
- *Regional activities*: major meetings/camps or projects involving PostPessimist groups from two or more countries. On a regular basis these activities have involved *all* countries presently in the PostPessimist network: Bosnia, Croatia, FRY, Kosovo and Slovenia.

The network has gradually expanded. At present there are groups in:

- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Sarajevo, Olovo, Tuzla, Mostar and Banja Luka
- Croatia: Zagreb
- FRY: Belgrade, Kikinda, Nić, Novi Sad and Subotica as well as a group of Kosovar Serbs
- Kosovo: Priština
- Slovenia: Ljubljana

Most of the groups are now officially registered as NGOs. According to our survey, approximately two-thirds of the local groups in the Balkans have a democratically elected group leader whereas the others adhere to a more vertical organisational structure. The Priština group, however, has a structure of its own. In order to become a PostPessimist a person first has to serve as a *candidate* for approximately six months. To qualify as a full member, the candidate has to be active and demonstrate sufficient commitment to PostPessimist work. The Priština group has, furthermore, a democratically elected president, secretary and treasurer. They insist on relatively strict age limits for their members. When they reach the age of 22 they lose the right to vote. The firm structure of the Priština group is also reflected in that the co-ordinator in Kosovo plays a more active part in the work of the PostPessimist youth than is the case in the other regions.

## **2.2 A profile of the youth – urban and well-educated**

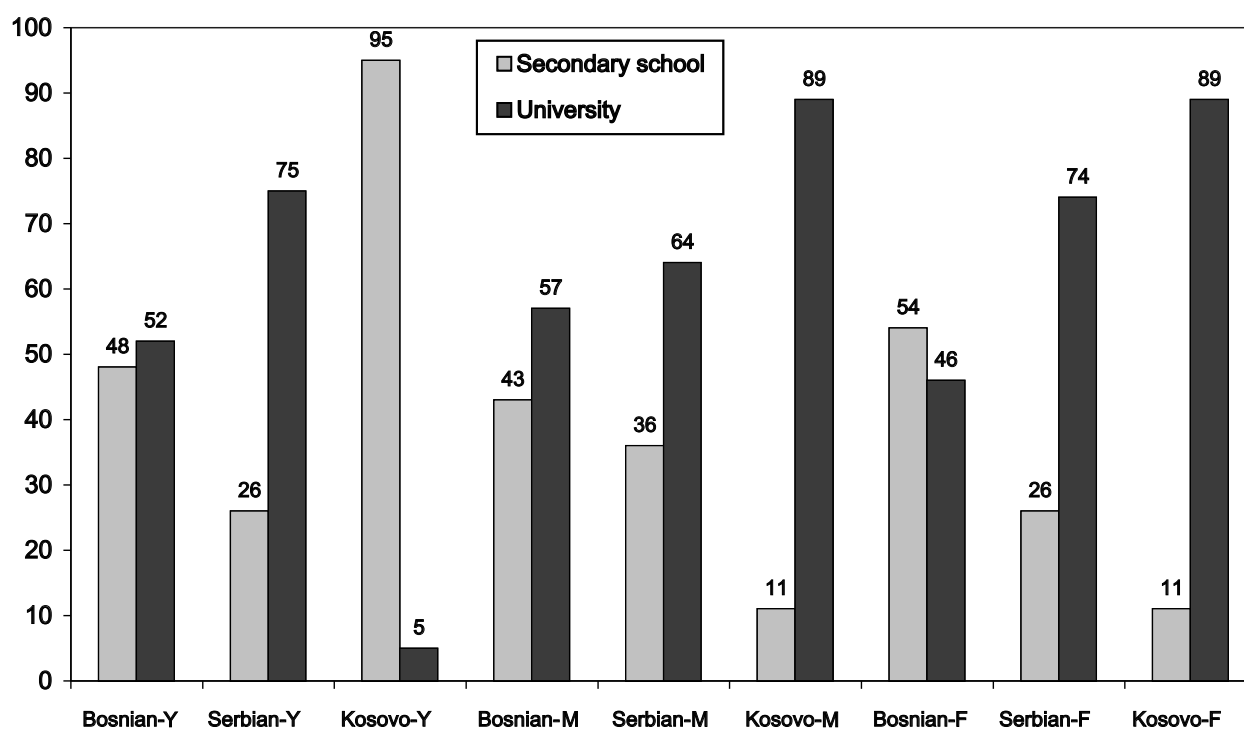
A relevant question to ask is who these young people are. What are their social and educational backgrounds? What is their individual motivation for participating in this kind of work? What are their plans for the future? In this section we turn our attention to the *socio-demographic* profile of the youth and focus on those currently active in Bosnia, FRY and Kosovo. The number involved in the various activities during the total project period is estimated to be approximately 1000. This includes “the inner circle” of regular members and “the outer circle” of youth working on a

more irregular basis. The exception is the small group in Kosovo, where all members are continuously active. The estimated numbers of active PostPessimist youth are approximately 75 in FRY, 75 in Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia and 21 in Kosovo.

Our immediate impression when meeting the PostPessimist youth was that they, with their trendy T-shirts, worn-out jeans and symbiotic relationship to their mobile phones, would certainly not have stood out from the crowd at any European university campus. Most of them live in towns and cities, most in the former SFRY (see map). They are generally urban, well-educated and middle-class.

The *sex ratio* in the network is 50/50 in the evaluated sample, with slight variations for Bosnia (49/51), FRY (51/49) and Kosovo (47/53). The average age of active members is 20. However, average age varies in the three regions. Serb youth in the network are the oldest (22.3), Bosnian youth are somewhat younger (19.4), whereas Kosovar youth are the youngest (18.1). Probably reflecting the current age of the youth, the Serbs have the highest and the Kosovar Albanians have the lowest level of education. However, our clear impression after having met Priština youth was that they also had concrete plans to attend university after completing secondary education.

**Fig. 1. The educational background of the Bosnian, Serbian and Kosovo PP-youth and their parents. In per cent.**



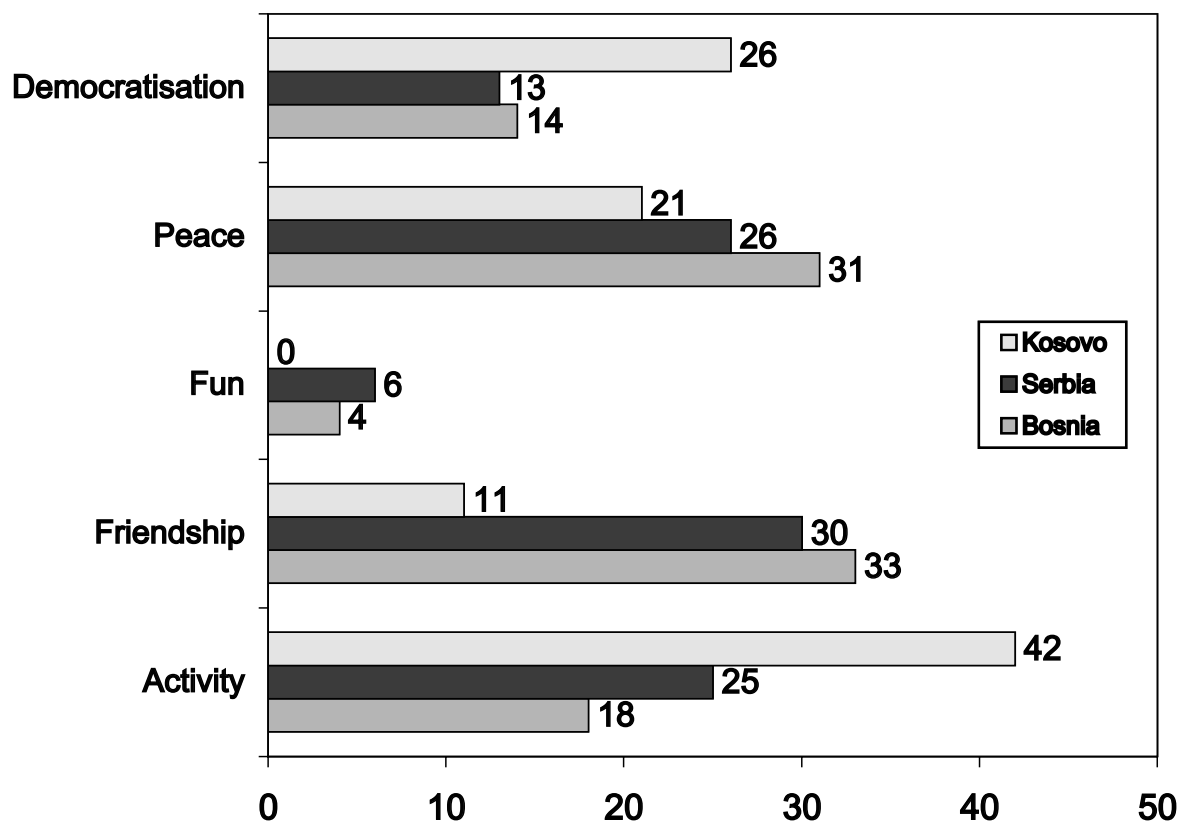
Note: Y= youth (N=120), M= mothers (N=119), F= fathers (N=114).

As an important context, *the background of the parents* of the youth was mapped. Nine of the parents (7%) had been killed in the war or had died from other causes. Most of the parents (89%) of the Kosovo youth have a university degree, while this is the case for 70% of the parents of the FRY youth and 52% of the Bosnian parents (fig. 1). A large proportion of the mothers (74%) and fathers (85%) are employed. Most of the Bosnian (94%) and Kosovar (88%) young people have siblings, whereas 40 % of Serb youth were the only child in the family.

Furthermore, most of the youth had been *recruited* to join the network by others already

involved in it. However, for the Kosovar youth the co-ordinator and other youth-club leaders also played a role in the recruitment process. When asked about the most important *reason for participating* in the PostPessimist network (fig.2), 28 % of the sample identified “friendship” as an important motivating factor, whereas 27% stated that “peace contribution” was decisive. In this question the youth from Kosovo stood out in stating that their main motivation for doing PP work was “to be active”. Very few (4–6%) participate with the aim of basically having “fun”.

**Fig. 2. The most important reason for PP participation among Bosnian, Serbian and Kosovar-Albanian youth. In per cent. (N=61/55/24)**





Many also seemed to be active in others ways. However, in this respect, young Kosovars differ: none of them are engaged in other organisations, whereas 38% of the Serbians and 34% of the Bosnians are. Although having experienced all kinds of disappointments in the aftermath of war, they did not feel limited by a sense of hopelessness in their commitment to PostPessimist work. The fact that more Serbian and Kosovar Albanian youth experienced a sense of hopelessness than Bosnians, might reflect the fact that more time has passed since the war in the latter region. An overwhelming number (93%) stated that participation in the PostPessimist network had been either “very important” or “important” to them. More than half (60%) even believed that it would influence their future career plans.

### 2.3 PostPessimist activities

As seen in the following section, each group enjoys substantial degrees of autonomy when it comes to the kind of activities they devote their time to. The governing idea is that the activities should be rooted in their own ideas and interests, rather than imposed upon them by NPA or anyone else. Many of the projects are implemented in co-operation with other youth or youth NGOs. Thus, a considerably larger number than the Post-Pessimist’s core members have been involved in PostPessimist activities.

When observed from the outside, it might be difficult to comprehend the link between the PostPessimists’ aims and activities. This has also been a challenge when evaluating the project. However, the *process* involved during project planning and implementation is clearly more important than the product in itself. At times, democratisation, communication and reconciliation issues have been addressed directly, as in the project *Trust building Serbia-Kosovo* arranged in 1997 (see Annex III). At other times, the aims have been fulfilled by a more indirect approach, often due to the difficult political circumstances. An example is the various art workshops organised in Mostar,

where youth from both entities in Bosnia have participated.

Partly because of differences in the political, social and economic context of the countries in which the groups operate, the various groups have developed quite different ways of realising the aim of PP work. The activities of the PostPessimists can be classified roughly as a combination of social/political activism, cultural activities and training of the members. The youth themselves are estimated to have participated in an average of 28 local meetings during the last six months. The average Serb seems to be more active (39 meetings) than the Kosovar Albanian (30 meetings) and the Bosnian/Croatian/Slovenian youth (19 meetings). This level of activity is also reflected in greater project participation by Serb youth than the others. For a more detailed list of the realised projects and activities, see Annex III.

#### 2.3.1 Kosovo

During the NATO bombing in 1999, the office of the PostPessimists was robbed and documents describing the activities in the initial years were lost. Consequently it has been more challenging to construct an overview of the various activities and projects in Kosovo than in the other regions.

The activities at the centre have been slightly more focused on cultural activities and social activism than training of the youth. The Kosovar Albanian group regularly published two magazines in Albanian, and the Kosovar Serbian group made a few numbers of a magazine in Serbian. In addition to the magazines, the *Arts Club* and the *Sociology Group* gradually came into being. The former organised projects and events such as exhibitions and concerts, whereas the latter were engaged in social issues. Up to the 1999 bombing, the level of activity seemed to be high at the Priština youth centre. Some of their major achievements were two Kosovar Albanian-Serb dialogue meetings in 1997 and 1999, respectively, organised as a joint project with the Belgrade PostPessimists.

Even though many of the Priština PostPessimists left Kosovo during the 1999 NATO air campaign, the ones who remained restarted work relatively soon after the bombing stopped. Since then, activities have been of the same type as those prior to the raids, but with only one Kosovar Albanian group. They continue to have regular meetings once a week, as they have done throughout the project period.

### **2.3.2 The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**

The PostPessimists in FRY have been active in the network since it started back in 1994. The activities during the project period have been relatively equally balanced between social/political activism, cultural activities and training. However, training of the members have been given slightly more priority in the last couple of years. In general, we identify a shift to a more educational approach in FRY than in the other regions.

Initially, the Belgrade group was very much focused on communicating their messages through plays, and in 1995 they founded a theatre group. Like the Priština group, they also published their own youth magazine. From 1997 until today, the PostPessimists of Belgrade have devoted increasing time to dialogue meetings and organising public lectures and workshops focusing on human rights, confidence building and discrimination. They have organised two Kosovar Albanian-Serb dialogue meetings as joint projects with the Priština group. Another major achievement of the Belgrade PostPessimists is the *Kulturtreger* magazine. In 1998, they published the first edition of the magazine, which has a very sleek, stylish and modern layout. Its main objective is to improve communication among young people from the former SFRY as well as to present information in an “objective and non-censured way” (Belgrade PostPessimists 1998). More recently, the Belgrade group has co-operated with the *XXL Creative Youth Group*, a youth NGO also working towards promoting reconciliation. Presently, the Belgrade and Priština groups are in the process of developing the *Argonaut*

project intended to create a space for dialogue on the web.

The group in Subotica has, like the Belgrade group, been active from the very start of the PostPessimist network. Located in Vojvodina near the Hungarian border, the most ethnically heterogeneous area of FRY, their activities have focused on “living in a multiethnic society”. The Subotica, Nis and Kikinda groups have devoted more time to social activism than other types of activities. They have also had certain problems with keeping up the level of activity, as the PostPessimists in these groups tend to go to Belgrade to study. Contrary to the Kosovo group, who have meetings once a week, the PostPessimist groups in FRY meet in connection with the planning and implementation of projects.

### **2.3.3 Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia**

The level of activity in this region did not really take off until NPA employed a youth co-ordinator in Sarajevo in 1998. When the youth co-ordinator took on his position in 1998, his main priority was to follow up group activities.

The activities in this region can also be characterised as social activism, cultural activities and training. The emphasis has been slightly more on cultural activities than social activism, and training has only been conducted to a limited degree. The focus reflects the current interests of the members, and Senada Khariman, the PostPessimist co-ordinator in Sarajevo, explained that cultural activities are tools for inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation. The PostPessimist group in Sarajevo has a relatively loose structure. They have a sub-group called the *Youth Initiative* and have close co-operation with the youth NGO *Kolektiv*. Many of the activities have focused on youth policy, and they have been very active in trying to form a youth parliament in Canton Sarajevo. The Sarajevo group also created and designed the PostPessimist’s Official Web Page for Bosnia and have been engaged in several projects focusing on the arts.

The Banja Luka and Mostar groups have also focused on the arts, and have recently developed cross-entity co-operation. In Tuzla, there have been substantial recruitment problems, and the group has only been active over short periods of time. In Olovo, a small group has produced youth radio programmes on a regular basis. All the groups in Bosnia have been involved in an AIDS awareness campaign.

The Zagreb group was part of the network from the start. Unfortunately, the team did not meet any of the PostPessimists from Croatia, as they were prevented from attending the PPIC meeting in June and the evaluation seminar in August 2001. The Zagreb group has devoted most of its time to cultural activities. They have also been engaged in peace activism and have published a collection of poetry written by youth from the former SFRY. The Zagreb group's activities have been pretty irregular due to recruitment problems. In the last couple of years there have also been PostPessimist activities in Slovenia. In 1999, the annual PostPessimist camp took place in Rogaska Slatina, Slovenia.

#### **2.4 Other reconciliation programmes**

Another network in the Balkans focusing on reconciliation is the eight *Nansen Dialogue Centres* (NDC) established during the last couple of years. These centres can be traced back to the project Democracy, Human Rights and Peaceful Conflict Resolution, which started in 1995. It is a joint project between the Nansen Academy in Lillehammer, the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in Oslo, the Norwegian Red Cross and the Norwegian Church Aid. The recently established centres are distributed all over the former SFRY (Osijek, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar, Belgrade, Podgorica, Priština and Skopje) and are administered from PRIO and funded by MFA. Last year they allocated a total of NOK 15 million to the project.

All NDC staff in the Balkans attend courses at the Nansen Academy at Lillehammer, Norway. The aim of these courses is to enhance

knowledge related to democracy, human rights and peaceful conflict resolution. According to a description of the Nansen Dialogue Project, participation requires "intellectual interests and academic skills, as the teaching will be conducted on a post-graduate level" (Nansen Dialogue. Democracy Project).

NDC's main objectives in the Balkans are based on what is called the "Nansen Dialogue". As the name advertises, dialogue is considered an important tool in conflict management. Visits to the Nansen Dialogue Centres in Sarajevo and Belgrade and KIDS (Kosova Initiative for Democratic Society) in Priština reveal that the NDC's target groups vary. The Sarajevo centre focuses on youth leaders, and middle and grassroot leaders and activists. In Belgrade they address individuals suffering the consequences of war and "particularly socially engaged individuals on the public political stage". KIDS in Priština has young politicians as its main target group. All centres organise training seminars focusing mainly on democracy, human rights, peaceful conflict resolution and civic participation.

The age of the centres' target group lies between 20 and 40; significantly older than among the PostPessimists. Even though the objectives of the PostPessimists and the NDC are basically the same, their methodologies are different. The methodological approaches of the Nansen Dialogue Centres are mostly educational. They have, e.g., organised seminars on issues like conflict theory/-analysis/resolution, how to form political parties, western democracies, human rights and civic participation.

NDC staff in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština were all well aware of the existence and activities of the PostPessimists. Ljuljeta Brkić at the Sarajevo centre regards the Post Pessimists "as part of our family", since the PostPessimists and the NDC are both working for reconciliation. In Sarajevo, in particular, there seems to have been contact between the two groups. This is mainly due to the fact that one of the current employees at NDC used to work as

a PostPessimist co-ordinator, and one of the NDC assistants was once a PostPessimist member. Furthermore, the present PostPessimist co-ordinator in Sarajevo has participated actively at several NDC seminars. Some of the PostPessimist youth in Belgrade and Priština have also attended a few NDC seminars.

From Norway, another Balkan youth reconciliation project has also been initiated. The Norwegian Red Cross implemented a project in Bosnia-Herzegovina called *Promoting Human Values*, from which *Friendship without Borders* (FWB) developed. It started in 1998, when Red Cross youth from the former SFRY gathered in Norway. Since then, they have met on a yearly basis. *Friendship without Borders* is currently a joint Norwegian Red Cross/Otto Treider project. The youth participating in the gatherings are approximately 17–30 years old and are members of the Red Cross. Today, Red Cross youth from Albania are also included in addition to a few Norwegian students at the *Otto Treiders Handelsskole*. The objectives of the *FWB Project* are more or less the same as those of the PostPessimists. While the PostPessimists have developed projects in their local communities, the FWB has mainly focused on annual summer camps. More recently, however, the FWB youth have started planning local activities. Due to the fact that this project only includes Red Cross youth, there is no obvious potential for co-ordination with the PostPessimists.

All in all, there are a number of NGOs in the Balkans with objectives that are relatively similar to those of the PostPessimists, of which can be mentioned:

*The United Games of Nations* is an Austrian-based organisation with children and young people as its main focus. The objective of the organisation is to promote co-operation and understanding among young people through non-competitive games. The United Games of Nations has co-operated closely with the PostPessimist network.

*The Helsinki Citizens Assembly Youth Network* has since 1997 worked to promote cross-entity contact and to establish co-operation between youth in Bosnia. Their main focus has been youth living in smaller towns in Bosnia. The network has organised various meetings and festivals, which also have gathered youth from other countries of the former SFRY.

*Dia (Dialogue & Initiatives)* is a French NGO, financed by the Human Rights and Democratisation Unit of the European Commission. *Dia* has been present in Bosnia since 1993. They work with the same age group as the PostPessimists and have established a number of Euroclubs throughout the country. One of their objectives has been to promote a dynamic dialogue between young people from both entities in Bosnia.

### 3 Assessment of the PostPessimist network

John Paul Lederach (1997) argues the importance of contemporary conflict resolution and peace-building being rooted in and responsive to the “experiential and subjective realities shaping people’s perspectives and needs” (p. 24). This calls, he says, for an approach that goes beyond a mechanical strategy and that the *relational aspect of reconciliation* should be recognised as the central component of peace-building. The frame of reference should be the *restoration and rebuilding of relationships*.

Lederach defines reconciliation as:

both a *focus* and a *locus*. As a perspective, it is built on and oriented toward the relational aspects of a conflict. As a social phenomenon, reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet. Reconciliation must be proactive in seeking to create an encounter where people can focus on their relationship and share their perceptions, feelings, and experiences with one another, with the goal of creating new perceptions and new shared experiences. (p. 30)

In the Balkans, “peaceful conflict resolution”, “democratisation”, “human rights” and “dialogue” have become buzz words. Mertus (1999), drawing on his lengthy familiarity with Kosovo, argues that phrases like “conflict resolution” can only *create* conflict and drive away those who wish to avoid it, and argues that meaningful work should aim at finding another kind of terminology. Few people like thinking of themselves solely in terms of conflict. She holds that, above all, NGOs should link talk to action. Joint projects or campaigns might ensure continued contact because a de facto problem or a genuine concern propels it.

The perspectives discussed above will frame our assessment of the PostPessimist network.

#### 3.1 Output – in light of the political and socio-economic context

It is important to bear in mind that although all the countries in the region have been at war in the 1990s, conflicts have varied considerably when it comes to type, intensity and duration. The Balkans have since World War I been known as “the powder keg of Europe”, but have also been described metaphorically as a “mosaic”. The wars and instability in the region have added a new word to our vocabulary: “Balkanisation” became a metaphor for fragmentation and chaos already in 1919 (Schwartz 1994).

The war in Slovenia lasted a mere ten days; the Bosnian almost four years. Ordinary people were obviously affected by the armed conflicts though the identity of the aggressors clearly had to do with the group to which one belonged oneself. From the perspective of e.g. the Bosniac (Muslim) part of the population in Bosnia, the aggressors in towns like Mostar were the Bosnian Croats, whereas in Banja Luka they were the Bosnian Serbs. The Serbs of FRY were subject to a long dictatorship, which deeply affected Kosovar-Albanians although in a quite different way. It is therefore obvious that *reconciliation* will take on different meanings depending on where you are and whom you talk to.

The results from the promotion of inter-ethnic contact, reconciliation and democratisation will be assessed in the following sections. Each region will be evaluated in the light of its specific socio-political and economic context.

##### 3.1.1 Kosovo

Half of the population in Kosovo is less than 25 years of age; in today’s Kosovo youth constitute a very significant socio-economic and political factor (UNMIK, Youth Department).

The Priština PostPessimists claim to be the first youth NGO to have been established in Kosovo. After the revocation of Kosovo’s autonomy in

1990, there were practically no arenas in which the Kosovar Serbian and Kosovar-Albanian youth could mingle. A new Serbian curriculum for universities and schools had resulted in the closing down of the Educational Administration of Kosovo, and the dismissal of teachers and other school staff. The Kosovar Albanians responded by creating a self-organised parallel state system, including a parallel educational system (Kosovo Report).

From the time the Priština youth centre began to function, the aim was to create a space where Kosovar Serbs and Kosovar Albanians could meet and work together. Despite the difficult political situation, the PostPessimist project managed to increase inter-ethnic contact between Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs at a local level, even though the result was not quite as good as the PostPessimists might have expected. However, at a network level, both Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs took part in the inter-ethnic projects and meetings. Throughout the pre-war period, there were far more active Kosovar Albanian youth than Kosovar Serbian youth at the centre. To what degree the two groups really co-operated has been difficult to establish, as the information from this period is divergent. After having examined the documents available as well as discussed the activities at the Priština youth centre with both Kosovar Serbs<sup>1</sup> and Kosovar-Albanians active at the time, we are of the opinion that the two groups were working on the same premises, but with separate projects. On some occasions, however, the groups assisted each other in the *project development processes*, but the public presentation of the outcome had to be either Serb or Albanian.

The Kosovar Serbian youth stopped coming to the centre towards the end of 1996. At the major regional PP meeting in Hungary in 1997, however, both Priština groups were present. This might indicate that a *will* remained among some of the Kosovar Serbian youth to take part in PostPessimist activities, but it was increasingly difficult for them to do so in their

local environment. In early 1998, when Kosovo was on the brink of open conflict, NPA found it necessary to employ a Serb co-ordinator in addition to the Kosovar Albanian co-ordinator working there from the start. Just before the outbreak of full-scale war in early 1999, the Priština youth centre seemed to be in a promising situation. The two groups had planned a joint project focusing on democracy issues, but it never came to be realised.

When the activities in Priština restarted after the 1999 bombing raids, a strong motivating factor for the youth was that the Priština PostPessimists received the *1999 Global Peace and Tolerance Award for Social Activism* on 16 November 1999 at UN headquarters in New York. However, the reality on the ground in Kosovo today is that Kosovar Albanians and Kosovar Serbs do not socialise. They are no longer living in the same residential areas, and hardly in the same towns. The four-year-long effort of the PostPessimists in Priština to promote inter-ethnic contact has been the victim of a major setback. As one of the interviewees said: "Now we have to start all over again, as we did in 1994".

The survey revealed that the Kosovar Albanian youth have considerably less contact by e-mail or phone with other youth in the region than the Bosnians and the Serbs. This is despite the fact that they have e-mail access in their office. Only 33 % of Priština youth have attended regional network meetings, whereas 70% of the Bosnians and 74% of the FRY youth have done so. The fact that Priština youth speak Albanian might underlie the less frequent contact.

The PostPessimists in Kosovo have experienced better economic conditions throughout the project period than the groups in the other regions. The fact that it was organised as a separate project from the start provided the youth with their own working space in the form of a rented flat used as offices and meeting rooms. Likewise, after 1999 Kosovo saw an influx of foreign agencies which have donated

1) We met some of the Kosovar Serbs, now living as IDPs in Serbia, at the evaluation seminar organised in Belgrade.

substantial amounts to support the development of the civil society sector. This has also been beneficial for realising PostPessimist projects.

Given the political situation in Kosovo during the 1990s, the level of activity at the Priština youth centre has been high. Activities today seem most relevant to promoting democratic processes. Our findings indicate that the Priština PostPessimists are presently less integrated in the network than the other groups. Consequently, the aim of promoting inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation has not yet been fully reached. Without underestimating the risks, it is vital that the co-ordinator and the young people themselves take steps to ameliorate this marginalized position. Furthermore, they should extend their catchment area in Kosovo to include youth with a more varied background and increase the number of groups. Even though Kosovar Albanian youth in Priština no longer have the opportunity to work together with the Kosovar Serbs at the local level, both groups are still active in the PostPessimist network, though now from different locations. The *idea*, then, has clearly not suffered the same setback as the *structure*.

### **3.1.2 The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**

There is evidence that the PostPessimists in FRY opposed the regime of Slobodan Milosevic from the very start. In 1995, they attempted to officially register under the name of the *Movement of Resistance*. When they were denied, they decided to continue to work illegally. The Kikinda group was also politically active in participating in a project with the resistance movement *Otpor*. During 1999, the PostPessimists in FRY organised joint projects with the *Free B92* campaign. The campaign was mounted as protest against the take-over of the independent radio station *Radio B92* by the Milosevic regime. The same year, the PostPessimists of Belgrade, among many other youth NGOs, signed a declaration presented on the Internet site of Free Serbia. The declaration pleaded that the conflict between Serbia and Montenegro be solved by non-violent means

and in a democratic manner. One of the young people in FRY told us how propaganda during the Milosevic regime had affected him. When his sister became involved in the PostPessimist network, she returned from network meetings and informed him of the points of views of the Bosnian Muslims she had met there. He decided to join the PostPessimists, and this enabled him to listen to the stories of “the Other” himself.

FRY was subject to political, social and economic isolation in the 1990s. As the foreign presence up to 1999 was very limited, the PostPessimists in FRY experienced greater difficulties when trying to raise money for projects than the youth in the other regions. An example was the banning of the Soros Foundation by the Milosevic regime from working in FRY in 1996. A potential source of funding suddenly disappeared. The general isolation from Europe also led to a lack of basic resources needed in their PostPessimist work, such as paper for printing their magazines.

For the PostPessimists in FRY, the 5th of October<sup>2</sup> 2000 was a turning point in their work. Up to this date they had had to work mostly underground, as many of their activities irritated the regime. During the 1990s, NGOs supported by western countries were harassed by the Milosevic regime and perceived as enemies of the state. Some of their activities were even stopped by the authorities. The PostPessimists in FRY claim that the present political situation gives them considerably better working conditions. However, after resisting the regime for a prolonged period, they were left asking “what now?”. After the 5th of October events, PostPessimist youth in FRY had to reorient themselves. They had to identify new strategies for promoting their local work and adapt to the fact that they could now express themselves in a more direct and open way.

Considering the difficult political, social and economic situation during the 1990s, the FRY PostPessimists have managed to become a very

2) The 5th of October 2000 was the day of the national elections in Serbia when Milosevic was removed from power.

active part of the PostPessimist network. In spite of having to work partly under cover they have managed to maintain a high level of activity. By actively participating in the network they have gained substantial inter-ethnic contact with other youth of the former SFRY countries. Before the bombings in 1999, the Belgrade and Priština groups had a good level of contact and co-operation. The PostPessimists in FRY expressed a wish to re-establish this connection. However, in order to keep up the good activity level, they will have to pay more attention to the recruitment of younger members.

### **3.1.3 Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia**

The Bosnians have a long tradition of living together in a multi-ethnic society. Before the war, Bosniacs (Muslims), Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs lived together in rural and urban areas. An estimated 27 % of marriages were inter-ethnic (Bringa 1995:151). Separatist leaders used the war to unravel the multi-ethnic makeup of Bosnia, and after the Dayton Agreement was signed in late 1995, the country was formally divided into two entities. In spite of the Dayton Agreement's intention to restore the multi-ethnic composition of Bosnia, it is beyond doubt that the young in Bosnia have had to deal with difficulties in their work. One was that people for a long time after the war simply did not feel safe enough to travel. The introduction of car numberplates in 1998 made travelling across the inter-entity borderline easier, removing one obstacle and creating an opportunity for the various groups *within* Bosnia-Herzegovina to meet.

The NATO bombing in FRY also affected PostPessimist work in Bosnia. The political situation in Republika Srpska became destabilised, and the activities in Banja Luka had to stop for a while. Some of the joint projects of the PostPessimists had to be cancelled for security reasons. The co-ordinator made efforts to establish groups in Doboje, Prijedor and Kozarska Dubica in Republika Srpska and in western Mostar, but because of the political situation in the region in 1999, these attempts were not successful.

Recent research reveals that 62 % of Bosnian youth would leave Bosnia given the chance (UNDP 2000). As for the other former SFRY countries, the unemployment rate is very high and education still largely based on communist structures. Our survey indicates that PostPessimist members have a brighter outlook about their future in Bosnia than the average young Bosnian. Only 22 % of the Bosnian PostPessimist members state that they hope to live abroad in the future.

For the PostPessimists in Bosnia the main challenges have been to create an arena where they can meet each other across the inter-entity borderline. Most of the groups are located in the Federation entity, but there is also one group in Banja Luka in Republika Srpska. An interesting recent development is the close collaboration between the Banja Luka and Mostar groups. They have clearly found common ground in their interests in poetry and arts in general. In Mostar they have particular challenges of their own in including young Bosnian-Croats from western Mostar in the PostPessimist group. They have partly succeeded in this, but more work should be done to recruit members from western Mostar.

One could argue that the Bosnian groups could have been more proactive in recruiting more members to the groups. Some of the groups are very small (5–10 people), and, consequently, also very vulnerable. The new co-ordinator who took up her position earlier this year has supported the local groups quite intensively. It is important, she says, to form new groups, particularly in more rural areas, and to extend the network in Republika Srpska. The evaluation team considers her plans to be very appropriate in the current situation. Creating more cross-entity co-operation is a key strategy for promoting reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the network level, the Bosnians are presently very active. The survey indicates that young Bosnians have more contact by mail or phone than others in the network. Access to e-mail, in



particular, might of course influence these data. Activities in Bosnia have been rooted in the youngsters' own interests and have created common ground for increased inter-ethnic contact both inside Bosnia-Herzegovina and throughout the wider network.

As for Croatia and Slovenia, they were considerably less affected by war than Bosnia. In Croatia, Tudjman's disappearance from the political scene improved the general situation in the country. Traditionally, both Slovenia and Croatia have been eager to disconnect from the Balkans and have turned more towards Western Europe than the countries of the former SFRY. The Slovenian PostPessimists face problems with finding donors; the influx of foreign agencies seen in Bosnia and Kosovo in particular has not been replicated in Slovenia. These circumstances might be one of the reasons why the PostPessimist network has not gained a firm foothold in this region.

Activity in the Bosnia/Croatia/Slovenia region has been important but slightly less intense than in the other regions, as some of the groups have not functioned particularly well. However, since a new co-ordinator was engaged, it seems as if this is about to change. The Slovenian and the Croatian PostPessimist groups are susceptible, and in need of closer supervision. This is difficult to achieve, because the region covered by the co-ordinator in Sarajevo is geographically very big.

### **3.2 Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats**

The SWOT analysis and the survey confirmed that the PostPessimists regard their common outlook and aims, and the opportunity to work on topics of interest, as their most important *assets*. They see themselves as dynamic and enthusiastic, with a variety of knowledge and skills. Diversity is looked upon as an advantage rather than a barrier to their work. On a more structural level, the PostPessimists youth regard the network itself as one of the most important strengths. The decentralised

structure and the democratic working methods may prove attractive elsewhere too.

When it comes to *weaknesses*, they feel that they sometimes lack sufficient motivation as well as time. There are also financial limitations and they feel that they are not yet self-sufficient. The working conditions are not good for all groups and they still feel that prejudice against youth is a general problem in society.

However, the PostPessimists also see numerous *opportunities* for their work. First and foremost, they feel that the political situation has generally improved over the last couple of years. It is much easier to travel in the region than it used to be and it is now possible to go public with their work. They also regard the media as more open and willing to cover their work than earlier and feel they have the human resources to spread ideas of tolerance and friendship.

Concerning *threats* they identify prejudice and lack of understanding in society in general as a barrier to PostPessimist work. They repeatedly pointed out that they felt devalued by society in general, and that young people were not listened to. In FRY they feel a general prejudice persists against NGOs, especially when young people are involved. They also argue that there is a lack of solidarity among the huge numbers of NGOs in the Balkans.

In spite of having experienced all kinds of difficulties in the wake of war, the survey shows that very few (4 %) are of the opinion that they were held back by a sense of hopelessness in their commitment to PostPessimist work. The fact that more Serbian and Kosovar Albanian youth experienced a sense of hopelessness than those in Bosnia might be to do with the greater period of time that has elapsed since the wars in the latter region. In general the PostPessimists identified financial reasons and limited time as the most significant hindrances. The political situation was a particular problem in Kosovo (table 1). The young of Priština claim that teachers in some cases would try to prevent them from attending regional PostPessimist activities, or even lower their marks if they knew

about their involvement. The survey, the in-depth interviews and many informal conversations with the young showed that

resistance by parents, friends or school did not prevent them from an playing active role in the PostPessimists.

**Table 1. Factors that “largely/to some degree” limit involvement in PostPessimist work as seen by young Bosnians, Serbs and Kosovar Albanians. In per cent (N=61/55/24)**

Barriers to PP involvement	Bosnian-PP	Serbian-PP	Kosovo-PP	All groups
Financial reasons	57	66	32	57
Time limitations	32	43	32	36
The political situation	15	38	32	27
Resistance from school	9	2	26	9
Feeling of hopelessness	0	11	5	4
Resistance from parents	2	4	5	3
Resistance from friends	2	4	5	3
Dissatisfaction with leaders	7	2	0	4
Disagreement on PP-aims	4	2	5	3

### 3.3. Effects on individuals and their communities

Given the time constraints of the evaluation, the opportunities for evaluating whether attitudes and behaviour of the PostPessimists have changed have not been optimal.

The effects the network has had on society in general are still difficult to measure, but at an individual level our findings indicate that young people’s engagement in the network has influenced both them and their immediate surroundings. In the interviews and the survey, the young emphasise the importance of their PostPessimist attachment *on their lives*. First of all, 93 % say that the network is “important” or “very important” to them. Two-thirds say that

they have “to a large extent” *become more tolerant* towards other people. This is particularly the case among the Bosnians (87 %). Furthermore, one-third consider that they have “largely” developed *a better understanding of politics* as a result of their PostPessimist involvement and 60 % also believe that it has been so important that it will probably *influence their future career plans*. They also report that people close to them such as family, friends and young people in other NGOs, have been affected by their work. As presented in the preceding sections, most of them have extensive contacts within the region directly or by e-mail/phone. They convey their ideas to other NGOs too: 30 % of them (apart from the Kosovars) are busy in other youth NGOs.

**Table 2. Efforts to spread knowledge of the PostPessimist network and effects on self.  
In per cent. (N=61/55/24)**

Effects caused by:	Bosnian-PP	Serbian-PP	Kosovo-PP	All groups
Told 75–50% of school friends about the PP network	60	13	79	45
Contacts other regions >15 times pr. week	45	21	5	30
Participates in other NGOs	34	38	0	30
Tries “hard” to increase parents’ tolerance	61	32	26	44
Tries “hard” to increase friends’ tolerance	70	64	47	64
Involvement has been “important/very important”	95	87	100	93
Have “largely” become more tolerant towards other people	87	51	47	67
Have “largely” got a better understanding of politics	46	19	26	33
PP involvement will influence future career plans	78	47	42	60

### 3.4 Assessment of the sustainability of the network

It is commonly known that long-term aid can create over-reliance upon the donor. As Mertus says, “there must be a balance between parachuting in for a quick fix and having local NGOs become dependent on long term support” (1999:258). The ToR asks for an assessment of the sustainability of the PostPessimist network. However, before approaching this task, some aspects related to the concept of *sustainability* should be further considered. A relevant question is whether the network is the kind of project where full sustainability should be an ultimate objective? Clearly, we need to include the political context in which this project was established.

As we have seen in the previous sections, the PostPessimist project was initiated at the time of a full-scale war in the region. The idea originated among a group of young people affected by the war. Its relevance was plain as reconciliation is considered to be an essential part of a peace-building process. Consequently, when assessing the sustainability of this project we need to limit the scope to *sustainability for a specific period of time* a project of this kind remains relevant. Clearly, one hopes it will one day become superfluous in the Balkans.

As for the future, the co-ordinators as well as the young themselves expressed a need to adjust their long-term plans. As stated by the PostPessimist co-ordinator in Belgrade, Milica Krstanović, “In 1993, the challenge was to cross borders. When the borders are possible to cross, other challenges exist and the PostPessimists have to define these challenges.” The PostPessimists are aware of this situation and are in the process of redefining their short-term objectives. For years to come, however, their main aim, to promote reconciliation among youth, will remain relevant to the task.

As seen by NPA, support from *co-ordinators* is crucial in order to maintain some of the groups as well as the network itself for a few more years. NPA says that even though some of the individual groups are now sustainable, others still need a lot of support. Kristin Eskeland warns moreover that the network might disintegrate without such support from local co-ordinators because of the unstable political situation (which, as we have seen, has already caused setbacks), the relatively young age of the membership and the fact that groups are spread across large geographic areas.

From the participants' point of view, quite a few of the groups are now fully capable of raising money to finance their projects and to implement projects through all its stages. They are in general of the opinion that if all groups get adequate training, they will be able to raise money for their projects locally, and, as such, become sustainable in that respect. As a future strategy, when international funding is phased out, they plan to develop a system where "strong" and experienced groups offer their assistance to more recently established and "weaker" groups. Most of them also consider it important to recruit more members, also from rural areas. Furthermore, they have recently established a media group with the intention of creating more publicity in general.

Some efforts have been made to strengthen the PostPessimist network in order reduce its dependency on international funding. Eskeland has from the start encouraged the young to conduct fund-raising activities locally. Introducing the PPIC, the PostPessimists took steps to work more systematically to create an appropriate *organisational structure*. Co-operation at the *network* level has been fortified. Since the co-ordinators came on board, they have gradually taken over Eskeland's role as the main props for the various groups and the network's business. Eskeland is now more of an external *advisor* to the co-ordinators.

The evaluation team suggests that the groups should continue to develop their skills within the field of project planning and implementation. This is particularly important in the Bosnia/Croatia/Slovenia region, where some of the groups remain vulnerable. In order to be able to continue the project after international funding is phased out, the network should pay more attention to recruiting new members to all groups, so that the co-ordinators eventually can become unnecessary. Some of the more recently established groups also need training in fund-raising and project implementation. From our point of view, the groups that are encouraged to work

independently and develop their capacities are the most sustainable at the moment. International funding will be necessary to meet present administrative costs related to outlays on co-ordinators.

There is a potential for more co-operation between the PostPessimists and the NDC. Both would probably benefit from taking part in each other's network of contacts. The staff at the centres in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Priština were all positive with regard to co-operation with the PostPessimists. To the extent that PostPessimists are interested in acquiring formal skills of the kind NDC can offer,<sup>3</sup> the NDC might provide training within this field. However, it is important that the methodology is adjusted to the actual age of the PostPessimists. Co-operation between the two might also enhance the prospects of the PostPessimists prolonging their commitment to reconciliation after reaching an age at which they will have "grown out of" the PostPessimist movement. Thus, it is crucial that the PostPessimist network continues to develop with activities rooted in their own interests, not imposed by others. The bottom-up approach should be further nurtured.

### **3.5 Assessment of administrative aspects and costs**

The *administration* of the PostPessimist project has clearly been strengthened since 2000 when all co-ordinators were in place. The activities of all groups were better monitored and supported when the regular supervision was geographically moved from Norway to Bosnia, FRY and Kosovo. This allowed Eskeland to take on the role of advisor to the three regional co-ordinators and more or less withdraw from working directly with the young themselves. Today, contact between NPA, Oslo and the co-ordinators in Bosnia and FRY is good. However, there seems to be less contact between the co-ordinator in Kosovo and NPA in Oslo, partly due to technical problems in Kosovo. In addition, the co-ordinator in Kosovo objects to reporting to

3) Some PostPessimists expressed that they preferred a practical rather than a theoretical approach in their work.

Belgrade. Ways of overcoming the resistance of the co-ordinator in Kosovo need to be found.

The ways co-ordinators interpret their roles vary. Whereas co-ordinators in FRY and Bosnia function as mentors and advisors, the co-ordinator in Kosovo is more of an instructor and supervisor. The reason might be that the Kosovars are slightly younger than youth in the other regions and that the co-ordinator has only one group to focus on. Nevertheless, the evaluation team identifies a need for a thorough discussion of the co-ordinators' roles.

The overall project has not been expensive, only costing about NOK 1 million annually. We have not been able to review the costs of the project in detail, but the level seems reasonable given the range of activities and results. In comparison, the *Nansen Dialogue Centres* were allocated a total of NOK 15 million last year. However, small projects are relatively time-consuming because they need to go through the

same administrative procedures as larger ones. Related to the administrative aspects, it would be practical to allocate money for a longer period of time than is the case today.

According to Eskeland, *reporting* between the various groups and NPA in Oslo has improved. However, the young still have to be encouraged to submit regular reports to the co-ordinators on their various projects.

MFA officials expressed concern that they lacked sufficient information about the PostPessimist network. The Ministry appears to be satisfied with NPA's formal reporting procedures, but feels that informal reporting, in the form of e-mails or phone calls from NPA to MFA should be more frequent. NPA in Oslo are not aware of these problems. As seen by the evaluation team, an agreement between NPA and MFA on *modes of communication* may ease the situation.

## 4 Conclusions

The significance of reconciliation projects in former SFRY countries is indisputable, as mentioned in section 3 above. It is important to implement initiatives to promote increased understanding, tolerance and mutual respect for “the Other”.

In general, we find the various activities of the PostPessimists relevant and in line with the aims of the project. The project promotes the idea of tolerance at multiple levels, which is reflected in its ideological foundation as well as in its mode of working. In Lederarch’s (1997) terms, the PostPessimist network has been both a *focus* and a *locus* for reconciliation.

The general impression is that the PostPessimist youth are tolerant, reflective, capable and independent. In their way of working they have adopted democratic methods and have gained useful skills in project development and implementation. They have demonstrated a high level of creativity, initiative and stamina during years of political, economic and social upheaval. In spite of wars, nationalism, persecution and danger, they did not give up. The young active in the PostPessimist network today evince a strong sense of project ownership.

The young have crossed physical and symbolic borders for years in a war-torn area plagued by instability and unpredictability. They have shown genuine initiative and a will to overcome hardships. The project has given them freedom and space to express themselves in different ways. They have been encouraged to take on responsibility, but, at the same time, they have been allowed to stumble. The effort of NPA’s project co-ordinator Kristin Eskeland when it comes to providing support and guidance to the PostPessimist network has been particularly solid. Her work has reflected trust, respect and a strong belief in the young people.

The introduction of regional co-ordinators has been an important step towards a more appropriate organisational structure. The PostPessimist International Council should take steps to communicate the goals and aims of the PostPessimists even more clearly to people outside the network in order to attract donors locally and to encourage newcomers to join in. Furthermore, our findings indicate that aspects of the organisational structure of the Priština PostPessimists should be discussed within the NPA. Most importantly, the young should work more independently of the co-ordinator. It is vital, finally, that more groups be established in Kosovo.

The added value of this particular project is that it has surmounted the various difficulties encountered during the project period. It is a well-known fact that some NGOs remain committed only as long as the field is at the centre of media attention. This might be linked to the fact that aid budgets seem to have shifted from bilateral or multilateral aid to emergency aid and humanitarian assistance (Braeckman 1996). Rather than “parachuting in for a quick fix” (Mertus 1999), NPA recognised that reconciliation requires a long-term effort. In spite of the difficult economic and socio-political context, the PostPessimists, with the support of NPA, have managed to expand their activities and develop their organisational structure. Another strength is the network itself. Some reconciliation projects, such as the previously mentioned Dia, have only focused on one particular country in their work. What’s more, the PostPessimist project *has managed to provide a place for inter-ethnic encounters within a set of activities geared to the interests of the young themselves. It has been both a “focus” and “locus” for reconciliation.* It has influenced the young people involved and others in their local communities. The project has contributed to increased inter-ethnic contact and reconciliation among the youth of former SFRY countries.

## 5 Recommendations

The Norwegian efforts to support the PostPessimist network in the Balkans should continue. The importance of the project is indisputable, and the results when it comes to promoting inter-ethnic contact, reconciliation and democratisation are very good. However, in light of the findings and assessments in this report, we would like to put forward three recommendations:

### **1. Clarify and communicate goals**

The PostPessimist network should work on clarifying and communicating its goals, organisational structure and strategies in a more comprehensible way. However, with the establishment of the PPIC, one significant step in this direction has already been taken. The instructions for the co-ordinator position should be discussed and more clearly defined. The NPA should also consider a separate co-ordinator for the Croatia-Slovenia region.

### **2. Increase recruitment and training**

The PPIC should develop a concrete strategy on how to recruit more members into the local

groups, and how to make all groups self-financed. In order to achieve this, the stronger groups could function as trainers and mentors to the new and weaker groups. Each member ought to be adequately trained in project development, fund-raising and project implementation. There is potential for co-operation with the Nansen Dialogue Centres within the field of training.

### **3. Improvement of the reporting system and other administrative aspects**

The PostPessimist co-ordinators should report at an equal level with the NPA. The co-ordinator in Kosovo should not have to report to her colleague in Belgrade, but rather directly to the Resident Representative in Sarajevo or Belgrade. The MFA and NPA should agree on how communication related to the PostPessimist network can be conducted in a more efficient way. Furthermore, to improve administrative aspects it would be an advantage if the PostPessimist network were allocated money for longer periods of time and that the NPA does not single out the Priština group as a separate project.





## Annex I Terms of reference

### Reconciliation among Young People in the Balkans – An Evaluation of the PostPessimist Network and Other Youth Initiatives

#### 1. BACKGROUND

The PostPessimist network started during the war in the Balkans. In 1993, in connection with the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, an international youth conference took place in Austria. Among the participants were youth from the different parts of former Yugoslavia. The participants decided that they wanted to organise a meeting that could bring youth from former Yugoslavia together and asked Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) to assist them. This meeting was held in Austria in 1994 and resulted in a network, which was formed in order to create friendship and understanding between youth of different ethnic groups. In some of the major cities in the former Yugoslavia, PostPessimist youth groups were established. Subsequent annual meetings of the PostPessimists were held in Norway and Hungary. In 1998 the first major PostPessimist meeting was organised in the region, in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, bringing together youth from different parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Initially the PostPessimist network emphasised the importance of reconciliation through their activities. Various activities and projects have also promoted youth participation and democratic development in society.

NPA has played a facilitating role in the organisation of the PostPessimist network since 1994 and funded the main parts of the project. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) has for this purpose supported NPA with about NOK 7 mill from 1994–2000. Since 1999 several other youth groups with similar objectives have been included in the PostPessimist network and MFA has provided funds for NPA to support these youth groups.

#### 2. PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The purpose of the evaluation is to assess the results of the project in relation to the goal and the relevance of the project in the context of the situation of the Balkans. The processes of the activities are important and they should be considered in relation to the results that they aim to achieve in terms of changed attitudes and behaviour among the youth participating in the network and its activities. The evaluation will cover the PostPessimist network from 1994 to date, but also include an assessment of the political, economic, social and cultural context of the activities. The evaluation will be used to assess possible future directions of MFA's support to the PostPessimist network. The evaluation shall contribute to a participative learning process among the various actors, who are involved in the project.

#### 3. MAJOR ISSUES

3.1 A description shall be made of the organisation and activities of the PostPessimist network. This description will account for the number of youth that have participated in the project and the type of activities they have participated in. The activities should be mentioned, i.e. the number of youth magazines produced, videos made, participation in radio and TV programmes, etc. Efforts should be made to document the number of copies produced of the magazines, how they have been circulated and, if possible, rough estimates of number of listeners and viewers for the broadcasting programmes.

3.2 A profile shall be made of the youth participating in the PostPessimist network, and how they were recruited. This will include a description of the social and educational background they have, which other organisations they are involved in, which jobs they seek, and the choices they have made regarding their future after they have left the PostPessimist network.

3.3. An assessment will be made about how the activities of the PostPessimist network have contributed to increase the contact between youth of different ethnic groups and what this contact has meant in terms of the promotion of knowledge, friendship and changed attitudes, both with regard to members of the PostPessimist groups and to other people affected by the activities of the PostPessimist network.

3.4 An assessment will be made about how the activities of the PostPessimist network have contributed to promote initiative, participation and awareness of the importance of democratic development. The evaluation should assess to what extent the processes of carrying out the activities themselves, are suitable for promoting reconciliation and democratic development.

3.5 A description will be made of how the political, social, cultural and economic context influences the activities of the PostPessimist network in various part of the former Yugoslavia.

3.6 A short overview and description will be made of other relevant programmes and projects in the field of reconciliation and democratic development, including the Nansen Academy Project. An assessment will be made of possible advantages of coordination and cooperation among the various projects.

3.7 An assessment of the sustainability of the PostPessimist network will be made, as seen by the young people themselves and by NPA. How do they see the continuation of the project when international funding will be phased out?

3.8 An assessment will be made of the administration, the financial and the monitoring and reporting system of the PostPessimist network. An assessment should be made about MFA's support of the project, and the contact and dialogue with the Ministry.

#### **4. METHODS**

The evaluation will need to be based on the following information:

a) access to all relevant documents in Norway and in the former Yugoslavia

b) The evaluation will to a large extent be based on a survey and additional interviews with various persons that have been involved in the network and the activities. The evaluation team should visit the major PostPessimist centres in the former Yugoslavia and also meet the staff of the Nansen Dialogue Centres in these places. It will be impossible to meet many of the former participants of the project, and undertaking a survey should be considered to learn about what has happened to them and how the PostPessimist network may have influenced choices they have made regarding their future.

#### **5. EVALUATION TEAM**

Two persons should undertake the evaluation, one of which should have very good knowledge of the Balkans/the former Yugoslavia conflict areas, and experience in research or work related to reconciliation among different ethnic groups. It is also important to have experience in working and communicating with young people.

#### **6. REPORTING OF FINDINGS**

The evaluation should result in a report not exceeding 25 pages, including a summary of maximum four pages. The report will be organised in accordance with Ministry's format for evaluation reports, distributed when the contract is signed.

The consultant will throughout the work have a close collaboration with the members of the PostPessimist network and NPA. Several seminars will be conducted in the various places

of the former Yugoslavia in order to obtain and check information, which has been collected. Throughout the evaluation, the consultant must make efforts so that the evaluation becomes a learning experience for the people and institutions involved in the activities of the PostPessimist network.

After the completion of the work, the report should, upon request, be presented at a seminar arranged by the MFA.

## **7. TIMETABLE**

The evaluation should be accomplished within a period of about 6 weeks in the course of 2001.



## Annex II Institutions and persons consulted

### Oslo, June 2001

Jan Dybfest, Deputy Director General,  
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Eirik G. Jansen, Special Adviser, Norwegian  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Kristin Eskeland, Adviser, Norwegian People's  
Aid

### Sarajevo, June 2001

Stephen Bryant, Resident Representative,  
Norwegian People's Aid, Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Ranko Milanović-Blank, Programme Manager,  
Norwegian People's Aid  
Senada Kahrman, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Milica Krstanović, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
Alisa Maliqi, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Kosovo  
Kristin Eskeland, Adviser, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Norway  
12 young members of the PostPessimist  
Network from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia,  
Montenegro, Kosovo and Slovenia

### Sarajevo, August 2001

Senada Kahrman, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Sarajevo  
Ranko Milanović-Blank, Programme Manager,  
Norwegian People's Aid, Sarajevo  
Ljuljeta Brkić, Nansen Dialogue Centre,  
Sarajevo  
Nebojša Šavija-Valha, Nansen Dialogue Centre  
(and former PP co-ordinator), Sarajevo  
Frode Overland Andersen, Norwegian  
Embassy, Sarajevo  
17 PostPessimist members from Bosnia-  
Herzegovina (RS and Federation) and Slovenia  
gathered together at an evaluation seminar in  
Sarajevo  
Five PostPessimist youth (interviews)

### Belgrade, August 2001

Milica Krstanović, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Belgrade  
Claudio Feo, Acting Resident Representative,  
Norwegian People's Aid, Belgrade  
Jelena Lengold, Nansen Dialogue Centre,  
Belgrade  
Tatjana Popović, Nansen Dialogue Centre,  
Belgrade  
Srđan Došljak, Nansen Dialogue Centre,  
Belgrade  
Zorica Trkić, Psychologist taking part in  
several PP-meetings  
Rolf A. Vestvik, Norwegian Embassy, Belgrade  
17 PostPessimist members from the Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia gathered together at the  
evaluation seminar  
Four PostPessimist youth (interviews)

### Priština, August 2001

Alisa Maliqi, Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Kosovo  
Violeta Selimi, former Project Co-ordinator,  
PostPessimist Network, Norwegian People's  
Aid, Kosovo  
Bersant Disha, KIDS (Kosova Initiative for  
Democratic Society), Kosovo  
Artan Venhari, KIDS (Kosova Initiative for  
Democratic Society), Kosovo  
15 PostPessimist members from Kosovo  
gathered together at the evaluation seminar in  
Priština  
Two PostPessimist members (interviews)

### Oslo, September 2001

Kristin Eskeland, Adviser, Norwegian People's  
Aid  
Marianne Øen, Norwegian People's Aid  
Jan Braathu, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs  
Dagfrid Hjorthol, Norwegian Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs  
Jo Sletbak, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign  
Affairs



## Annex III Realised projects and activities within the network

### Major PostPessimist Network gatherings

1. The first PP camp was organised in Austria in 1994 with 30 participants from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Kosovo and Serbia), Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.
2. A three-day preparatory meeting for the next camp was held in Hungary. A team of young people from the Balkans and facilitators participated.
3. The second PP camp was organised at the end of 1994. Youth from all over the former SFRY met again in Austria. They produced a newspaper, a film, an animation film and a radio programme, which was later broadcast over the BBC World Service. An article about the PostPessimists was published in the Norwegian daily *Dagbladet*.
4. In 1995 there was a PP meeting in Narvik, Norway. The meeting took place as part of a youth conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina at the Narvik Peace Centre. PP-youth from the Balkans participated.
5. The PP camp at Hove, Norway in 1995 gathered participants from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Kosovo) as well as young people from the former SFRY living as refugees in Norway. The meeting attracted considerable attention from the Norwegian media (national TV, radio stations and newspapers).
6. In 1995, the PP groups in Oslo and Bærum organised a camp for PP-Norway.
7. In 1996, another PP camp was held at Hove, Norway. PP-youth from Norway and most parts of the former SFRY came together for workshops and various games.
8. A PP camp was held in Hungary in 1997. Youth from all over the former SFRY were gathered.
9. In 1998 a PP camp was organised in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the first time the PostPessimists had a meeting on the territory of the former SFRY.
10. In 1999, the regional PP camp was held in Rogaska Slatina, Slovenia.
11. In 2000 a PPIC meeting was held in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. A PP-Coordination team, a PP-Info team and a PP-Public Relations team were formed.
12. The second PPIC meeting was organised in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2001. PP-youth from Bosnia-Herzegovina (both entities), Slovenia, Serbia and Kosovo participated.

### Bosnia-Herzegovina:

13. Tuzla-PP organised the first BiH PP meeting in 1997.
14. PP-Sarajevo held two performances during the "Days of Peace" in Vukovar, Croatia.
15. PP-Sarajevo participated in the art exhibition "Neighbours" in Zagreb, Croatia.
16. PP-Sarajevo organised an International Youth Conference in Sarajevo where questions related to youth participation and youth NGO's were discussed.
17. Students' councils in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A project by PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative dedicated to strengthening local democracy. Presented on TV, on radio and in the newspapers.

18. Training for trainers seminar (T4T) on youth policy and youth structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A project by PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative and PP-Olovo aimed at improving youth policy in the country.
19. "Youth parliament in Canton Sarajevo", a PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative project in co-operation with other youth NGOs in Sarajevo. A board was created.
20. "The Skakavac waterfall". An ecological project by PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative aimed at protection of the waterfall.
21. Co-operation with the Ministry of Education on a new law. The Ministry of Education created a first draft of a new law, which was given to the PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative for comment.
22. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative published two volumes of the "Youth Initiative Info booklet".
23. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative participated at a Youth Congress in Mons, Belgium to discuss issues related to democracy, human rights and civil society.
24. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative participated at a youth meeting in Berlin, Germany, to discuss the needs of youth in the Stability Pact countries.
25. "Graphic Installations", a PP-Sarajevo project. The aim was to create direct contact between art and the public in open space.
26. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative participated in an East-West Exchange seminar in Moldova.
27. A PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative representative met the director of the Youth Unit (of UN, Paris).
28. PP-Sarajevo organised a local event where young artists presented their works.
29. PP-Sarajevo organised the "Network 2000 – Youth Against Drugs, Smoking and Alcohol". Various seminars were held in Sarajevo on this topic. The project resulted in "Network 2000", created in order to expand this project throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.
30. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative (one person) visited European Youth Forum in Brussels.
31. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative participated at an UNESCO seminar in Dubrovnik, Croatia, focusing on projects in the field of culture and peace.
32. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative sent one person to a course in German language held in Kassel, Germany. The course was a part of the Council of Europe's programme for youth leaders.
33. All six Bosnian delegates to the European Youth Parliament are members of the PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative.
34. PP-Sarajevo/Youth Initiative created and designed the PP-BiH Official Web Page. The site contains general information about the PP Network and has separate subfolders for the other PP groups throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. The site also offers an e-mail address book and an application form for new members. The main aim is to present the PostPessimist network and to create links with other youth NGO's.
35. The Anti AIDS/Pro-Condom Campaign. A joint project between all PP groups in BiH. PP-Sarajevo was responsible for public relations and for the design and preparation of promotional material (posters, flyers and booklets).
36. "Two way ticket" – a PP-Sarajevo project presented at the 5th International Biennale for young artists from Europe and the Mediterranean. The artwork focused on "visual intervention in urban space".



37. "Reapproachment". A film made in co-operation with PP-Mostar and PP-Banja Luka and PP-Tuzla
38. "Ramada Man". A film made as a joint project between PP-Banja Luka, PP-Tuzla and PP-Mostar in co-operation with OBN, *Alternativna televizija*, Students of FAMU (Prague), University Photo and the Academy of Film, Belgrade.
39. PP-Tuzla published several issues of the newspaper "Reality".
40. PP-Tuzla organised a seminar on drugs, alcoholism and family violence.
41. PP-Tuzla organised a seminar on communication among the NGOs.
42. PP-Tuzla organised several workshops for children. The workshops were promoted in the media.
43. PP-Mostar organised the PostPessimist regional meeting in 1998.
44. PP-Mostar organised a graffiti workshop in co-operation with Banja Luka PostPessimists. PP-Olovo also took part.
45. PP-Mostar created a room intended to be a place for art activities and gatherings.
46. PP-Mostar organised a serial of art workshops for young people in Mostar. Youth from various cities in the former Yugoslavia (both entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo) were invited.
47. PP-Mostar participated in the Mostar Intercultural Fair where they presented the PostPessimist network and took part in an exhibition.
48. PP-Mostar has made several radio programmes for youth on Radio Mostar on a regular basis from 2000 until the time of writing.
49. PP-Mostar established co-operation with the local NGO's "Skart Art" from Mostar, "Novi Val" from Blagaj and youth groups from community centres in Dracevice, Jablanica and Bijelo Polje.
50. PP-Mostar is publishing a monthly PP-bulletin.
51. PP-Olovo has on a regular basis since April 2001 made a programme on Radio Olovo called "Mladi glasovi".
52. PP-Olovo has staged various theatre performances in Jablanica, Bijelo Polje (Mostar) and Dracevice (Mostar).
53. PP-Banja Luka organised "Peace school" - a seminar on human rights held in Kulasi as a follow up of a T4T in Budapest, Hungary.
54. Human Rights Education Programme. A PP-Banja Luka project in co-operation with Peace Child International. The aim was to create a programme on how to introduce human rights to schoolchildren.
55. "Teddy Bear production I". A film on children and human rights made by PP-Banja Luka.
56. "Teddy Bear production II". A film on women's rights made by PP-Banja Luka.
57. "The Bosnian Bear Thinking". A short video on peace made by PP-Banja Luka in co-operation with Just Think Foundation.
58. PP-Banja Luka organised a poetry evening and an exhibition in Banja Luka. The exhibition lasted for one month.
59. PP-Banja Luka organised a graffiti workshop in co-operation with PP-Mostar.
60. PP-Banja Luka organised the project "Art Colony" - a three day event at the bank of the river Vrbas. The main activities were

performances, a concert, a literary evening, and artwork with exhibition.

### **Croatia:**

61. "Neighbours" – an international exhibition by PP-Zagreb in co-operation with Labin Art Express (Croatia) displaying the works of 75 young artists from the former SFRY.
62. A representative from PP-Zagreb presented the PP Network at a youth conference in Italy organised by the Council of Europe and the Italian Ministry of Youth and Sport.
63. PP-Zagreb published poetry written by youth from SFRY. "Post Scriptum 1991–1995" and "Black Edition" 1997-
64. "Civil Society, Democracy Development and NGO Management"- a youth leadership training event organised by PP-Zagreb and PP-Osijek. Gathered 35 participants from the former SFRY.
65. PP-Zagreb participated at the "School of Peace" in Montenegro.
66. PP-Zagreb organised the Festival of Alternative Theatre in co-operation with Attack, Zagreb.
67. PP-Zagreb organised a workshop on non-violent communication in co-operation with HC Youth Centre in Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje.
68. PP-Zagreb co-ordinated the peace conference Choosing Peace Together in Porec, Croatia.
69. PP-Zagreb participated at the Council of Europe's training for youth leaders in Romania.
70. PP-Zagreb organised the Youth Saloon, an artistic event, with a number of other NGOs.

71. PP-Zagreb participated in the "Youth Action Group Network" – a two year long project. During this time various seminars gathered people from the former SFRY and other European countries.

72. PP-Zagreb marked the European Year of Languages by preparing and printing postcards.

73. "Month of the Contemporary Macedonian Art". A joint project between PP-Zagreb, the Multimedia Institute (MAMA) in Zagreb, Croatia, Centre for Contemporary Art in Skopje, Macedonia, Nova Gallery and others. The project gathered 50 Macedonian artists within the fields of music, film, strip, and visual arts. Three round table discussions and two lectures were organised at the Art academy in Zagreb. The project attracted extensive media attention.

### **Slovenia:**

74. PP-Ljubljana organised a graffiti festival in Ljubljana.

75. PP-Ljubljana organised a regional festival of modern arts in Izola.

76. PP-Ljubljana organised campaigns for minority rights.

77. PP-Ljubljana organised kindergarten activities for children of asylum seekers in Ljubljana.

78. PP-Ljubljana organised supporting activities for positive political changes in Serbia (postcards and a concert in K4, Ljubljana).

### **The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**

79. In 1994, PP-Belgrade arranged an exhibition and produced a cassette with anti-war songs.

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80. "The history of Zhyts". A theatre performance staged by PP-Belgrade, DADOV, Belgrade. a film, public lectures by human rights activists and a panel debate in Belgrade Youth Centre.
81. "Remembering Atlantida". A theatre performance staged by PP-Belgrade at Hove, Norway.
82. PP-Belgrade published some issues of the youth magazine "Diesel".
83. "CSEND". A theatre performance staged by PP-Belgrade in Gyor, Hungary.
84. PP-Belgrade participated in the PP camp in Hungary 1997.
85. "Myth of Syzifus", a theatre performance. On tour in Balatonfured (Hungary), Zagreb (Croatia), Tuzla (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Belgrade and Subotica (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) in 1997. The actors were PP members from various groups in the Balkans.
86. "Serbian-Albanian dialogue". Seminar in 1997 for PP members from Subotica, Belgrade and Priština in Bulgaria. The seminar was a joint project between PP-Priština and PP-Belgrade.
87. "The history of Zhyts". A theatre performance staged on the "Days of Peace" festival in Vukovar, Croatia. A co-operation between PP-Belgrade, XXL Creative Youth Group, Belgrade and SHMRTZ Theatre, Zagreb. PP-Sarajevo also participated.
88. "Key for Atlantida", a theatre performance by PP-Belgrade and PP-Subotica on the International Day Against Racism and Anti-Semitism in 1997 at the Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade.
89. "Protagonist", a theatre performance on the International Day of Human Rights (1997) at Dom Omladine, Belgrade.
90. The International Day of Human Rights 1997. PP-Belgrade organised a screening of
91. Kulturtreger magazine. The 60-page pilot issue was promoted by PP-Belgrade with a film and a ballet performance.
92. "Trust building Serbia-Kosovo -98". PP-Belgrade visited Priština. Workshops and seminars.
93. "Peace building in Kosovo". Seminars and workshops by PP-Belgrade in co-operation with the Richardson Institute in London.
94. PP-Belgrade participated in "Confidence building measures between the regions of South-East Europe", a series of small-scale meetings in 1998-99 between young representatives of various NGOs, political parties and individuals from Serbia, Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro.
95. International Day of Human Rights 1998. PP-Belgrade organised a public lecture in the series "Why are you silent if you are right?" The lecture was followed by the screening of the film "Plastic Jesus" and a reggae concert.
96. PP-Belgrade participated in "Confidence building measures between the regions of South-East Europe", in Kotor, Montenegro in 1999. Representatives from various youth NGOs took part.
97. "Kulturtreger" magazine with the main topic "terror" was published in 1999 by PP-Belgrade. The 106 pages contained approximately 30 articles written by young people from the former SFRY.
98. "Kulturtreger on the Road". Promotion by PP-Belgrade of the magazine in Kraljevo, Nis, Knjazevac, Becej, Novi Sad, Subotica and Kikinda.

99. "All different-all equal". PP-Belgrade organised a public lecture on discrimination in Rex Cinema, Belgrade.
100. PP-Belgrade organised the "Belgrade Peace Parade" in 1999 in co-operation with the Free B92 Campaign. An all day event with theatre performance and techno-concerts. The Serbian police blocked the route of the parade.
101. PP-Belgrade organised a graffiti gathering in co-operation with the Free B92 Campaign. A one day event with graffiti painting, films and a rap concert.
102. "My Hometown -Imagine the Real" – a seven day creative and psychological workshop in Nis in 2000, organised by PP-Belgrade in co-operation with PP-Nis and Open Club Nis. The target group was local inhabitants and the aim was to improve civic participation in solving problems in the local community.
103. "Why are you silent when you are right?" Three panel discussions organised by PP-Belgrade followed by films and a free of entrance rock concert.
104. T4T, (Training for Trainers). A three-day workshop in Subotica on group management, writing project proposals and fundraising.
105. "My Hometown -Imagine the Real" – a seven day creative and psychological workshop in Subotica organised by PP-Belgrade in co-operation with PP-Subotica and Open Club Subotica.
106. T4T, Training for Trainers. A three-day workshop organised by PP-Belgrade in Nis on group management, writing project proposals and fundraising.
107. International Peace Summer School, Lillehammer, Norway. PP-Belgrade was a regional partner for Yugoslavia. Youth leaders from the Middle East, South Africa, Northern Ireland, the Balkans and the Nordic countries gathered.
108. "Let's share smiles with children". Delivery of humanitarian aid in six collective centres for refugees in rural parts of Serbia by PP-Belgrade in co-operation with XXL Creative Youth Group.
109. "Elections for Everyone". A serial of 20 educational short radio-shows about elections and a print-ad campaign. The project was by PP-Belgrade in co-operation with Centre for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID), Belgrade and Radio Index, Belgrade.
110. "Gender and human Rights". A 12-day multi-ethnic camp for youth in Herceg-Novi, Montenegro. 100 people from all republics of the former SFRY participated. The main topics were: sexuality, essential peacemaking, woman prejudices, gender through the centuries and seduction.
111. PP-Belgrade organised workshops for new members.
112. "Peace school". Organised by PP-Kikinda in co-operation with PP-Belgrade.
113. PP-Kikinda participated in the peace camp in Maribor, Slovenia in 1999.
114. Participants at the peace camp in Banja Vrucica, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) in 1999.
115. Presentation of PP-Kikinda to the executive director of the Peace Centre in Narvik, Norway. Kikinda and Narvik are twin cities.
116. PP-Kikinda organised the project "Image Vojvodina" – a project for the development of Vojvodina.
117. PP-Kikinda participated at the meeting "Young and Election" organised by the European Movement in Serbia.

118. PP-Kikinda participated at the seminar “From Idea to Action”, organised by Civic Initiatives in Belgrade.
119. “Multivitamin complex”, a joint project between PP-Kikinda and REX screening films. Produced by Free B92.
120. PP-Kikinda participated in a seminar on the organisation of youth NGOs in Vojvodina.
121. PP-Kikinda participated in the project “It’s Time” with OTPOR in 2000.
122. “Responsibility for war crimes on Ex-Yugoslav territory” – an inquiry administered by PP-Kikinda in co-operation with the Civil Parliament of Cacak. The main idea was to encourage people to reflect on the wars, human rights etc. The same inquiry was conducted in six towns in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. PP-Kikinda also organised a debate on the subject “War crimes” in Kikinda.
123. T4T, Training for Trainers, organised by PP-Kikinda in co-operation with PP-Belgrade and PP-Subotica.
124. PP-Kikinda participated in a youth seminar in Finland. The objective of the seminar was to make contacts, learn about different cultures and youth work in Finland, Sweden, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia, and to develop projects within the EU programme.
125. PP-Kikinda organised an art exhibition in a local gallery.
126. “Creative Banat 2001”, a project organised by PP-Kikinda in co-operation with two NGOs from Romania, CED (Euro-regional Centre for Democracy) and ARDOR (European Law Students Association). The main topics were minorities and human rights.
127. PP-Kikinda (17 participants) took part in the camp “Building bridges, crossing borders” in Romania organised by ARDOR.
- Kosovo:**
- Due to the bombing in Kosovo in 1999, the office of PP-Priština was robbed and most documents disappeared. This list is consequently not complete.
128. PP-Priština publishes the youth magazine Post pesimistët (25 issues) some of them as a youth supplement to the magazine “Koha”.
129. PP-Priština published the culture magazine Hapi Alternativ (approximately 8–10 issues before 1999).
130. “Priština before and now” – a photo exhibition (Serb group).
131. Before 1999, PP-Priština published the youth magazine “Plan B” (Serb group).
132. PP-Priština organised a fashion show. Children presented clothes from the past and the present.
133. “Stress”, the first rave party to be organised in Priština. Co-ordinated by PP-Priština.
134. PP-Priština conducted a survey among schoolchildren in Priština in 1997 focusing on their views on schools, parents and society in general. At the time it was difficult to speak out about the school system.
135. PP-Priština organised a round table discussion with youth, parents, teachers and psychologists as a follow up of the survey.
136. PP-Priština made a city guide and map of Priština.

137. Exhibition of old painted shoes, a project by PP-Priština. The exhibition was followed by a rock concert.
138. Exhibition of painted bottles. PP-Priština sold the bottles in order to raise money for projects.
139. PP-Priština organised the exhibition "Health Triangle" in co-operation with GESH (Group of Health Education), raising awareness about a healthy lifestyle and various other exhibitions.
140. PP-Priština organised an art workshop for displaced children in Priština.
141. PP-Priština organised an exhibition with the works of the displaced children.
142. PP-Priština participated in the Coalition for Children's Rights organised by Save the Children. The objective of the coalition was to raise awareness about children's rights, and formulate demands to present to the Kosovo administration.
143. AIDS information campaign organised by PP-Priština. The campaign ended with a big party in which approximately 2000 youth took part.
144. PP-Priština participated in a seminar focusing on ecology in Kotor, Montenegro.
145. PP-Priština participated in a summer school in Kotor, Montenegro focusing on children's rights.
146. PP-Priština participated in a meeting in Hungary organised by the Alpe Adria Alternative.
147. PP-Priština produced a poster against the Kosovo war.
148. PP-Priština (one person) participated in a "Young Voices" meeting in Cape Town, South Africa.
149. Children's festival for the 20th anniversary of the Children's Right Convention – a joint project between PP-Priština, UNICEF and other local and international NGOs.
150. Children our future – PP-Priština project. PP and local children cleaned the sports ground assisted by British KFOR and the Royal Engineers. It was rounded off with a show for the children.
151. "Think Tolerance 2000". The objective of this PP-Priština project was to promote tolerance among youth. The project included a radio show, articles and promotional material.
152. Kosovo before and after the war. An art exhibition with children's paintings. Special guests were invited to the exhibition.
153. "Condom IN Aids OUT". PP-Priština organised a conference and a party for secondary school students.
154. Youth Week 2000. In October there is a youth week in Kosovo. PP-Priština made graffiti where "Open Your Mind" was written.
155. Helping disabled people. PP-Priština took disabled children to an excursion, to the cinema and to a concert.
156. "Libido" – a theatre performance by PP-Priština about life in the city. The money raised through this project was given to "Flora Brovina's Fund for Helping Children with no Parents
157. "The Argonaut Project", a joint project between various PP groups initiated by PP-Priština and PP-Belgrade. The intention is to create a space for dialogue on the web.
158. "Të përbuzurit" – an abstract film made by PP-Priština. The film tells about the dynamic life of Priština and its difficulties.

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