

“Developing Linkages between Peace Education and Peace Promotion for Increased Impact in the Region of Former Yugoslavia”

Findings of the Evaluation in March (April) 2008

Report for the Centre for Nonviolent Action’s Belgrade and Sarajevo teams

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by

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SUMMARY

Peacebuilding and Dealing with the past have made remarkable progress in the region of former Yugoslavia over the past decade. However, they remain an unfinished job and demand ongoing effort and engagement by society and politics. Actors on many different levels are needed to further support constructive dealing with the past, healing of traumata, overcoming nationalism, victimization and distrust in order to build the prerequisites for more democratic societies.

At the forefront of initiatives for peacebuilding and dealing with the past in the region have so far been civil society organisations. In the absence of state-driven engagement, it is often NGOs – active in the areas of human rights, nonviolence and peacebuilding – who have sought to creatively change the public climate and discourse in societies where many citizens and politicians remain opposed to such work.

One such organisation is the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA). Active since 1997, the organisation has continuously developed peace education and public awareness-raising programmes in order to strengthen transnational, cross-regional peacebuilding and dealing with the past. In 2008, it has sought the cooperation of the authors of this report in assessing specifically the linkages between its peace education and peace promotion, i.e. awareness-raising, work in the past years. The evaluation process has been financially supported by the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Based, among other things, on the findings and recommendations of this report, the team will discuss its future strategy and, if necessary and feasible, adjust its main areas of focus.

The present report is structured in the following way:

Chapter 1 gives information on the aims, institutions involved and methodological background of the evaluation and report (pp6-9).

Chapter 2 presents, in broad outline, the context in which CNA's work takes place and looks at political developments, the media landscapes and general challenges for peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia (pp10-17).

Chapter 3 then analyses the development and linkages of CNA's work between 2004 and 2008, and concludes with the main strengths and weaknesses of strategies of change employed thus far (pp18-32).

Chapter 4 compiles insights from interviews with over 20 CNA partners and persons in their (strategic) environment, focusing on capacity development, networking and outreach, media liaison and results. It also puts up for discussion the main theories of change that appear to drive CNA's approach (pp33-46).

Chapter 5, finally, summarises the strengths and weaknesses of the different areas CNA engages in and formulates general recommendations for further development (pp47-52). They were discussed and contextualised during a feedback workshop from 18-20 September 2008 in Belgrade (see *Annex E*, pp68-71).

CNA's main strategies for wider social change can be summarised as follows:

1) Nonviolence/peacebuilding training and work with network partners serves to provide the seeds for others' initiatives by changing individual attitudes and strengthening skills for action

- 2) *Work with war veterans and through the media serves to change the dominant discourse and culture in societies*
- 3) *Reaching ordinary people and creating a broad change in values and attitudes serves to make dealing with the past more meaningful and deeper than solely prosecuting war crimes*

We have found the following embedded ideas about change in CNA's work:

- 1) *Change happens through certain methods of communicating (cross-regional, cross-identity, facing the hard issues, personal)*
- 2) *Change on broader level is significantly influenced by the media*
- 3) *Change needs many agents (cooperation across levels)*

It is our view that these theories of change are supported in general by the interviews and evidence, yet it appears to us that the role of the media – and work through media – should not be over-emphasised at the expense of ground-level work or of expanding work with more “hard to reach” groups like war veterans.

The central findings of this report are:

- 1) The integration of a range of different methods (peace education/training; public forums; film production; book publications) employed by the Centre for Nonviolent Action and its partners has created a specific and unique product. The work of CNA is described as “open”, “honest” and “built on trust”. It also reflects the engagement of ordinary people and members of frequently isolated groups (war veterans), who – with the support of CNA – embark on personally confronting the past and their own responsibility for a better future.
- 2) The materials CNA has produced to date are already widely used in the region (privately, in training courses, in public forums/debates, to some extent also in the media). Due to being rooted strongly in a network created by prior cooperation, the materials also filter through to local communities and private networks of family and friends which usually appear out-of-reach.
- 3) *We therefore recommend* that this integrated approach is preserved. We furthermore recommend that the products should be used to create opportunities for public dialogue. At the same time, we encourage the team to re-assess its capacity in terms of quantity of output and strategic focus, and to look, where appropriate, for production partners (e.g. in the area of film editing) who can help free team capacities for central strategic areas and presence in public debates.
- 4) A value-oriented approach in video/book production can set certain limits in terms of the marketability of products. For example, since films are produced with the people in CNA's network, relations have to be built and preserved carefully. Hence the “making of” films and books is especially time- and energy-consuming. From a different perspective, since the films and books convey a peace message and integrate voices from all across the region of former Yugoslavia, they can be seen as unattractive by some media or politicians who insist on telling just “their own” story.
- 5) Despite the challenges thus presented, *we recommend* that the team investigate avenues for increasing the visibility of its approach and products in the media and in society by investing in more systematic and regular PR and by exploring partnerships and cooperation.
- 6) At the same time, we find that, overall, presence in the media in particular should not be overestimated for its wider peacebuilding impact or meaningful dealing with

the past. Studies on the media-peacebuilding nexus have found that unless airtime is accompanied by changes and engagement in the immediate surrounding (family, local community, also political discourse in a society), changes in attitudes or behaviour tend to be slow or superficial.

- 7) *We therefore recommend* that the team embed the discussion about its engagement with the media in a wider strategic discussion about where the current drivers of conflict and drivers of peaceful change are located in the specific societies. We caution that the team should not make their media liaison strategy the number one priority, but rather place it "on the back" of its ground-breaking work with "hard to reach" groups, e.g. war veterans.
- 8) One prominent challenge for work on peacebuilding and dealing with the past is presented by the pervasive reluctance of people in the region to continue to deal with the legacy of the past wars, talk about violence and war criminals and work on the hard issues. The political discourse also remains dominated by political actors who rely on ethnocentric and nationalistic rhetoric in order to please constituencies or gain votes.
- 9) For this reason, *we finally recommend* that the team think about expanding its experience in working with one "hard-to-reach" group to working with other or additional groups, such as, for example, politicians from the different "ethnonationalist" camps or the associations of victims' families. We believe that work with such key people can help change the public discourse in a way that cannot be managed by citizens or NGOs alone, even when they gain voice through the media.

In sum, there are many steps that local activists and civil society actors and NGOs can take in order to address these challenges – this evaluation report is one attempt to formulate creative options. It is our conviction that continued local engagement in the region of former Yugoslavia is required in order to strengthen work on peacebuilding and dealing with the past. Yet it also should be said here that we believe that without the continued engagement of the international community and their respective donors, many of the brave efforts and advancements made to date will come to an end. Unless local NGO commitment to address the legacy of the wars of the 1990s and to foster change is met and matched by donors and partners, some achievements that have been realised through this transition period may be lost.

1. BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

"We should really ask ourselves: what kind of changes can we identify on the general level of society? What is our specific contribution to this?" (Tamara Smidling¹)

Peacebuilding and Dealing with the past have made remarkable progress in the region of former Yugoslavia over the past decade. However, they remain an unfinished job and demand ongoing effort and engagement by society and politics. Actors on many different levels are needed to further support constructive dealing with the past, healing of traumata, overcoming nationalism, victimization and distrust in order to build the prerequisites for more democratic societies. At the forefront of initiatives for peacebuilding and dealing with the past have so far been civil society organisations. In the absence of state-driven engagement, it is often NGOs active in the areas of human rights, nonviolence and peacebuilding who have sought to creatively change the climate and discourse of a society in which many citizens and politicians remain opposed to such work. One such organisation has been the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA). Active since 1997, the organisation has continuously developed peace education and public awareness-raising programmes that have sought to strengthen cross-regional, transnational peacebuilding and dealing with the past.

The CNA team has always placed a strong emphasis on continuous self-reflection and adaptation of its programmes and strategy, so that the team's efforts to contribute to peacebuilding, dealing with the past and conflict transformation in the region of former Yugoslavia can be at their most effective and useful. For this purpose, it has, at regular intervals and particularly at critical strategic junctions, sought the support of external evaluators who serve as resource persons and collect, as a kind of "sounding board", ideas on its further development.

For the present evaluation, the Terms of References specified the following frame: "The evaluation should examine the correlation between the achievements of training and networking achieved in previous years and peacebuilding promotion activities (video production and publication of films and books). Furthermore it should examine the usefulness of applying a variety of different methods within peacebuilding and dealing with the past, including specific standards for professional use of methods and results achieved by using specific methods. The evaluation should also examine achieved results: to what extent has the envisioned target group (audience) been reached and what impacts has this had. Evaluation findings shall serve the purpose of providing a base for **self-reflection** in regard to strategy and action-fields of CNA and outline specific **strengths and weaknesses**. Application of gained insights should support CNA in future [to make its] **strategy of peacebuilding work and dealing with past** more useful and efficient."²

The evaluation was agreed in principal terms in early 2008, and the team composed by February of 2008. CNA had requested an evaluator team that "shall consist of two persons with specific individual expertise in ... different fields. The main evaluator shall have peacebuilding expertise whereas the second evaluator will be a media expert with at least basic insights in peacebuilding and knowledge of the context of Western Balkans." Beatrix Schmelzle from the Berghof Research Center was accepted as main evaluator; Davor Konjikusic, a freelance journalist, part-time member of Documenta, Fade-In and a 2007 BIRN Fellow for Excellence in Journalism served as media expert and second evaluator.

¹ In: "Finding a Balance" - Interview in Fischer 2007, p424.

² ToR, Version 16.1.2008; emphasis – underlining – added; see also Annex A.

A preparatory half-day meeting between the main evaluator and the CNA team took place in Berlin on February 13, 2008 during which the focus of questions and the groups and persons to be interviewed were determined. From March 10-20, 2008, both evaluators travelled to Belgrade, Southern Serbia and Sarajevo in order to interview a wide range of CNA's training participants, dissemination partners, members of NGOs in similar fields and media representatives. Interviews in Croatia were completed by Davor Konjikusic between mid and end April 2008. All interviews were qualitative and semi-structured. Individual interviews were also held with all CNA team members. Collection and review of programme material, including films and books, as well as the annual reports of CNA were done on an ongoing basis. Prior evaluations (Fischer 2001 and Wils/Zupan 2004) as well as an internal evaluation and reports were also reviewed and used as a baseline.

In addition, findings of CDA Collaborative Learning Projects' Reflecting on Peace Practice are used alongside insights on using the media for peacebuilding purposes in order to distil criteria for effectiveness and impact in peace work. They were also used to learn from related fields of advocacy about the lessons learned in media engagement. Finally, in keeping with emerging practice in conflict transformation monitoring and assessment, the report uses a theory-of-change approach in order to give a further impulse for the self-reflection of the team.

The main goals of the evaluation, as formulated in preparing the visit to the region, are to address the following overarching questions:³

- How does peace education work (training and networking) link up with peace promotion work (public events, film and book production and dissemination)?
- What strengths and weaknesses of both CNA's training and networking approach and CNA's film and editing work can be identified? Where is there room for improvement?
- Who is the audience that CNA reaches through film and books, i.e. the latest set of peace promoting activities?
- What are results of CNA's work (outreach and impacts)?
- How useful is it to use a variety of methods in order to achieve progress in peacebuilding and dealing with the past?
- What are options for further development and increased self-sustainability?

The present report is structured in the following way: This *Chapter 1* gives information on the aims, institutions involved and methodological background of the evaluation and report. *Chapter 2* presents, in broad outline, the context in which CNA's work takes place and looks at political developments, the media landscapes and general challenges for peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. *Chapter 3* then analyses the development and linkages of CNA's work between 2004 and 2008, and reflects on main strengths and weaknesses of strategies of change employed thus far. *Chapter 4* compiles insights from a wide range of interviews with over 20 CNA partners and persons in their (strategic) environment focusing on capacity development, networking and outreach, media liaison and results. It also puts up for discussion the main theories of change that appear to drive CNA's approach. *Chapter 5*, finally, summarises the strengths and weaknesses of the different areas and formulates general recommendations for further development, which were discussed and contextualised during a feedback workshop from 19-20 September 2008 in Belgrade (see *Annex E*).

³ For a detailed set of concrete questions, see Terms of References, Annex A.

1.1 Institutional Background

This evaluation is embedded in the long-term relationship between the Berghof Research Center and the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

The *Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA)* was established in 1997 in Sarajevo as a branch office of the German "Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für Gewaltfreie Aktion – KURVE Wustrow". In 2001, another office was opened in Belgrade. CNA's team until September 2008 was made up of seven people from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia: Nenad Vukosavljevic, Ivana Franovic, Helena Rill, Tamara Smidling, Sanja Deankovic, Nedžad Horozovic and Adnan Hasanbegovic. In September 2008, Nenad Porobic joined the Belgrade office as the eighth team member. The work spans the whole region of former Yugoslavia, from Macedonia across Kosovo to Croatia. Methods and formats include both basic and advanced training in peacebuilding with a special emphasis on dealing with the past, work with war veterans, the publication of books and production of documentary films, as well as peace promoting activities in cooperation with other organisations of the region (workshops, seminars, teaching, etc.).

In all these endeavours, CNA strives to include a mix of people from all the different countries and thus different national, cultural and religious affiliations – providing spaces where those can meet who usually do not meet each other. The team embraces principles of fundamental human solidarity, respect, social justice and responsibility of everyone for his and her own actions and community or society. CNA mostly works with groups that have the potential to be multipliers for a message of peacebuilding and social change: NGO activists, teachers, politicians, journalists, war veterans and occasionally youth.

The *Berghof Research Center* has been supporting CNA's work over the years through various offers of consultation, advice and evaluation, which has resulted in two previous evaluation studies.⁴ The Research Center's main mission is to identify constructive processes and models for dealing with ethno-political conflicts. Its work is based on participatory action research approaches and aims to analyse the conditions and characteristics of the long-term social processes involved in conflict transformation, both at the macro- and grassroots-level. Accompanying local organisations in their efforts to achieve social change and conflict transformation in their own societies forms a strong basis for the Research Center's learning and research which is, for example by means of evaluations, fed back into the work of the local organisation as well as into the more academic discourse.⁵

1.2 Methodological Background & Criteria for Effectiveness

Measuring impacts and effectiveness is a difficult endeavour, and there is much debate in the social sciences in general as well as in peace research in particular about what the criteria, base-lines and measurement techniques for assessing social change can be. Without attempting to provide a comprehensive overview, we introduce, in the following, some insights from current studies and action-research that seem relevant in discussing how to improve results and impact of peacebuilding work.

The Reflecting on Peace Practice Project has, in a collective effort, identified five Cumulative Criteria of Effectiveness:⁶

⁴ Fischer 2001; Wils 2004; an evaluation of CNA's Training for Trainers programme was carried out by Natascha Zupan also in 2004.

⁵ An example of this exchange and mutual enrichment is an article published by Nenad Vukosavljevic of CNA in the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation (Vukosavljevic 2007); or the cooperation of CNA and Berghof staff on several book projects (Fischer 2007; Rill et al. 2007).

⁶ CDA – Collaborative Learning Projects, RPP Handbook 2005, p15-16.

- 1) The effort contributes to stopping a key driving factor of the war or conflict.
- 2) The effort contributes to a momentum for peace by causing participants and communities to develop their own peace initiatives in relation to critical elements of context analysis.
- 3) The effort results in the creation or reform of political institutions to handle grievances in situations where such grievances do, genuinely, drive the conflict.
- 4) The effort prompts people increasingly to resist violence and provocations to violence.
- 5) The effort results in an increase in people's security and in their sense of security.

Additional criteria in assessing the effectiveness of an effort are formulated as four questions: Is the change fast enough? Is the change likely to be sustained? Is the change big enough? Are linkages across the levels big or strong enough?

In a recent publication, the CDA team also tried to formulate first observations regarding Cumulative Impacts, providing more concrete insight into what constitutes strong linkages and good connections (CDA 2008). While there are many aspects, the following seem most relevant in the context of CNA's work:

- *Creating communication channels between levels*: "An important but often unplanned and uncoordinated role that civil society organisations played was to create communication channels where they did not previously exist, both at the leadership and grassroots levels" (CDA 2008, p4).
- *Reaching out to more people, for example through the media*: "... connecting more people to the peace process... in some way helps create broader impact", one example of doing this is working through the media as well as broad participation in reconciliation projects (ibid.).
- *Connecting to political issues and politicians*: "Civil society needs to somehow connect to politicians and political issues to be effective" (ibid., p5); it is acknowledged that one dilemma is to avoid becoming politicised or being perceived as selling out.
- *Connecting to problems seen as pressing in/by society*: "It seemed that what was important was the evidence that problems in society would be addressed" (ibid., p6).
- *Including the 'hard to reach' and 'hard to discuss'*: "Dealing with the 'hard' is important for cumulative impacts to happen. 'Hard' refers both to difficult issues and to people who are hard to reach" (ibid., p8).

In the following chapters, these criteria will serve as one benchmark for assessing the effectiveness of CNA's work in peacebuilding, and for suggesting possible areas of improvement or increased strategic emphasis.

2. CONTEXT

2.1. Political Developments & Peacebuilding in the Region

Looking at developments in the political, economic and social scene in the three countries Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, it can appear to the outside observer that particularly Serbia and BiH, and with them the region, are caught up in deadlock. The region also seems caught in on-going fragmentation: the independence of Montenegro following a referendum of May 2006 and the unilaterally declared independence of Kosovo in February 2008 are latest milestones; the collapse of the governments in Serbia and Macedonia in spring 2008 were arguably further worrying signs of instability. But at the same time, there are visible changes for the better and numerous people keep working with dedication and skill for social change.

In *Serbia*, the last years have seen hotly contested elections, which the radicals appeared ever closer to winning. This in turn mobilised a crowd of activists who try to prevent the country from choosing a course that would almost certainly stall its progress towards membership in the European Union and, presumably, much needed economic progress and opportunities. Added to this state of contestation are a deep unease about the relationship with Kosovo, whose independence has become the focal point of the region in 2007/2008; continued high levels of poverty and unemployment, especially in the rural parts of the country (at the end of March, the official unemployment rate in Serbia was, according to the national Office for Statistics, 25.7 %⁷), and a recurring sense of crisis and desperation. While the successful formation of a government that excluded the Radical Party and the recent arrest of Radovan Karadzic around 21 July 2008 have calmed the immediate sense of danger that Serbia would move into total isolation, the normalcy of political life seems brittle.

Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the eyes of many commentators, remains deadlocked by the apparently reform-resistant constitutional arrangements of the Dayton Agreement and the contested, long-drawn out attempts at even minor reforms and legal adjustments. The pendulum swings between the extremes of joy at achieving EU candidacy status⁸ and the gloom that is captured by statements like former High Representative Ashdown's that there is, in 2008, a more imminent threat of Bosnia's break-up than ever.⁹ The state has developed, it also seems, an ever deeper sense of ethnic segregation, so that three parallel societies live in near total isolation from each other, constantly prepared to fear the worst, as the political crisis of November 2007 and its accompanying panic that a new war might be near showed. Bosnia, as an interview partner commented, furthermore fears to be the most likely "collateral damage" of the tensions that have risen following the declaration of independence of Kosovo.

Croatia seems to be the post-Yugoslav country which has – along with Slovenia – most successfully stepped out of a self-defeating cycle and made some political and economic progress that can also be felt on all levels of societal life. Still, there remains unease as to whether the economic progress is sound and whether the self-image as a model-case will not preclude deeper processes of peacebuilding and dealing with the past, which are seen as necessary to immunise societies and their political elites against taking recourse to

⁷ An overview of general economic data can be found in annex a.

⁸ On 16 June 2008, and after successful ratification of a police reform bill in parliament, Bosnia-Herzegovina finally signed the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU.

⁹ As reported by Reuters on 26 July 2008 and The Guardian on 28 July 2008.

violence the next time it might seem opportune or called for in order to defend oneself and one's homeland.

In all three countries in the focus of this evaluation, there is hence a varying sense of success and worrying signs of stalemate which cause the citizens different degrees of hope or despair. They also give civil society actors a very fluctuating sense of what has been achieved as opposed to what remains to be done. Below, we list some positive changes that have been pointed out as well as counter-acting "cementing factors". They form the 'frame' in which peacebuilding and dealing with the past currently take place in the region of former Yugoslavia.

Table 1: Selected Developments in the region.

	Positive changes	Cementing factors
Regional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ established national judicial chambers for dealing with war crimes ▪ NGO pressure to address issues of dealing with the past, e.g. call for regional truth commission ▪ cross-regional support during the Eurovision Song Contest hosted by Belgrade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪
Croatia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ improved public rhetoric (including embrace of democratic values) ▪ successful membership application, now full-status candidate to the EU ▪ increased cooperation, albeit sluggish, with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague (e.g. Gotovina case) ▪ some addressing of the past (support for organisations/NGOs doing this work by government institutions) ▪ regional opening (symbolised e.g. by new motorway signs indicating that the motorway goes all the way to Belgrade, and does not stop at Zupanja, Bajakovo) ▪ economic progress 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ lingering "impression that for the majority of Croatian citizens the 'Homeland War' remains something sacred, which should not be touched and re-examined"¹⁰ ▪ incidents of nationalistic chauvinism and threat¹¹ ▪ pressure on government to speed up reforms in the areas of anti-corruption policy, judiciary and administration, as highlighted by the EU's most recent assessments
Serbia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ increasing space for open discussion ▪ significant number of social movements (Djindjic anniversary, e.g. still attracts small crowds on a working day afternoon) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ low-intensity but persistent levels of everyday violence (also in Macedonia and Kosovo) ▪ growing radicalism of militant minorities (particularly concerning

¹⁰ CNA 7th Annual Report, 2004, p30.

¹¹ Among them are: pressure on witnesses in The Hague, as seen in the case of Vladimir Gojanovic, a veteran of the Croatian Army, who took the witness stand in the trial of General Ante Gotovina and was exposed to public lynch threats from the side of veteran associations; events around performances of pro-fascist singer Marko Perkovic Thompson; behaviour of fans during the European Football Championship.

¹² In April 2008, following Kosovo's independence, the Crisis Group reported that "further large demonstrations to intimidate Belgrade's ... elite are certainly conceivable. Civil society advocates, human rights activists, independent

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ arrest of Radovan Karadzic and Stojan Župljanin, 2 of the remaining 4 persons indicted by ICTY. ▪ against many expectations, formation of a pro-EU coalition government after the elections on 11 May 2008 	<p>the independence of Kosovo)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ increasing polarisation and isolation of Serb political climate, including increased verbal attacks on civil society forces with less pronounced and radical stance on the independence¹²
Bosnia-Herzegovina	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ widening public space for discussion ▪ passing of 'rights' laws and agreements (Law on Protection of National Minorities, Law on Gender Equality, 2003; Stabilization and Association Agreement, June 2008) ▪ police reform finally approved by both houses of Parliament in April 2008 ▪ indicators of economic entrepreneurship (local construction projects, etc.) ▪ finalisations of Human Loss project by the Research and Documentation Center (RDC, Sarajevo) provides a certified basis of discussion and an archive of personal stories and history 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ tendency of all sides to see themselves as the primary or exclusive victim ▪ economic crisis, including a steep rise in living expenses, pervasiveness of corruption and institutional stalemate ▪ difficult relationship with international community which itself sends mixed signals and does not appear to act strategically ▪ partially parallel systems of education: whether in "schools under one roof" or segregated schools, children are growing up with little opportunity to interact with 'the others' or exposure to different groups and 'their stories'.

There is, then, on the one hand, some optimism in light of signs of progress. But many peace activists perceive these as still not enough and argue strongly that what is missing is political and public will to engage in a serious debate of what is going on.¹³ On the part of the public, furthermore, there also is a palpable sense of cynicism and tiredness along with a wish for it all to be better, or over, including the "incessant" talking about the war.

2.2. Media Landscape(s) in Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia: Openness to Dealing with the Past Issues

The media scene in former Yugoslavia varies, as after the fall of Yugoslavia each country developed their own specific media scene.¹⁴ In this evaluation, we put our focus on the media scene in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. We will focus on electronic media, since they are particularly influential¹⁵ and the documentary production of CNA necessitates dealing and cooperating with TV stations. We also specifically look at their openness for material of dealing constructively with the past.

media and those who do not accept the nationalist majority's homogenising impulses have already begun to come under stronger attack" (Crisis Group Europe Briefing No. 49, p17).

¹³ What is, Tamara Smidling asks in a moment of such apparent stand-still, "the purpose and impact of peace work in the country where nothing has changed for years, and the situation remains tragic forever?" (8th Annual Report, 2005, p36); "I always", she writes in 2007, "have the feeling that the story is the same as the year before..." 10th Annual Report, 2007, p27).

¹⁴ They still share in common a socialist legacy, as pointed out by Topic 2006.

¹⁵ One of the journalists we interviewed put it this way: "Radio is good. TV is necessary... If you're not on TV, you don't exist."

Croatia

In the Croatian media market there are three key players: national broadcaster Croatian Radio Television HRT, privately-owned NOVA television and the German-owned company RTL. HRT is best positioned, since it receives a large amount of income through obligatory subscription from every family that has a registered television. Media analyst Sanjin Dragojevic from the Faculty of Political Sciences described HRT as a mix of BBC – considering their informative program –, RAI – because they try to have a large amount of easy-watching and glamorous TV entertainment shows –, and ORF, Austria's public television station.

Croatian television produces their own TV documentaries and features regarding transitional justice, war crimes and issues of human rights. Various examples showed that it is hard for independent authors and productions to place their products at HRT. Croatian TV producer Nenad Puhovski (FACTUM) tried a couple of times to broadcast his political documentaries. He succeeded at last with the documentary "Lora Testimonies" about torturing imprisoned Serbian soldiers. Broadcasting of this movie resulted in serious public debates; it also led to a boiling point at the HRT board and among veteran organisations. The HRT board had a serious internal debate whether it was necessary to broadcast this kind of documentary. The appointment of Hloverka Novak Srzic as editor-in-chief of the informative programme resulted in changes regarding how some issues from the war are covered. So far, none of the documentaries which deal with issues of dealing with past, like the award-winning documentary "Vukovar: The Final Cut", a Serbo-Croatian co-production, were ever shown on HRT.

The two other television stations, RTL and NOVA, rarely broadcast externally produced programmes that are not commercial.

Local and regional TV stations used to be organised in a network named CCN. Usually, the local TV stations are interested in buying external productions. Yet due to limited funds, there is a strong expectation that external products will be supplied at no cost to the station. The maybe strongest among local TV stations in Croatia is Open Television (OTV): *TV Censorship* is a show produced by the Split-based NGO Cenzura broadcast on OTV, in which special emphasis is put on topics of human rights and dealing with the past. But recently, it became insecure whether Cenzura is going to continue to be broadcast.

Serbia

The end of the Milosevic era in 2000 brought new freedom for the Serbian media; and former pro-Milosevic outlets rushed to denounce the past. RTS, the national, government-funded TV and radio service, now aims to become a real public broadcaster. The Serbian media scene was not regulated until 2006/2007, so there were, and still are, plenty of small television stations. Hundreds of private TV and radio stations throng the airwaves, competing for a share of the small advertising market. National TV licenses have, except RTS, the private operators B92, TV Pink, News Corp's Fox TV and TV Avala. One license is shared by two TV stations, TV Kosava and Happy TV.

The national broadcaster RTS is obliged by law to buy some programmes from external production. Usually, they broadcast some material which deals with issues of transitional justice on their own conditions.

On the other side, the company B92 is going through strong commercialization, so they have less space for broadcasting this kind of materials. Before, B92, which started as a independent radio station, broadcast a lot of material which covered the issues of war

crimes, dealing with the past and seeking the truth. But now they mostly have their own productions on these issues, and at the moment this leaves very little room for external production.

Local televisions are privately-owned companies that are trying to have a more regional and local approach. These stations rarely pay for external TV productions like documentaries, but are sometimes open to showing them.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation is different, especially since there has been a strong international influence on trying to shape the media landscape. The Office of the High Representative (OHR), now the leading international civilian agency in Bosnia, is overseeing the development of a national public broadcasting service. The OHR and other international organisations have encouraged the development of media which support a civic rather than a nationalist approach, although progress has been described as very slow, and the strong international presence has been said to keep local politicians and media heads from having to take responsibility themselves.¹⁶

Despite the – in each case contested – establishment of an Independent Media Commission (IMC) in 1998 and the creation of a national, cross-entity Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1999/2000, a statement made about Bosnia's media scene in 1998 still resonates with assessments we heard in our interviews in 2008: "The media in BiH are split into three nationally defined, self-contained systems. No exchange of information takes place between these systems. A variety of highly sophisticated methods are deployed by politicians to exert pressure on the media, with the result that there is a strong tendency to engage in self-censorship. The regulatory system is in chaos, and the legal framework is anachronistic, inadequate and impractical. There is no consensus on the interpretation of the legal bases for media regulation."¹⁷ Some of these traits can be traced back to legacies of the Socialist system, others to the legacy of the brutally divisive war of the 1990s.

Bosnia has a very large number of electronic media (around 180 in 2006) – in part due to early and very generous international funding. Now, they generally face meagre incomes, as revenues from advertising¹⁸ as well as subscription fees are small. Still, TV is widely seen as the most influential of media. There are broadcasters on the national, cross-entity level, the entity level, the cantonal and also the local level.

The national broadcaster Radio-television of Bosnia-Herzegovina BHRT (also referred to as Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina, PBS BiH) is a nation-wide public service. It has only grudgingly been accepted by the entities – as late as 2007 there was a RS boycott against BHT1.¹⁹ BHRT appears to be in crisis, not only because it came under

¹⁶ Following the Dayton agreement, which only mentioned the right to freedom of expression and media in the most general terms (Annex 3, Agreement on Elections), the government at first failed to comply with free press provisions, and it was not until the late 1990s that it began to take more seriously the importance of a free press. The shift in attitude came only after years of pressure from European Union countries and the US. It was, for example, only in 1999 that – upon pressure by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights - the BiH government decriminalized libel and defamation. Prior to that, Bosnian libel laws were so restrictive that journalists and publishers could be sued for exorbitant sums for open criticism of the government and its leadership. Steep fines and court actions virtually prohibited the media from engaging in honest journalistic pursuits.

¹⁷ Zoran Udovicic, quoted in Topic 2006, p163.

¹⁸ In 2004, Bosnia's media sector is said to have generated 15 million Euro in advertising revenue, compared to 50 million Euro in Serbia and 350 million Euro in Croatia (numbers cited in Topic 2006).

¹⁹ Media Sustainability Index (MSI) Europe and Eurasia, BiH edition, IREX, 2008, available at http://www.irex.org/programs/msi_eur/2008/bih.asp: "Officials [of the RS Government] refused to speak to BHT1 journalists in retaliation for what they considered the broadcaster's poor treatment of RS authorities. While the boycott was supported by various public and private entities in the RS, others saw it as extreme, unfounded and illegal, because RS officials had not attempted legitimate methods of protesting editorial policy, such as filing grievances to the Communications Regulatory Agency (CRA). The whole affair ended after the director general of

attack by the authorities of RS, but also due to a serious lack of confidence amongst Croats and more nationalistic Bosniaks. It seems that nobody is satisfied with their work, and there is lack of support for PBS on an institutional level. It has been willing on occasion, though, to broadcast materials on dealing with past issues.

The most influential broadcasters in Bosnia are the public radio and TV stations operated by the entities. The two most important entity television stations are Federal Television (RTV BiH), operating in the Bosniak-Croat entity or Federation, and Radio Television of Republic Srpska (RTRS), operating in Republika Srpska.

It is possible to find a way to broadcast independent documentaries on Federal Television and sometimes on Radio Television of Republika Srpska, sometimes aided by exerting (legal) pressure. Still, these television stations are rather segregated on ethnic principles and when they start to deal with questions concerning the war, they usually present their "own" national truths. Even if televisions are legally obliged to buy programmes from external domestic production or to show programmes on certain topics, they rarely pay for broadcasting of documentaries.

Other stations like the national broadcaster OBN, a commercial TV station, show a lot of entertainment programmes, TV series and Hollywood productions. Another privately-owned national TV station, TV Hayat, can be seen all around Bosnia-Herzegovina, but is watched mostly in the Federation. They are also a very commercial TV station. Alternative Television from Banja Luka occupies a similar position for the RS. From time to time, they broadcast the show *Buka* which deals with issues relevant for peacebuilding and dealing with past.²⁰ The Serbian-owned private company PINK is also broadcasting all over Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is one of the most popular TV channels since it provides easy entertainment, mostly with turbo-folk music. They do have a news programme, but keep away from "hard issues".

In summary, the media landscape in the countries in which CNA predominantly operates is highly varied and poses different challenges for each country. In general, access to the media for independent productions on issues of peacebuilding and dealing with the past is no longer politically boycotted on a larger scale, but still demands a lot of regular lobbying. Also, there is little money available in most systems to pay for external productions on "hard issues".

2.3. Challenges of Peace Work in the Region

There has been great work and some tireless effort to address the legacy of the wars of the 1990s and to foster change by many in the region of former Yugoslavia, especially by civil society actors. Still, social change, peacebuilding and dealing with the past face a number of challenges. Some of them are specific to the local context and 'on-the-ground' realities, while others concern the diminishing of external funding and support as 'the international community' is eager (or forced) to engage elsewhere. This combination makes it necessary for many organisations, and also for CNA, to reflect anew about the core areas of work, ways of sustaining the work (financial and in terms of individual and organisational capacities) and potential alliances within the region and abroad.

Some of the most salient challenges are the need to:

BHRT and an RS government representative signed an agreement on 30 January [2008] and declared that, 'BHRT1 will inform citizens in all of B&H objectively, timely, and impartially.'

²⁰ *Buka* is a project of the Center for Informative Decontamination of Youth from Banja Luka; they also publish the magazine *Buka*, TV shows and host a web portal. CNA members have been guests in the TV show several times.

- *increase visibility (and influence) of civil society initiatives and achievements in society.* Activists are repeatedly confronted with a general apathy and inertia in wide parts of society towards social change and dealing with the past. Further work must be invested into galvanising alliances reaching out to both the general public and political actors in order to increase acceptance and impact.
- *balance organisational/individual expertise* (continuing what one does best) with challenges of diminishing (*financial*) *viability* as well as the wish for *creative development*. Training courses, for example, are a central piece of peacebuilding methodology (for CNA, they are particularly important to continue to build and strengthen a network of associates as well as the means to raise awareness and skill for nonviolence). Lately, there are two developments that may necessitate some re-strategizing for training providers: training courses receive somewhat less applications; and fundraising for peacebuilding training programmes, especially from foreign donors, gets more difficult.
- *choose the most strategic (target) groups to work with, in light of one's own limited resources.* While many actors, sectors or groups have a valuable contribution to make – and most groups claim that they are the 'critical yeast' for peacebuilding or social change –, further work is required in identifying the most strategic partners for peacebuilding work in former Yugoslavia in general and for CNA in particular. These groups may include war veterans (as potential spoilers but also highly credible peace-messengers), multipliers in different sectors such as media, civil society, politics, economy (as opinion leaders with a ripple effect), youth (as the future leaders), minority groups (including those excluded from society).
- *develop shared values and rules of cooperation and partnership* among those active and engaged in social change, peacebuilding and dealing with the past. While cooperation among NGOs, for example, is seen as necessary, it is often difficult to implement.²¹ A related problem is the ongoing struggle with the "image problem" of NGOs in societies in the former Yugoslavia: In all societies, most pronouncedly in Bosnia, there is a highly negative public image of NGOs or civil society organisations, which are frequently seen to be foreign-donor-driven, there for their own rather than society's good and marginalised. Work on improving cooperation among civil society as well as across levels with other actors will therefore have to be one crucial area of engagement.
- *find ways of sustaining a healthy individual and organisational engagement vis-à-vis the danger of burn-out and fatigue.*²² In the light of the above challenges and on-the-ground realities, it is paramount to set time aside regularly to explore means to improve organisational processes and sustain personal engagement.

There are steps that local activists and civil society actors and NGOs can take in order to better deal with and address these challenges – and this evaluation report is one attempt to

²¹ Helena Rill, for example, reflects on models and dilemmas of cooperation: "If we want to work on peacebuilding, we need to cooperate with many people (individuals, organisations, institutions, etc.) How much [do] we really understand each other when we enter cooperation? ... What's the minimum of values that we share in our cooperation? ... What does cooperation really mean? Does it mean, like in [some] case[s], we 'hire you' to facilitate a workshop so you are supposed to do as we say? How prepared are we for compromise that in many cases seems to be inevitable?" (10th Annual Report, 2007, p15).

²² Fatigue manifests for example in ways such as: "... many organisations ... are encountering ... problems like: dependency on foreign financial support that is growing smaller, designing programs according to donors' wishes, lack of vision and idea in their activities, NGOs' disastrous public image and their own lack of sensitization to discuss the matter openly, activists' fatigue and weariness, lack of visible results after years of work, etc." (9th Annual Report, 2006, p26).

formulate creative options. It is our conviction that a continued local engagement in the region of former Yugoslavia is required in order to strengthen work on peacebuilding and dealing with the past. Yet it also should be said here that we believe that without the continued engagement of the international community and their respective donors, many of these brave efforts and advancements will come to an end. Unless this local commitment to address the legacy of the wars of the 1990s and to foster change is met and matched by donors and partners, some achievements that have been realised through this transition period will be lost.

3. APPROACH & PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES 2004-2008

In 2007, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) celebrated its 10th anniversary in Belgrade, where it had opened its second office in 2001. Initially, CNA was set up in Sarajevo in 1997, as a regional branch office of the "Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für Gewaltfreie Aktion – KURVE Wustrow". From the beginning, CNA operated independently in terms of planning, implementing and further developing its activities. The two offices continue to work as one team which holds regular meetings to discuss future directions of the work.

3.1. Mission & Values

CNA's stated mission is "...to work on the building of lasting peace in the region of the former Yugoslavia through the promotion of ... cultures of nonviolence and dialogue, and through trust building among individuals and groups, as well as constructive dealing with the past as one of the key elements of peacebuilding."²³ A very important aspect is "the development of critical thought, taking responsibility for society and community, the encouragement to reassess one's own attitudes and the acceptance of diversity."²⁴ The work, from the start, had an explicit focus on the whole region of former Yugoslavia, aiming, among other things, at a fundamental value change in its societies. A vision statement of 2002 clearly states 3 main convictions: 1) the need to overcome "victimisation" in the societies; 2) the need to take responsibility for the past; 3) the need to refuse to accept violence.²⁵ CNA's approach is based on the core values of human solidarity, respect for differences and diversity, nonviolence, social justice and continuous learning, as well as a commitment to activism and action in addition to capacity-building, reflection and publishing/film production.

3.2. Funding

Like many organisations in the peacebuilding field and civil society sector, CNA has had to rely on core foreign funding. Over the years, it has been funded by a number of private and international donors, church-based organisations, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, the Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies, and many others. Since 2003, funding has also been provided through the Civil Peace Service programme (ZFD) by the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Many partners have supported CNA also with non-financial contributions: partnership, exchange of ideas and joint projects. Fundraising for different projects has been shared among the team, yet acquisition of core funding, which gives the organisation a basis from which to operate and develop, has been resting for the most part on the shoulders of Nenad Vukosavljevic.

It is unlikely that an organisation that subscribes foremost to a project of social change and peacebuilding will be able to become entirely self-sustaining. After all, this form of change in social values is taking place outside the mainstream of society and the political systems in the former Yugoslav countries which perceive different needs as their most pressing. Acutely, a signal from the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development that funding might be stopped for the region of the Western Balkans is

²³ CNA mission statement, in 10th Annual Report, 2007, p2.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ Four Views document, CNA 2002, p24-26.

causing great worry. Such a move would follow from the debatable assessment that the region is stable and thus peaceful now and can do without further support.²⁶

Developments like these strongly underline the need to look closely at opportunities to raise additional money to ensure the survival of the organisation and make possible a modest expansion of staff. The CNA team has repeatedly held discussions on alternative means of income-generation in order to ensure that they can continue to work, despite the reduced funds available from foreign funders.

3.3. Objectives

The CNA team has, over the years, continued to expand and refine its goals and objectives. At the centre are:

- Promoting the values of nonviolence, anti-militarism, respect for diversity, personal responsibility, etc. and making them more influential in society
- Addressing causes of violence and spreading discussion and understanding of what happened in the past, in order to create resistance to renewed violence in all shapes (by, for example, spreading conflict transformation and peacebuilding skills)
- Overcoming "victimization", the widespread societal tendency to define its "own" group as the main victims of what happened, through fostering openness to dealing with the past and developing empathy²⁷

While the set of activities has differentiated over the years, they are all connected at the core to this set of objectives.

3.4. Development of Activities

CNA's 10th anniversary report looks back on what has been accomplished in the course of 10 years: "30-odd basic trainings, five training for trainers programmes and two advanced trainings, five years of working with war veterans, five documentaries, a training manual published in four languages, two books on reconciliation and peacebuilding."²⁸ At the time of writing, another year of work has seen the conclusion of one more training of trainers programme, one more advanced training course, production of another documentary and more intensive work with war veterans.

In the following sections, we present – for each of the main activities – the main idea behind them, their conception, dissemination and use. This overview gives a first insight into the production and networking processes, as well as into linking peace education with peace promotion for more outreach and impact. *Reflections* at the end of the subsections deliberate achievements and open issues to date.

²⁶ Some speakers during the Annual Conference of the Heinrich Boell Foundation in Berlin in 2006 shared this view, yet were hotly debated. Heinrich Boell Foundation, 7. Außenpolitische Jahrestagung 2006: Die europäische Perspektive des Westlichen Balkan, 6-7 Juli 2006, Berlin; a conference documentation is available at http://www.boell.de/alt/de/01_event/4238.html.

²⁷ CNA's Adnan Hasanbegovic reflects: "... it is important that people are faced with the consequences of violence and their attitudes and identity according to the war. What violence has been committed in their names? It is necessary to try to develop empathy for the victims and to jump out of this role of victim. It is necessary to see all the victims, not to see just one victim." (quoted in: "Finding a Balance" – Interview in Fischer 2007, p420).

²⁸ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p4.

3.4.1 Peace Education

3.4.1.1 Training

CNA's first focus was peace education: basic training (usually lasting around 10 days) in nonviolent communication and conflict transformation were later on supplemented by Training for Trainer programmes (6 months to a year), Advanced Training (2 phases, 10 days and 5 days) and Training workshops for War Veterans.

In the period up to April 2008, CNA teams have conducted 29 basic training courses, at roughly 20 participants each, dozens of shorter training events and workshops, six training for trainers (TFT) and three advanced training programmes. The training events continue to be popular, with application numbers varying between 60 and 120 participants.²⁹ They have also completed five years of working with war veterans, including 15 public forum events with war-veterans from different sides of the frontlines in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Austria between 2003 and 2006, as well as numerous training events for the group of ex-combatants.

The team regularly works with external co-trainers on its own training courses, often including people who have trained in CNA's training for trainers programme. CNA team members also frequently serve as co-trainers in others' training activities, most recently in cooperation with QPSW/TERCA (2007) or with the Center for War Trauma Novi Sad and the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) (2008).

The training gives the organisation a lot of recognition, especially in Bosnia, and is lauded for being very well organised and professional: people reported to be "proud" to have come through one of CNA's training courses; and one participant also pointed out how well the experience and expertise was captured in the manual "Nenasilje", which CNA published in 2000 (in Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, followed by Macedonian (2001), Albanian (2002) and Hungarian (2005)).³⁰ The team also uses press releases which have led to increased contacts with journalists and coverage by the media.³¹

Content and format of the training are regularly reviewed with respect to their fit to societies' needs. Feedback of participants is used alongside CNA's own analysis of the state of the societies' development. Over the course of the years, this has led to

- 1) *a diversification of formats to meet different needs*: basic training workshops were complemented by training the trainers programmes but also with an Advanced Training.³²
- 2) *a shift in content from "conflict transformation" to "peacebuilding"*: this reflects the team's assessment that peacebuilding – with a special and strong focus on dealing with the past – is what is most urgently needed in the region of former Yugoslavia.³³

²⁹ The team clearly states that they need to be able to select at least twice the number they can accept – and thus have around 40 well-placed and credibly motivated people for a training event to take place. Last minute cancellation of participants is very common, therefore the need for a waiting list.

³⁰ In addition, nearly 30 detailed training documentations, as well as documentations of the TFT programmes and advanced training courses are available from the organisation. They provide a rich local resource.

³¹ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p7/8 mentions them, for example, in connection with a training in Montenegro in March 2007.

³² "We have learned that we keep missing an 'intermediate step' in the peace education, primarily for people who would wish to further their knowledge after the basic training, whilst not necessarily being interested in trainers' work" (8th Annual Report, 2005, p7). This development also responds to a call for more advanced training and learning opportunities in the field, see most recently the *Open Letter to Peacebuilders*.

³³ Peacebuilding "seems to us to be the most appropriate way to describe and unify some quite different fields and areas of work – from dealing with the past, the protection and promotion of human rights, education for peace, struggles for free and critical media space and the creation of a just system, to theoretically thinking about the

3.4.2 Peace Promotion

In recent years, CNA has expanded its “repertoire” in order to reach a wider audience and become more visible in public.³⁴ This expansion has taken three main forms: work with war veterans, film documentaries and book publications.

3.4.2.1 Work with War Veterans

In 2002, CNA started to work explicitly with war veterans and put together a programme called “4 Views - From the past: How I found myself in war? Towards the future: How to reach sustainable peace?”. Public Forums were organised in various towns all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. During the discussions, ex-combatants from different sides, who had participated in wars in the region of former Yugoslavia, spoke on these themes and explored their personal stories and sense of responsibility.

The speakers went through preparatory training and were accompanied by CNA team members during their public presentations and the discussions that followed. Workshops with war veterans had clear objectives: “to include former combatants in peace activities and peace building and to sensitize and raise their awareness for violence in society and social responsibility of an individual for it.”³⁵

The work with war veterans in general did generate visibility: The events, which were unprecedented and widely noticed, were covered by numerous TV stations and newspapers. Press conferences were held for all public forum events. They were usually well attended.³⁶ Printed supplements were published, among others, in *Oslobodjenje* (BiH), *Nezavisne novine* (Banja Luka, RS), *Danas* (Serbia), and *Dan* (Montenegro). A forum event in Vienna was covered by the Austrian TV station ORF.³⁷ CNA members and war veterans also received numerous invitations to TV shows, radio talk shows and interview opportunities. Some examples are: on 30 October 2003, Adnan Hasanbegovic appeared in the live TV show “Telering” on OBN TV, entitled “Living together and Peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina”; CNA team members were guests in Zoran Catic’s radio show on eFM and the radio show “Centralni zatvor” on Radio 202; Adnan Hasanbegovic and several other ex-combatants were invited to the TV show *Without Anaesthesia* (Sarajevo), as well as to the show *Buka* (Banja Luka).

In 2006, the team discontinued the public forums.³⁸ The engagement with ex-combatants, on the other hand, has continued in different forms.

Recently, for example, CNA have been able to work increasingly with war-veterans’ associations (as opposed to individuals who became involved with the blessing of their association, but without its official signing on). One example is the joint organisation of training events with two veterans’ associations in Vlasontince/Vranje (Serbia) and Sibenik

basic categories and foundations on which we act. Peacebuilding, for us, is simply the best way to describe what we do, and we see it as an absolute priority of our societies...” (from Introduction to *20 Pieces...*, 2007, p13/14).

³⁴ “We worked mainly on education in nonviolent conflict transformation and peacebuilding, a work that has remained invisible in public, so called ‘silent work’... After 2 years of work with ex-combatants, we have widened our horizons and embraced new methods of work, such as public appearances, reaching out to far more people. We have decided to share our capacities, in the years to come, between: the work on *education and strengthening of peacebuilding capacity* of individuals and groups; and to work on the *promotion of peacebuilding and dealing with the past process* in wide public.” (7th Annual Report, 2004, p2).

³⁵ 7th Annual Report, 2004, p13.

³⁶ Only from the Sarajevo press conference the team reports that “...there was nobody [from the press] at all. Probably there are lots of reasons for that. Maybe people think that they know everything already, or set other priorities.” (Sanja Deankovic, in: “Finding a Balance” – Interview in Fischer 2007, p429).

³⁷ Detailed accounts are available on CNA’s website; see also Fischer 2007a and Wils 2004.

³⁸ “... we did not want to become ‘the organisation who organises public forums with ex-combatants’; we did not want to become a kind of ‘travelling circus’ which goes from town to town, repeating that pattern” (Tamara Smidling, in: “Finding a Balance” – Interview in Fischer 2007, p428).

(Croatia).³⁹ Another example are joint visits to places of warfare, war crimes scenes and war memorials which were organised with war veterans' associations in 2007 in Sarajevo and in 2008 in Bugojno and Prnjavor. These activities grew out of a training for veterans which took place in mid 2007 during which participants showed a real commitment to continue work on peacebuilding and deepening relationships with each other, planning mutual visits of veterans' associations, joint visits to scaffolds⁴⁰ by representatives of veterans' associations from different sides and more.⁴¹ The CNA teams finds that "those 'hard' conversations and 'hard' themes are what gives [the participants] satisfaction and rejuvenation as well as (...) motivation for both new meetings and work on dealing with the past".⁴² Finally, the latest example was the co-organisation and participation in Miramidani, an activity held in September 2008 in Groznanj, Croatia. It was implemented in cooperation with three organisations from the region (Miramida Center, Centre for War Trauma Novi Sad and Izmir), all of them engaged in work with ex-combatants. The main goal was to foster dialogue between peace activists and veterans.

Reflection

The work with war veterans was initially taken up because ex-combatants were seen as particularly influential in society and imbued with a specific authenticity and credibility if they choose to speak honestly and self-reflectively about their experiences in war, as well as their engagement for peace.

The encounter has never been easy, but has reinforced the message that groups are not monolithic, that it is possible to work with unlike-minded people who are, by many peacebuilding activists, seen as 'spoilers' and 'enemies of peace'. Overcoming the mistrust that exists between groups, for example between ex-combatants and peace NGOs, and working on breaking down the stereotypes that each holds against the other is ground-breaking and demanding. It takes very seriously one of the crucial demands of peace work, in CNA's words that we are, "ready to talk with people whose value system is different from our own".⁴³ It is exactly this kind of work – with the "hard to reach groups" – that can have deep impact in post-war societies (see Chapter 1.1.2, Criteria for Effectiveness).

We therefore strongly recommend that CNA's should further engage with the group of war veterans, and additionally think about using its tested approach to reach more "difficult" groups. Despite the risk of becoming associated as an organisation with this kind of work, the public recognition and attention that is generated by it can, in our view, be used to reinforce a message of peace.

3.4.2.2 Film Documentaries

The first documentary film grew out of the work with war veterans and seemed like a natural development. Especially for trained photographer Nenad Vukosavljevic and his colleague Nedžad Horozovic it was also an exciting choice to do something new. All of CNA's documentary films were made with the aim to be "a catalyst for a constructive discussion about the responsibility for the past and the present".⁴⁴

³⁹ 9th Annual Report, 2006, p7.

⁴⁰ I.e. unmarked places of war crimes, memorials, places where people died (or were killed) in the war.

⁴¹ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p10.

⁴² *ibid.*, p9.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p5.

⁴⁴ 9th Annual Report, 2006, p11.

"Tragovi"

"Traces" is the first feature-length documentary (55 min) produced and published by CNA. It is about people on three sides in the past wars. Eight people are interviewed, four of them ex-combatants from Vlasotince (South Serbia), Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Split and Zagreb (Croatia), and four others who were close to them at war-time. They speak of their motivations to join the war in the nineties, their views on it from the present perspective and insights they gained. A. Grujovic, a journalist from Belgrade, who had also participated in a CNA basic training, led the interviews; filming was done by CNA's Nenad Vukosavljevic and Nedžad Horozovic.

"Traces" premiered in Sarajevo and Belgrade in September 2005, and in Split in February 2006. Around 80 people attended the premieres in Bosnia, 40-50 people in Serbia (with an additional 15-20 people attending a special promotion event for journalists); and, 25-30 people in Split. (There, the low turnout may be explained by the fact that invitations were only sent through a personal network of contacts for fear of attracting radical and violent groups or individuals to the event.) In October 2007, there were further promotions of the film in Graz and Vienna, attended by around 100 and 130 people respectively, among them students, peace activists and, particularly in Vienna, many immigrants from the region of former Yugoslavia.

All premieres and promotional screenings were attended by journalists, who reported about the film in both print and TV media.⁴⁵ Ensuring that coverage did require a lot of footwork by CNA team members. Occasionally, as with all attempts to gain the attention of the media, engagement with a particular outlet lead to no concrete outcome, as was the case with an interview that Nenad Vukosavljevic gave to Croatian weekly "Feral Tribune" and which was eventually turned down for publication.⁴⁶

Reactions at the public screenings were mixed. Mostly, they were positive and supportive, but there were also those "that were disapproving of the criticism of one's own side".⁴⁷ CNA's partners had similar experiences (*"There was everything from general support for everything we did ... to chauvinist reactions, people with a provocative attitude; in short, you get everything from the normal to the abnormal"*). Often, personal reactions are come by rather by chance or in private discussions later on. One such reaction especially pleased the team: "[A] cashier at a supermarket in Bosnia said something like ... "It was the film in which people from all sides talk about the war openly, and how they feel about it now, but totally different from what we can usually hear, really honest."⁴⁸ Others wondered, on the other hand, if such honest dialogue isn't just "a drop in the ocean", compared to all the other things people tend to see – and be entertained by – on TV.⁴⁹

"Traces" was shown on TV several times. It was broadcast twice by BHRT, the national public service, as well as by RTRS (Republika Srpska's TV). It was also shown in Serbia (on RTS, Radio Television Serbia, and the local station K9 in Kragujevac where one of CNA's long-term partners, Katarina Milicevic works, as well as many other regional TV stations across Serbia); Montenegro (TV Montenegro), Croatia (twice on OTV, and TV Jordan), Germany (local Bavarian station TV Bayern Alpha) and Austria (ORF, following the public forum in Vienna in 2005, and OKTO, a Viennese channel). Viewer statistics and ratings,

⁴⁵ For example in a B92 news report, and an article in the magazine DANAS.

⁴⁶ It was rejected, as the team reports, because of an "assessment of the editorial staff evaluating the replies as 'mixed-up and unelaborated'", as well as "relativis[ing] guilt and responsibility for the war and the crimes committed in the war." (CNA, 6 month report, 2005-2006, p9. The actual interview can also be found there.)

⁴⁷ CNA 6 month report, 2005-2006, p9.

⁴⁸ CNA 6 month report, 2005-2006, p11.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

where available, are shown in Annex b. The film has also been suggested – and in one case used – for school curricula.

Simulated Dialogue Series (3 films, a fourth is currently being produced):

- *“Ne moze da traje vecno” – “It cannot last forever” (2006);*
- *“Svi bi rado bacili kamen” – “All wish to cast a stone” (2006);*
- *“Pticu ti ne cujes” – “Not a bird to be heard” (2007)*

This series of films aims to create “a conversation about questions that we didn’t get a chance to ask each other”.⁵⁰ The team tried to “find ‘ordinary people’, not representatives of politics or the media (...), just people who do have questions for people of the other side about the war and the post-war period and are ready to answer questions.”⁵¹ The three documentaries simulate dialogue between people from two sides each: Bosniaks and Serbs in the first film, Serbs and Croats in the second, Croats and Bosniaks in the third. (A fourth film with Macedonian and Albanian protagonists is currently in production.) The production processes consist of several phases:

- (1) CNA partners – often people with whom the team has worked previously and who have come through one of CNA’s training courses – conduct preparatory research, asking people in their surroundings what they would like to ask “the other ones” (whoever that might be) if they had a chance
- (2) The CNA team selects 3-4 questions each that seem most important and difficult (“painful”), and adds additional 3-4 questions that probe how people come to hold their convictions or what may be behind the needs and fears they express
- (3) People from each side who will be interviewed are again selected together with partners, who also help with the logistics of filming and lead some of the interviews.

The film “It cannot last forever” had its premiere in Sarajevo’s Media Centar in February 2006. 70 people, a good turnout, attended an hour-long discussion. The premiere in Belgrade at the Center for Cultural Decontamination, also in February 2006, was seen by 30 people, which the team judges as a rather poor and disappointing attendance.⁵²

Promotion events were also organised together with partner organisations in February 2007 in Novi Pazar, Serbia (together with *Urbanin*), Bratunac, BiH (with *Odisej*) and Novi Sad, Serbia (with the *Centre for War Trauma*). Reactions of the audience – which was sizeable in Novi Pazar, small in Bratunac and Novi Sad – varied. Especially in the latter towns, the CNA team describes the atmosphere as one where much justification was going on. The promotion in Novi Pazar was covered by the media.

Promotions of the film “All wish to cast a stone” were organised in February and March 2007 in four cities across the region: in Zagreb, Croatia; Subotica, Serbia/Vojvodina; Kragujevac, Serbia and Banja Luka, BiH/Republika Srpska. The promotion in Zagreb was held at the *Centre for Human Rights*. The team reports that discussion was lively and supportive; and that it received letters of support after the screening. It was recommended that the film be shown in more accessible places and on regional TV (films were broadcast by TV Jordan and, repeatedly, by OTV). The screenings in Subotica and Kragujevac were organised with the support of municipalities and held in public cultural institutions. Guests reportedly commented that it was important for the wider public to see the film. In Banja

⁵⁰ 8th Annual Report, 2005, p12.

⁵¹ Nedžad Horozovic, in: “Finding a Balance” – Interview in Fischer 2007, p430.

⁵² Possible reasons the team identified were lack of advertising and a general difficulty to mobilise audiences in bigger towns (9th Annual Report, 2006, p11).

Luka, the promotion was held as a run-up to a screening of the film on Alternative Television Banja Luka, and took place at the Faculty of Communication Sciences. A fifth promotion event planned in Knin, Croatia (from where Serb families fled after "Operation Storm") was cancelled at the last moment, allegedly because the organiser had been scared off (although no concrete information on this was available).

The *film "Not a bird to be heard"* was just released at the time of our evaluation visit, and remains to be promoted. A public premiere is planned for October 2008.

Films were submitted to numerous festivals, and shown at several of them: "*Traces*" screened at the International Leipzig Festival for Documentary and Animated Film in October 2005 as well as at the Oxford Brookes University Human Rights Film Festival in March 2006. "*It cannot last forever*" was screened at the Kingston University (London) Human Rights Festival in April 2007 as well as at the Thessaloniki DocMarket from 19-24 March 2007 and in the main programme at Oxford Brookes University Film Festival, also in 2007.⁵³ "*All wish to cast a stone*" was shown in 2007 in the Documentary Markets at the Krakow Film Festival. It was in the main programme of Lubin's "Europe at a Crossroad" Festival in Poland in April 2008. CNA Films also opened the Srebrenica Documentary Festival in 2007 and closed the Short Film Festival in Split in 2007.

Furthermore, the first three films ("*Tragovi*", "*Ne moze da traje vecno*" and "*Svi bi rado bacili kamen*") are featured on You Tube, where they receive relatively modest viewer numbers⁵⁴ and highest ratings. All films are also available on CNA's website.

As well, all films are used regularly, by CNA trainers and by others, in training events and discussion rounds. As they are also distributed to the protagonists of the films, they further have the potential of reaching their wider circle of friends and family, potentially people not usually exposed to a peacebuilding message or dealing with the past.

Reflection

CNA's work on and through film documentaries has partly been motivated by the wish to use a medium that would be able to reach a wider audience than peace education work alone. Film, as a dramatic, personalised and emotive medium, is also hoped to have a profound motivating effect, as is reflected in the saying that "a picture says more than a thousand words."⁵⁵

The experience with disseminating the CNA films through different channels shows that good results have been achieved – the films were screened publicly, shown on different TV channels, they are easily available and are being used by many individuals in the region of former Yugoslavia. Still, the numbers of screenings and the viewer numbers remain relatively small, partly because of the limited capacities that a small team of 7-8 people with many other projects has. Some variation also exists between the countries, and it might be worth exploring whether promotion activities can be further strengthened, for example, in Croatia. (Some options also do exist to further enhance media outreach and public visibility, they will be presented in Chapter 4.)

Several of our interview partners pointed out that one cannot expect too much engagement from public audiences and that that does not automatically reflect on the quality of a film (or book): "*It's just custom here, you know, that you don't give your*

⁵³ Both "*Traces*" and "*It cannot last forever*" were also shown to classes in the MA course on Humanitarian and Development Practice at Oxford Brookes University in 2006 and 2007.

⁵⁴ This is compared to random examples of some newer and also exclusively personal entries on You Tube, and the potential of reaching tens of thousands of people through this medium. The most watched instalment is the first bit of "*Tragovi*" / "*Die Spuren*" with 3.054 [numbers from April 2008].

⁵⁵ See also Workshop Report on Workshop with Dan Bar-On, p14.

personal opinion very easy." This was echoed by several journalists who had run CNA material or interviewed CNA staff on their programmes: *"It is rare that people react"*. CNA repeatedly reflects on the fact that it has been more difficult in larger cities to compete with alternative offers and to rouse people from a general state of "not needing to know". On the other hand, turnout in smaller communities has often been very good. We therefore cannot rely too much on one single set of data – in this case quantitative numbers of screenings and the number of explicit messages of support or criticism – in order to determine the quality and impact of CNA's film work.

The dissemination effort of CNA underlines how difficult it is to rouse the interest of the mass media. For one, the films touch upon difficult issues (i.e. are not easy entertainment and sure commercial successes). Also, considerable resistance remains in many places to the films' message which some see as undermining the ethnocentric national image.⁵⁶ Here, more work is necessary to engage with editors, decision-makers and others to slowly shift attitudes and create a willingness to open up to these kinds of products beyond the group of like-minded journalists.

3.4.2.3 Book Projects

CNA has had very early experience in publishing both training manuals and materials which reflect its peace education work.

*"Nenasilje Manual" (2000) – with translations into Macedonian, Albanian and Hungarian*⁵⁷

The manual for working with adults on nonviolent conflict transformation was already produced in 2000. For the Hungarian edition, the team has organised promotions (in the Vojvodinian cities Subotica, Novi Sad and Becej) and the distribution of copies to schools, to which the response was reportedly excellent. There was, for example, a teacher from a secondary school in Vojvodina who called to say that he'd been encouraged to teach nonviolence for a whole semester in the context of the civil education curriculum.⁵⁸ The team has heard of more cases like this one, and the favourable view of CNA's pedagogic materials was echoed also by several of our interview partners. CNA's manual is used throughout the region of former Yugoslavia.⁵⁹

In recent years, the projects have become more ambitious in scope, reflecting CNA's embeddedness in and focus on *regional* work.

"I cannot feel well if my neighbour does not" (2005)

This book project, which the CNA team completed between 2004 and 2005, is a tri-lingual (Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian; Albanian; Macedonian) collection of 47 interviews with people from all over former Yugoslavia – from Subotica to Gnjilane, from Split to Podgorica, from Sarajevo to Knin – on issues of reconciliation, responsibility, guilt, nationalism, the

⁵⁶ One example for this stance, in our opinion, may be the reaction of the editors of Feral Tribune, see p23.

⁵⁷ Detailed research into the production and use of the training manual was not part of this evaluation. Since several interview partners mention the Manual, and since the production of further Manuals is considered by CNA (on work on Dealing with the Past as well as on Working with War Veterans), we want to include some information here nonetheless.

⁵⁸ 9th Annual Report, 2006, p14.

⁵⁹ A recently published report on Peace Training (Patrir 2007, p35) commends: "One of the most long-standing training organisations in the post-Yugoslav countries is the Center for Nonviolent Action in Sarajevo. Its founder, Nenad Vukosavljevic, developed training curricula that have been used by people from many sectors in the region..."

past and the future. It is meant to illuminate what people in the region think about "reconciliation" and evolves around questions like "Do we need reconciliation?" "Why do we need this?" "Which fears exist in your community that prevent people from facing the past?"⁶⁰ The focus was on views of ordinary people who are usually not heard. The team made a conscious decision to publish all translations in one volume, in order to represent the close connections within the region.⁶¹

As was the case in producing the documentary films, the book involved many of CNA's trainees and partners in preparing, selecting questions, finding interview partners willing to speak about their personal experiences, conducting the interviews and promoting the book once it was published in January 2006.

There were altogether 6 promotions: in Skopje (Macedonia), Sarajevo (BiH), Belgrade (Serbia), Podgorica (Montenegro), Osijek (Croatia) and Gnjilane (Kosovo). The CNA team organised the promotion events in Sarajevo and Belgrade, all others were organised by cooperation partners. In *Skopje* the event was organised by First Children's Embassy 'Medasi'. About 40 people attended it, among them NGO activists, media and education professionals. Media coverage, in CNA's opinion, was quite good.⁶² In *Sarajevo*, turnout was very modest (about 15 people). On the other hand, media interest was high: Both BHT1 and FTV reported from the event, and popular dailies published information about it. The *Belgrade* promotion drew a bigger crowd than expected, about 40 people, among them 10 media representatives. The CNA team was invited to appear on "Belgrade Chronicles", a daytime programme of RTS; the daily Danas was the only newspaper to publish an article about the book. The book promotion in *Podgorica* was very successful, with almost 100 people in attendance.⁶³ The audience was mixed, comprising NGO activists, media representatives, public figures. The state-owned TV station ran a report; almost all daily newspapers did the same. The local daily "Republika" published interviews as part of their feuilleton. In *Osijek*, where the promotion was organised by the Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights, around 30 people came. (The team had no information on media coverage.) Finally, the presentation in *Gnjilane*, organised by Action against Violence and for Peace Building, attracted over 80 people. (The team noticed journalists in attendance, but has no concrete feedback on numbers or coverage.)

In all the cities where there were promotion activities, CNA also had a hub for distribution (which was advertised in the Annual Report through the CNA website). The team reports that the following libraries have received a book: Aranđelovac, Aleksandrovac, Bačka Topola, Zemun, Belgrade, Bečej, Bor, Bujanovac, Valjevo, Vranje, Vrbas, Vršac, Gornji Milanovac, Zaječar, Zrenjanin, Inđija, Jagodina, Kikinda, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Kruševac, Leskovac, Ljig, Medveđa, Negotin, Niš, Novi Pazar, Novi sad, Pančevo, Pirot, Požarevac, Preševo, Priboj, Prijepolje, Prokuplje, Raška, Sjenica, Smederevo, Sombor, Sremska Mitrovica, Subotica, Užice, Čačak, Šabac, Šid (all in Serbia). Sarajevo; no information was available on additional libraries in Bosnia. Also no concrete information was

⁶⁰ Tamara Smidling, in: „Finding a Balance“ – Interview in Fischer 2007, p433.

⁶¹ Ivana Franovic, one of the co-editors, writes: "Someone may say that it would be more economical and/or practical if Macedonian and Albanian were printed in separate publications. But we rather liked the idea to keep it all in one place, tightly connected just as our destinies are mutually entwined." (From the foreword to the book; in English in 8th Annual Report, 2005, p14).

⁶² 9th Annual Report, 2006, p15.

⁶³ The main organiser recalls her approach: "It was very many people involved, from all different backgrounds. You have to know... we never have snow in Montenegro, and on that day [of the promotion], it snowed. And I believed that nobody would come because of that. Actually – the room was full. I did all [calling, email, advertisements]... I actually sent about 100 invitation letters on paper; I sent it to many different institutions, I also very often wrote down why it is important for that person to come... That could be a reason why people really came. I also sent a message through mailing lists of NGOs, and maybe 5 people came because of that list. I also had great communication with media, and with the library, they also had good PR."

available on recipient institutions in Croatia, where copies were distributed through the Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights in Osijek.

"20 Pieces of Encouragement for Awakening and Change. Peacebuilding in the Region of Former Yugoslavia " (2007)

This last book to date realised a long-standing idea to collect experiences of local activists and academics who are engaged in the field of peacebuilding in the region of former Yugoslavia. As a piece of "ethnography of peace work"⁶⁴ it grew from a need to hear what others have attempted, how they have tried to further peacebuilding and social change, what they have learned and which ongoing dilemmas they face. It addresses a variety of facets of peacebuilding: nonviolence, activism, peace education, dealing with the past, work with ex-combatants, reconciliation, civil issues from civil society to ethics, gender and demilitarisation. This publication once more builds on CNA's long-lasting connection with numerous activists and thinkers across the region of the former Yugoslavia, many of whom have contributed to the book. There are two editions, one in Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, and one in English. Taking on board some of the feedback to the previous book's "heaviness", the books are light and sleek, inviting to take them along on trips and journeys.

While putting together this volume could build on the strong network of CNA, it was also a strenuous process for the editors, in certain phases involving more than 30 people who needed to be communicated with and coordinated amongst. The production process took 18 months to completion, and at the time of our evaluation visit there had not yet been any regional promotion events due to time constraints of the team.⁶⁵

An international book presentation was held at the Berghof Research Center in Berlin, attended by about 20 interested people – working in academia or operational NGOs, or studying. Also present was Ambassador Friedrich Däuble, Germany's federal commissioner on civilian crisis prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict peace building. The team received some very positive feedback.

The team has distributed several dozens copies of the book throughout the region, and in Germany (through the Berghof Research Center).

Reflection

CNA's book productions were motivated to a great deal by the wish to "involve a whole network of people from our region that collaborate with us"⁶⁶ and spread the message of peacebuilding and dealing with the past more widely.

With respect to the first – involving a network of people and giving them voice – the team has been very successful as is reflected by the participants in the book projects. With respect to spreading the message more widely, it is difficult to gage on the basis of our information exactly how many people receive and use the books. It is even more difficult to say whether the message reaches those who might not be already open to it. Still, judging from the variety of people attending the promotions (NGO activists, journalists, local dignitaries, politicians, 'ordinary' people) it appears that there is a fair amount of success in "spreading the word".

⁶⁴ Co-editor Tamara Smidling, in: *20 Pieces...*, 2007, Introduction, p15.

⁶⁵ On the positive side, the time-consuming process of editorial work and proofreading of a volume of articles (as opposed to interviews or training materials) was a new experience for the CNA team, one from which it says it learned a lot: "We know now that we can get into this field of 'peace publishing' which has been slightly neglected and undeveloped in the overall picture of work in peacebuilding in the region of former Yugoslavia." (10th Annual Report, 2007, p20).

⁶⁶ 8th Annual Report, 2005, p4.

Several experiences around book and film production show that the climate in societies in the region is still greatly influenced by the legacy of the wars. Not everyone being interviewed felt entirely safe in having his or her identity published, which reveals a lot about an ongoing climate of caution and fear.⁶⁷ The fact that the book is nonetheless filled with the stories of many people from all countries underlines the success of the team and its network in building trusting relations.

Finally, seen from outside the region, CNA's book projects are a highly valuable contribution that corrects the trend of one-way learning, in which little attention is paid to the initiatives and expertise of local activists who work from within their societies and formulate their own lessons learned.

3.4.2.4 Other activities

While this report focuses on the core connection between peace education and peace promotion activities through books and documentary films and their use, the CNA team and its individual members engage in a wide variety of accompanying and related activities. They shall also be mentioned here briefly, because they form part of the necessary fabric of building networks and engaging in continuous learning:⁶⁸

- regional networking meetings for exchange on work in peace education, dealing with the past, etc.
- regional training and learning, e.g. a summer peace academy organised together with the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), TERCA and Nansen Dialogue Center in Sarajevo in 2008; or a training on historical narratives in cooperation with the MCC and the Center for War Trauma Novi Sad (April 2008)
- co-organisation of Miramidani, a regional exchange seminar with the topic "The role of ex-combatants in the peace-building process" (September 2008)
- participation in regional conferences, among others in the context of the regional cooperation of the Research and Documentation Center Sarajevo, Humanitarian Law Center Belgrade and Documenta Zagreb; for example in their conferences on truth seeking and dealing with the past in 2006 and 2007
- learning and training for team members, e.g. participation in several seminars on trauma and how to work with the traumatized (2004; 2006); participation in a workshop with Dan Bar-On at the Berghof Research Center in Berlin on the use of storytelling and narratives as a method of working on conflict and conflict transformation (February 2008)
- international exchange (Palestine, Turkey through Kurve Wustrow...)

⁶⁷ Information from the foreword to the book; in English in 8th Annual Report, 2005, p14. 6 out of 47 people in the book chose to have only their initials published. Some of the people appearing in the documentaries even had to deal with intimidations and threats. One of our interview partners told us how he felt most worried when people started to call his (unlisted) mobile phone.

⁶⁸ More information on each can be found in the CNA Annual Reports of 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007.

3.5. A first assessment of strategies for change

"I work on peace building for my sake too, because I want to live in an honest society where people are free and willing to stand up to violence, in a society that learns from its mistakes and watches closely that no one ever repeats them." (Nenad Vukosavljevic)⁶⁹

CNA's main strategies for producing wider social change can be summarised as follows:

1) Nonviolence/peacebuilding training and work with network partners: Providing the seeds for others' initiatives by changing individual attitudes and strengthening skills for action

- We find in support of the effectiveness of this theory of change: active and dedicated people in the network who strongly endorse its values, as well as several local initiatives: React, War Veterans for Peace Association, etc.
- We find the following factors which limit the effectiveness of this theory of change: changing individual attitudes may be a necessary but, by itself, insufficient step to generate wider changes in political action.⁷⁰ Participants often face difficulty to sustain their personal engagement and some wish for more guidance, more collective action and more capacity-building. Also, a lack of simultaneous changes on several levels (e.g. political system, economics) can curb the overall influence and sustainability of training individuals.⁷¹

2) Work with war veterans and through the media: Changing the dominant discourse and culture

- Supporting factors: Especially CNA's work with war veterans managed to have a tangible influence and is well remembered.⁷² It also opened a path for more engagement of others with war veterans and led to newly formed veterans' organisations. Due to the novelty of this approach, it was also relatively easy to interest the media and generate substantial media coverage, hereby entering into publicly visible discussions.
- Limiting factors: While work with war veterans was a very "news-worthy" story, other work is less so. Media engagement is currently rather ad hoc, but needs to be cultivated on an almost daily basis (by building and maintaining relationships with editors, journalists, etc.). This is difficult to sustain for a small team.

3) Reaching ordinary people and creating a broad change in values and attitudes: Making dealing with the past more meaningful and deeper than prosecuting war crimes

- Supporting factors: engaging 'ordinary' people across borders through books and films is successful because it builds on a strong, cross-regional network. The productions are then carried back into the families, networks of friends and smaller

⁶⁹ In an unpublished interview with Feral Tribune, CNA 6 month report 2005-2006, p11.

⁷⁰ Illustrating such potential to fall short unless supplemented, OECD/DAC 2007 (pp76-81) report on a set of international peacebuilding/dialogue programmes in Kosovo: "The assumption that the changes in attitude resulting from dialogue would lead to changes in political attitudes and actions, or trickle down to influence others in the community or trickle up to influence key decision makers, proved to be wrong. In both Kosovo Albanian and Kosovo Serb communities, implicit intra-community pressures, or 'rules of the game', restricted the boundaries of permissible interaction to generally non-visible business interactions, and made maintenance and expansion of inter-ethnic linkages difficult." (p79; see also CDA 2006.)

⁷¹ see CDA 2008.

⁷² "I think we were one of the first who started to do these things, talking very directly about war and about war crimes with people who are connected with the army. And we managed to grab a public space, and got broad media coverage for this both in Bosnia and in Serbia. So we discovered that even if it is difficult there is some space for spreading our message. ..." (Adnan Hasanbegovic, in: "Finding a Balance" – Interview in Fischer 2007, p436).

communities in which those people live, thereby engaging those who may not usually discuss about the role of the past and their own understanding of responsibility and reconciliation.

- Limiting factors: large parts of society seem tired of having to confront the past, they feel stuck in it and want to move on. They may not see the process as something that is valuable and necessary for their own and their communities' wellbeing. Also, the political discourse is still dominated by narratives of victimhood and marked by reluctance to deal with the past in a broader and deeper sense than 'simply' prosecuting war criminals.

Furthermore, there are several sets of knowledge about and criteria for successful peacebuilding that can help reflect on the overall effectiveness of CNA's approach as discussed so far (see *Chapter 1.1.2*).

First among them is the decision which target group to reach for.⁷³ In the assessment of CDA's Reflecting on Peace Practice project, successful peace work – of a set of organisations or a set of projects – needs to connect across levels and types of people: "RPP found that approaches that concentrate on More People but do nothing to link to or affect Key People, as well as strategies that focus on key people but do not include or affect More People, do not 'add up' to effective peace work. Activities to engage More People must link, strategically, to activities to engage key people, and Key People activities must link strategically to activities to engage More People, if they are to be effective in moving toward peace writ large."⁷⁴ In the following table, we present a short overview of what we see covered by CNA's work to date, and where we see a need to reflect on expanding its own programme areas or working with partners who can step in:⁷⁵

	Individual level	Social/collective level
More people	CNA: yes, through training, networking, presence in media OTHERS: ?	CNA: yes, through media and war veterans, especially war veterans' associations OTHERS: ?
Key people	CNA: occasionally through training events when these include, for example, politicians – could be expanded OTHERS: ?	CNA: somewhat through media – could be somewhat expanded OTHERS: ?

Second, looking specifically at peace promotion, a synthesis study on peacebuilding work through the media (GPPAC 2007) has proposed a number of lessons learned that peacebuilders can use to discuss their own efforts and experiences. The most salient for CNA's work and approach are summarised here:

- Since media are increasingly governed by business interests, their primary concern is reaching a large segment of the audience. Some public media also are required by law to educate and inform on certain issues, still, they aim to be reaching a mass audience with their programming, so they are looking for products appealing to a mass audience.

⁷³ CDA – Collaborative Learning Projects, RPP Handbook 2005, p7-8; matrix of influence.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p9-10.

⁷⁵ It has to be clearly acknowledged that no organisation can do and cover all. Therefore, it is useful to ask what others – alliance partners, etc. – can do and/or are doing.

- "Peace itself is not a product", so that a first step for peace workers needs to be to think about ways to "package" their message. "Those who run the media", proposes the issue paper, "tend to favour four values: immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism."⁷⁶
- Single efforts and such programmes that are geared only towards passive consumption are unlikely to lead to sustained behavioural change.⁷⁷
- Media messages in general most immediately affect change on a cognitive level (through new information), sometimes on an attitudinal level, and rarely on a behavioural level.⁷⁸

Expectations connected to using the media for social change should therefore be carefully thought-through and realistic. Important questions are: What can CNA do to enhance the "packaging" and spread of its productions? What is it willing to do? And what are necessary long-term strategies and accompanying partners that need to be in place in order to reach maximum effect? How can more people, and more key people, be reached with the existing capacities and resources?

⁷⁶ GPPAC 2007, p8.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p20 and p25.

⁷⁸ The latter two insights are also supported by an evaluation for Search for Common Ground on their TV show *Nashe Malo* ["Our House"], a TV programme for children in Macedonia which promoted intercultural understanding and conflict prevention in a multicultural/multinational society (Channel Research 2004). Whereas the programme started on the assumption that "more exposure to the programme" leads to "better impact in society", the team learned that "exposure must be accompanied by a follow-up action of a different kind, to incarnate [the message] in reality" (Channel Research 2004, p68). A second interesting shift occurred with respect to knowledge-attitude-behaviour change: the initial assumption was that "changes in knowledge lead to changes in attitudes lead to changes in behaviour"; the revision based on lessons learned reads "knowledge leads to knowledge and in some cases to changes in attitudes, but changes in behaviour are dependent on other independent variables..." (*ibid.*) – among these variables are political developments, the values in the family/neighbourhood as immediate environment, etc.

4. FROM THE INTERVIEWS: OBSERVATIONS & ANALYSIS

In this chapter, we present insights gained from the interviews conducted in March and April 2008 with a wide range of persons involved with or exposed to CNA's work, as well as with the team members of CNA. These interviews were used to gauge capacity (building), visibility and networking, media involvement and results of the work to date.

4.1. The basis: Training and work with war veterans

Training work is intended to sensitise multipliers as well as build and strengthen networks of activists. People we spoke with were in general really very happy with CNA's training work. They praised especially the trainers' skills and openness, as well as honesty and dedication.

"CNA has experienced trainers, who learn a lot during the process and they really hear our needs", workshop-participant.

"During workshops we receive very good feedback from our trainers", workshop-participant.

Trainees in local areas would love to see still more activities and follow-up work. People wished for more continuity, they wished CNA could stay engaged in their communities. The problem is that usually there is no budget for these activities, and there also is a limit to what can be done by the small team of CNA. Many said that CNA has a great network of people and felt that they should use it even more in the future, for example by preparing and supporting more people to do their own activities.

"Experience from CNA trainings was amazing, but I finished them, nothing new happened", activist

"After the training I really needed them to continue to be here. I needed some follow up activities", activist

On the other hand, people also recognized that some of their expectations were unrealistic. And some of our interview partners who had worked with CNA clearly felt prepared to engage in their local communities:

"If I can't go travel to the world, then I will bring a world to my town", activist

Events that CNA organised outside big city centres succeeded to open, often for the first time, public discussions about the wars in the nineties. The organisation is recognized for that and seen as one of the few NGOs which consistently works on issues of dealing with past.

"One woman who lost a son somewhere in war in Bosnia, approached me and said that she understands other victims", organiser of public presentation

The work with war veterans especially was unequivocally seen as ground-breaking, important in approaching a credible and hard-to-reach community of multipliers with a lot of influence and authenticity in society.

"There is a lot of space for progress [in war veterans' work], I feel like we just started. CNA really moves veterans", war veteran

Veterans describe their meetings as very powerful. This population usually feels forgotten, so they appreciate every effort to work with them. The veterans we spoke with see a great need to continue this project and say that there is strong interest among veterans. Still there are places where no one ever started this kind of work, even though it

is now more widely recognized how important it is that those who had an active role in war now need to be a part of peacebuilding processes.

The veterans among our interview partners also saw the CNA team as very professional, experienced, caring and devoted in their approach. People said that they trust them when they see them work as a team.

In all three countries of former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia), we had the impression that CNA is recognized most strongly through its work with veterans. Many other NGOs, for example, use contacts from the CNA network to approach this population. Also, many of the media professionals and journalists we spoke with remembered the film "Traces" and the Public Forums above all other things they had heard about CNA.

4.2. Films & Books: Creative and Technical Production Processes

Documentary films can have a strong influence in the process of dealing with past. This was last made evident when the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade made public a video that showed the killing of several young Bosniaks in the Treskavica mountains by soldiers belonging to a paramilitary unit of the state of Yugoslavia (Scorpions). The video was broadcast by all public TV stations in Bosnia and also in Serbia-Montenegro, triggering intensive public debate. Many people in the region consequently realised that they had to revise their view of history and the "truth" they so far had believed. Some of the perpetrators were identified and arrested following the broadcasting, also in Croatia. This shows that civil society can indeed influence a shift in public perceptions and attitudes, together with alliance partners from the media, e.g. public broadcasting agencies.

While CNA's documentary films and books may be less sensational than the "Scorpions" example, they can realistically hope to contribute their share to such a shift in public discourse, dealing with the past and perception of truth(s). Concerning the film and book production, and the creative ideas behind it, media professionals recommended that CNA improve the dramatization and packaging of production. They felt that the team already had a strength in authenticity, access to people and a reputation for serious and responsible work. Other interview partners outside the media thought that especially promotion could be improved, they had no suggestion to improve the creative or technical production per se. They especially liked the approach and honesty of CNA in making the films and books.

In the following, we look specifically at issues the CNA team had specified in the Terms of References (see Annex A):

4.2.1 Capacity (Development)

CNA's production capacity is mostly in-team and self-taught, but advised by some experienced colleagues such as directors, authors, sound and graphics professionals. It is also developed in response to input and critical reflection on the current work. By all our interview partners, it was complimented for showing a clear improvement and learning curve:

"The quality increases from one thing to the next", NGO activist

The professional standard of the films is high by the judgement of most NGO colleagues and network partners (“professional looking design”, “impressive”, “good quality”, “great”). Media professionals and journalists thought the films to be medium to good (“technique could probably be improved” [with a shrug, i.e. not seen as a priority], “average quality”, “definitely good enough to be shown on any TV station”, “nice quality, nice questioning”).

Also for the books, the standard (paper, layout, content) is judged to be very good and improving:

“[T]hey will learn, because they want to learn. [And] I think that this second publication is much better than the first.” publisher, former journalist

It was also said that even some perceived shortcomings (such as, for example, the heaviness of the volume *“I cannot live well if my neighbour does not”*) were often the result of a conscious choice (in this case a decision to create also a symbolic meeting point of intertwined destinies):

“You can see the need to communicate [with different people]. From my experience, you won’t get that by putting it all in one book. [But] they were aware of everything they did. They were aware of all of these issues.” publisher, former journalist

4.2.2 Networking and Linking up with Production Partners

The impression that working through their regional network is a great strength of CNA’s production process, especially in terms of including those voices that are not often heard,⁷⁹ is confirmed by our interview partners:

“They are building a network, and in building a network you need to use every tool. At this point, the books are probably more important for the people who are in it than for the readers...”, publisher, former journalist

“People are enormously important. If you see enemies discuss, that sends the best message to society”, journalist

One of our interview partners stressed the importance of doing both training and films. He added that the original voices in the films can only be found through the trust and serious engagement built in training; and that through this network the films can be used in many different and local settings:

“I would hope that CNA continue to do both training and films, one of them without the other would lose its meaning.” ex-combatant and film protagonist

There was, if anything, a wish by several of our interlocutors to have even stronger networks, and more capacity-building for those in regionally dispersed local networks, to run their own initiatives together, to initiate discussions, etc.

“Work with local partners, create local affiliates. Local communities need local people to move something”, ex-combatant, founder of war veteran association for peace

“I don’t want to work alone on [peacebuilding issues]”, CNA promotion partner

⁷⁹ Team members illustrate their networked production process like this: “Some of the participants in our training programmes and also ex-combatants ... helped us and worked hard to identify local partners and interested people in their communities...” (Tamara Smidling, in: „Finding a Balance” – Interview in Fischer 2007, p431) – “We developed the questionnaire together with our partners and they helped us by conducting these interviews in their communities” (Sanja Deankovic, in: *ibid.*).

4.2.3 Working with Media Professionals in Creation and Production

In producing films and making books, CNA cooperates with some trusted partners in the media, ranging from journalists, editors, technical professionals to directors and authors. These people – many of whom have also participated in CNA training – give feedback and provide ideas, they also help in making the films and books more widely known. Those we interviewed also signalled their interest and willingness to offer future support in terms of feedback but also closer collaboration (for example in technical training or co-production). Several journalists also said that they in turn are learning much from CNA, and there is some indication that journalists and media professionals are willing to work for smaller fees if they believe in the importance of the story being told.

Media professionals familiar with CNA's work pointed to one great strength of its products. Different from the "classic" journalistic approach - that is often quick and superficial, does not reach very deep and usually does not care much about the people who are interviewed - CNA is recognized for its responsible, trust-building and personal approach. This is a real "signature quality", a style that can be recognized and appreciated. It affirms a responsible approach to the issues of war crimes, reconciliation and dealing with past, and as such can send an important message to society and to the mass media.

Concerning areas of possible improvement, we came away with the impression that CNA and its documentary and book production is not as widely known as it could be when talking with a sample of media representatives who are not connected to CNA. Many of them were not aware of the books and films, or they did not connect them with CNA as an organisation.

From the interviews with media professionals, we gained several sets of options how CNA and its films and books could gain more recognition, visibility and potential influence in the media. They concern paying closer attention to media broadcasting rules and cultivating regular relationships with more media partners.

"NGO's need to think what their position can be in society and particularly on the media market and how they present themselves. They must learn how to interest the media, what their target group is and they need to start work on self-marketing", journalist

- In terms of broadcasting rules, media professionals pointed out, e.g., that one should try and choose the *right time* for publishing a documentary. Media have their own rhythm, and timing the premiere of a documentary can help gain more attention. Also, it can make it easier to enter a wanted TV station and get a better time slot for broadcasting. Mass media are furthermore highly attracted by *exclusive material*, which is of particular interest and newsworthy.
- In terms of broadening the base of media partners and ways of cooperating with them, the following ideas were raised:
 - *Co-productions with (regional) film production houses/companies* might increase access to regional markets, access to TV broadcasting and access to grants – as co-productions are often welcomed, or media stations are required to broadcast a certain percentage of them; they also might lessen potential "competition" for limited funds/grants and help to further improve production capacities
 - *Including more media professionals* - image and sound engineers, production crew, authors, etc. - might enable the CNA team to focus on personal relationship-building and story-telling, i.e. preserving their "signature style", and further

developing the dramatic value of their productions without over-stretching the capacity of the small team; at the same time, this might further enhance the attractiveness of the finished films for broadcasters.

- *Forging an on-going cooperation with selected TV studios or producers* might gain some production support as well as an entry point to having films shown and books promoted more regularly

4.3. Books & Films: Dissemination and Promotion Processes

Usually, only a small part of the influence of media products (films and books) is about the creative quality of production alone; a lot depends on the outreach, dissemination and promotion of the materials. Regarding CNA's work, there are several strengths that our interview partners commented on, particularly the use of a network of partners. Media professionals also suggested some ways of improving dissemination and promotion, most urgently investment in a professional PR approach. This was echoed by other interview partners, some of whom additionally encouraged more public and facilitated discussions.

Again, in the following we look at specific issues of the evaluation brief:

4.3.1 Capacity Development

While CNA has a good sense of what is needed (personal contacts to media representatives and journalists, sensitising them for example through training, offering them something that is worth talking about), it is our impression that their media strategy has so far been ad hoc and has relied on like-minded journalists with a general sympathy for the importance of dealing with the past and peacebuilding. CNA media contacts, and the capacity to pursue them has also been curtailed by an increasing work load, so that cultivating ongoing, frequent media contacts seems to have become more of a burden than a sought-after opportunity.

Consistent advice we heard from our interlocutors was to increase the profile of PR in promoting peacebuilding. This was formulated as advice for CNA as much as a general observation of what is missing in many organisations:

"Have a person that is professional in [i.e. mainly and expertly dealing with] PR activities ... half the job is making it visible", NGO activist

Several team members, too, said that having a person who would spend about 30% of his/her time exclusively in PR would be necessary and a big relief.

4.3.2 Use of films & books – Networks and Reach of Dissemination

While it would be too ambitious and unrealistic to expect CNA's films and books in the area of dealing with the past to have initiated a broad public debate about past wars, it can be said in sum that media coverage, reactions from the audience and anecdotal evidence about the outreach – from war veterans' meetings to NGO courses abroad – are remarkable:⁸⁰ the material is available in many libraries and through NGO partners; that the films have made it into TV is encouraging; and the viewer numbers that are available are good, especially for an independent NGO production on non-commercial issues.⁸¹ Also, there

⁸⁰ See also Fischer 2007a, p410.

⁸¹ A film producer who regularly positions own production with national TV told us for example that in terms of rating, "anything above 2 is good". CNA's ratings are between 1.1 and 3.7 (the latter for "Tragovi"), see also Annex b. ("Ratings" refer to the percentage of a population represented by those watching the programme.)

are reports from film screenings organised by partners to the effect that there is quite a lot of personal feedback from people they did not really expect to say anything.

The statement that “participants in our training courses and multipliers who already belong to our network ... use it for peace education, and so do our partners abroad”⁸² is certainly confirmed. Some use CNA movies as a tool for educational purposes and for initiating discussions. NGO colleagues, too, report that they use CNA films and books in their work as dialogue openers. Most found it very engaging and moving. (A limitation is mentioned by a colleague who used it abroad and experienced that the foreign students did not relate to it as emotionally as someone from the region.)

“CNA movies are great tool for starting public discussions”, NGO activist.

“Every time we have a war veterans’ workshop, we watch the films”, ex-combatant (Discussions may be heated, but they are always good, he added.)

“It started with family and friends, but I noticed that they showed it on national television. I went to a local café and hooked it up to a TV and all the young people there watched it. I got good reactions to it.”, ex-combatant

“Documentaries are great for opening the individual stories of people which fought in war. I think that movies broadcast on TV had [an] influence on people around me”, war veteran

“‘Traces’ I actually used in the context of one training course, in Strasbourg, in the context of the Council of Europe directory. Two international youth organisations wanted to explore the culture of peace. ... I wanted to use this film ... as a good practice of working on this kind of issues [conflict transformation, dealing with the past] through films. This group ... they found it a bit difficult to follow the subtitles and a bit long. I think for the ones who are not from the context and don’t speak the language it could be less powerful, less engaging, you know? We had one girl from Croatia, she started to cry in the middle of the film... I’d say they are quite limited to this area, ... in terms of relations.” NGO staff and trainer

“It is always better if you have a kind of model; to start a better conversation than before”, NGO activist and TV journalist

Asked what CNA could/should do, or in what ways they could imagine to cooperate, people consistently mentioned a couple of ideas. But often they pointed out that, where they had been in contact, they really also wanted to see CNA do more of the same.

“Show the films, invite people and comment. Maybe people need some assistance in overcoming their emotions”, library director

“More promotion of films in mass media”, library director

“Put more efforts in promotion”, NGO activist

“CNA needs to strengthen activities in promotion and lobbying”, journalist

4.3.3 Work/cooperation with the Media in Dissemination and Promotion

Talking with representatives of the media, we formed the impression that CNA and their production is not as well-known as it should and could be. All their documentaries are broadcast on RTS, but still their work is often not recognized – some journalists were not familiar with it, or did not have a full idea what the team actually does and produces, or they did not connect it with CNA as an organisation.

⁸² Nedžad Horozovic, in „Finding a Balance“ – Interview in Fischer 2007, p430.

"CNA documentaries are not well known in Croatia. People who heard are about them are mostly 'marginalized groups', like NGO activists", NGO activist

So while, as we already mentioned in Section 4.2, there is already a good network of like-minded people in place who work with CNA and promote and disseminate their products and share their values, and while CNA already is using many ways of working with the media, we think that the outreach to members of the mass media could be enhanced. We asked the journalists and media professionals we talked to about their recommendations for "getting their attention" and reaching a wider audience. Here is some of what they said. Specifically, they mentioned a greater need to take into account how the media tick, and offer them something that they do not already have.

"After 2000, media ... tried to be independent, and started to be commercial. ... It is of course better to have Big Brother – you can earn more money – than to have Serbia and Srebrenica – who will watch it? ... I believe that some [NGOs] just developed a 'bad attitude' with media, just didn't work on that. Like, okay, let's see, have a media officer, develop a new programme. ... Again, some clash between media and some NGOs appeared. Because 'they never want to come to their events...' They were natural allies; I blame more NGOs in this. The momentum has changed. They cannot get all the time because it costs...", NGO staff, former journalist, working with media

"If they do not interest me in a minute, then I will not listen to them. They really need to learn how to interest us", editor in chief.

"NGO's are really important to us, but we have our production that covers these topics", chief of production.

Specifically, in order to ensure catching the media's (and wider public's) interest, it was recommended to

- Initiate regular and frequent meetings with journalists, media representatives and editors. It was repeatedly pointed out that regular, personal contacts with journalists, editors, media representatives in general was "the only way" to get their attention. People described as part of their own media strategy to have "my editor" – one person we spoke to called this the "culture of 'his guy'". These can be like-minded people, interested for example in activist documentary movie production and issues of dealing with past; in addition, there should be regular contacts with people who are not already convinced.⁸³
- Invite all the individual journalists who are interested in a specific issue, and to whom relationships are maintained on a regular basis, in addition to sending general press invitations.
- Prepare small "teaser packages", in addition to sending full sets of material (i.e. films, books). Some tips for such an approach were mentioned:
 - needs to be "new" and "different" – production firms and media outlets engage with NGOs if they have something to offer which they themselves do not have
 - needs to be *credible* – serious, specialised NGO actors are taken more seriously
 - needs to be *quickly absorbable, specific and make curious*
 - needs to be attuned to media needs, e.g. timed with anniversaries, etc.
- Use every opportunity to present a new film or publication, for example also in morning programmes, where presenters often look for topics to cover.

⁸³ *"It's good to find 'your' journalist. Just have coffee with them, briefings, just to keep them informed. Then the next time they need to do a story, maybe they will call you for a comment. That's how we try to work it out."* NGO staff, working with media

- Engage well-known personalities to promote films and books and their message. In getting media attention it is useful to attract some people with a celebrity status to endorse your message.⁸⁴ Furthermore, in order to reach out to people who are not already open to themes of dealing with past and war crimes it would also help to have such “champions”, so that people would be enticed to watch documentaries on “hard topics”.
- Utilize the organisation’s website to create a frequently-updated, discussion- and news-orientated platform that people need to visit regularly to be up to date. Forums and blogs can be an additional interactive feature.⁸⁵
- Foster a “brand”. If an organisation comes to stand for something recognizable and interesting, it becomes much easier to be heard.⁸⁶

On the other hand, this “professionalized” approach can only go so far and contains, according to some, a dilemma: Several interview partners stressed that they thought it was the media who needed to change, not the NGOs or their message.

“It is not a problem with their products, the problem is the media”, former journalist

“There is still a need for work with media about what is peacebuilding, why [it] is important to deal with the past, what about war veterans in this process. It is important to have people from the media who understand a lot before they ask a single question. We need dialogue with them, not just someone [with the] task to make an article (in very limited time) !”, NGO project director

A specific problem was raised by several of our interlocutors in Bosnia, who felt that the media scene there was deeply divided and catering only to the interests of “their own”, thereby making it politically risky or exceptionally difficult for other messages to be placed. Several journalists also mentioned that they felt the directors of media outlets simply had no interest in good journalism.

Therefore, any work with and through the mass media must carefully balance the need to become better adjusted to media needs – in order to get one’s message across -, with hard-headed decisions about when it is rather necessary to educate media to one’s own standards: to be responsive to society and take a more educative and open stance.

4.3.4 Films/books as a source of self-sustainability

There is little to suggest that film/book production can become a significant source of income for an organisation like CNA; especially if one agrees that the unique quality of the projects demands long-term and time-intensive engagement and building on a variety of other activities, as we do. Comparing experiences and approaches across a range of small production firms, TV producers and NGOs, none of them find such independent production to be lucrative enough to be a financial pillar of their organisation. Most of them struggle.

Several journalists, ex-journalists and film producers we spoke to in Bosnia and in Serbia said that they were offering their films or productions for free. Some even said it may become necessary to consider paying for air-time.

⁸⁴ One veteran journalist put it bluntly: *“It is not so important what is happening, but who is talking.”*

⁸⁵ One NGO activist we spoke to also found: *“Sometimes I find a new information on CNA web, but I would love to see more updates and to have really a need to come more often.”*

⁸⁶ One publisher said in response to CNA’s book *I cannot live well if my neighbour does not*: *“they said they did not want to put the name on the cover of the book because it would be like self-promotion... I said, well, that’s the point. People want to know who did it. That’s the first information you need to send.”*

"We've made 100 TV shows and I have paid for every one of them", TV show host

"It would need an output of 10-20 books per year to start earning a profit", publisher

In the "market" of NGO publications and documentary productions, the clear trend is towards giving away publications for free (save maybe a small cover charge to recover printing costs). Also, as most materials now are also available online, it is less likely that people, especially in a weaker economy, will be willing to spend a lot on what they can access for free elsewhere.

Only in Croatia (and Slovenia) there seems to be a (buying) TV market for local productions. TV stations abroad may also occasionally pick up a documentary and pay for it.⁸⁷ One journalist suggested that if a filmmaker first established him-/herself through festivals, or was endorsed by someone important and visible, there might be opportunities, although it would take a long time to collect an income from it.⁸⁸

There are few easy answers on how to deal with this challenge – the need to become more self-sustainable and find sources of income to support the work that has increasing difficulty to get funded by international agencies and that still does not get funded by local states or societies.⁸⁹ Some activists have decided to quit the peacebuilding field altogether. Others are starting businesses in order to cross-finance some of the work.⁹⁰ Few maintain that it is more a matter of convincing people that one has a good idea and something to show for it.⁹¹

4.4. The organisation

Throughout the interviews we held for this evaluation, many people commented on what they saw as special characteristics of CNA. Often, they suggested that these characteristics also made CNA's "products" what they were, which is why we present some of the perceptions here.

4.4.1 Reputation

Most of our interlocutors had a very high opinion of CNA. Among the strengths of the organisation they named were: "honest", "dedicated", "persistent", "trusted", "open" and "listening/hearing each other", "important work" (one felt that CNA's work was particularly "precious" now) – especially war-veterans work and training –, "clear" peacebuilding focus (i.e. not trend-bound), "practical grassroots focus".

⁸⁷ For example, the ORF screening of "Traces" earned CNA 1,000 Euro.

⁸⁸ The festival circuit was also mentioned by another film producer, who thinks that festivals are a very good place to get professional feedback and inspiration. In his own experience festival criteria were that a) the material needed to be accessible and interesting for a foreign audience, b) original and creative, and c) "fresh", i.e. not having shown at too many festivals before.

⁸⁹ The director of an organisation with a strong focus on dealing with the past reflects *"at this moment I would not recognise sources for income here. We wasted time... Of course, some capacities have been built, but not in this area."*

⁹⁰ One NGO activist had just started his own training company, building on an expertise gained through his peacebuilding (training) work.

⁹¹ *"...In the last few years I [also] see a few changes. From the international community, from embassies here, some very strong international actors, let's say Norwegians, Swiss, UK, Americans, Germans partially – they understand now and they slightly changed their approach. And now they support these activities [of dealing with the past]. [...] Now I am in a situation that people call me and tell me we want to support you. Why is that? Very simply: I have a five year plan of activities... I gathered everybody from Sarajevo – ambassadors, OSCE – and I said, look at this. You can choose here, to support one small project or give me institutional support. ... If you are my donor, you need to see something."*, NGO director

There were few critical voices. These are two, one of them indirectly recounted by a team member: “sometimes we’re seen as a sect”, “sometimes their network seems a bit closed”.

4.4.2 Visibility

Our interview partners felt that CNA was quite visible, but many also commented that “they should/ could be more visible”. The team’s recent productions were less well known, at least outside of the circle of people and organisations who worked on making and disseminating the films and books. Some influential media representatives had also not heard of CNA or their work at all.

There were several ideas for increasing the visibility of the organisation and its message:

- Increase promotion activities: *“They must promote their activities.”*
- Professional PR and media liaison: *“Have a proper media team. This is something that NGOs do not have.”* NGO staff, working with media
- Invest in a “visual presence”, i.e. making sure to use more images that are memorable and create recognition, and can be associated with a clear message, also in order to be picked up more readily by the (TV/print) media. Among those may be logos, photos, etc. which supplement written materials.
- Develop “the CNA approach”, for example by writing up additional Manuals⁹² or presenting other materials in public, academia, etc.
“Maybe they could now make more explicit their [specific] approach and compare it to other ways of doing things”
- Entering mass entertainment by an unusual, and maybe not entirely serious, way was suggested by two of our interlocutors: *“There should be a Big Brother show with war veterans”,* or *“One of the CNA team should enter the Big Brother show”.*

One interview partner, though, also vividly cautioned against overrating (media) visibility and making this the only benchmark for success:

“Probably it would be the easiest way to say that they [need to] have a great publicity. That their work is covered by media. That there are thousands and thousands of people participating in their programmes. It does not happen. It will not happen – soon. But then, we have to pose the question differently: People who have this media attention, who are on the same side, generally speaking, ... what is their achievement? How many people went to their programmes? I believe that CNA has better answers...” publisher

4.4.3 (Out-)reach

In general, our interviews and research showed that CNA achieves to be present throughout the region of former Yugoslavia (somewhat more strongly in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina than in Croatia). It holds events in bigger and smaller cities and towns. Its training, films and books are used by many multipliers in the NGO field, and related events are attended by like-minded journalists, sometimes politicians, NGO activists, etc. (Compare Section 3.4 for a detailed account.) Its reach into the population of war veterans – which extends to their families and friends – is particularly noteworthy and an example of successful engagement with a “hard to reach” group that can have great influence on society.

⁹² The team is already considering preparing Manuals on Working with Veterans, Dealing with the Past in Trainings; an additional one could be, for example, on sensitising journalists for an approach of respectful listening (one example for other work on the latter can be found in McGoldrick/Lynch 2006).

Again, there were some ideas how to further improve outreach:

- To be even more present and active in small towns, rural areas, local communities:
“Appear in small towns also, don’t focus too much on Belgrade” former NGO staff
“‘Forgotten places’ appreciate the work more...” NGO staff
- To expand the network in order to contribute further to change in society:
“Networking of NGOs is really important; could be good examples.” NGO activist
- To endorse and train others, where the CNA team itself did not have the capacities – it was acknowledged that they could not cover everything and that it was also important for people to develop their own projects:
“[I would hope to gain more] skills I need in my local community for work with my ex-combatant organisations so I can gain new knowledge and serve as a bridge. ... For example, the people in my organisation have a very closed mind-set; so I would like, with Adnan and Nedžad’s help for example, take them and have them go through what I went through so that they open their minds to new forms of cooperation. Either I’d be doing this with Adnan and Nedžad’s help, or they’d be doing it with my help.” ex-combatant

“At one point, I was exhausted with my personal situation regarding these issues because I became too sensitive. ... I had big expectations that people from CNA will always be over here, you know. ... I expected their support. ... But it’s too much to expect... I told someone from CNA, it is easier for them – when they are exhausted they have each other. I was alone. I was asking: Where are they now? Then I understood, that’s my problem, that’s not their problem.”
CNA promotion partner

4.4.4 Team Capacities and Organisational Development

Finally, while we are not experts in organisational development – and have not been hired to offer a systematic assessment of organisational features as such – we feel that two salient internal issues merit attention, because they are the foundation of CNA’s ability to continue its valuable work (next to continued availability of core funding): the structure of internal roles and task divisions; and burn-out prevention. Two sentiments shared by team members embody them: “We are organised like we were, yet the work has changed a lot” and “We cannot be everything at the same time”.

These challenges are by no means exclusive to CNA; on the contrary, very many organisations struggle with similar issues and have to continue to come up with creative solutions. Some interview partners shared their own struggle with limited capacities and the need to grow or change as an organisation:

“Capacity [in terms of funding, people, etc.] needs to be there.”

“Some organisations are missing internal structures to make them effective and efficient. Some organisations in Bosnia, they have no experience [in this internal management: documentation, database creation, administration, process design, etc.]. This kind of capacity-building is also important.”

“It is often a problem when in organisations everybody tries to do everything”

While these statements did not refer to CNA, some aspects may also apply to the team’s internal structures. We conclude that it would be useful to revisit roles and task in the organisation (including possible changes) and concrete options to prevent burn-out (including options of supervision and coaching). In-depth work on this, in our opinion,

should be accompanied by an experienced facilitator with an organisational development background.

4.5. An Assessment of Impact: Changes in Culture and Social Change?

“How would I describe what these people from CNA are doing? They are committed to certain issues, they see the problem and they would like to deal with it. Are they successful? Well, I mean, then I would need to ask ‘Is this society successful after all?’ ... When it comes to my publishing house, I have stopped answering this question. I cannot have these double standards [expecting small organisations to change the world in very short time frames].” publisher

“Change takes generations. New people can make new institutions.” publisher

4.5.1 Results

CNA's work has considerable impact on an individual level, and some impact on the local community level.⁹³ All participants testify to a great impact on the personal level (one even spoke of a “life-changing experience”); new groups and organisations take up action and engage their communities (for example the group REACT in Vojvodina, the newly founded War Veterans for Peace Association in Vlasotince, and Izmir, an organisation working with war veterans in Croatia). Several people we spoke with also reported that after working with CNA, they felt a (renewed) sense of empowerment for social action (*“I felt that I could do something”*).

There are, confirmed by most, also some visible changes in public political discourse: there is more space for engagement in dealing with the past, associated with less justification of one's own side and more willingness to think critically; it is becoming impossible to argue that one side in the wars was completely innocent; there is also an increased presence of social movements (Dosta; Grosd; a campaign to influence policy of mayor of Sarajevo, etc.).

Some of these changes, especially associated with issues of dealing with the past and talking and listening across “enemy lines”, can safely be attributed in part to the contribution made by CNA's work, especially in engaging war veterans.

Larger-scale and more profound social change in the three societies was almost uniformly judged to be lagging behind by most people we spoke with, which added to a highly self-critical attitude among team members – and other peacebuilding activists – who fear to be inconsequential in their work: Is all the effort just “a drop in the ocean...”? Do “small things change, but other changes have bigger impacts”?

It would be an unrealistic – and debilitating – expectation that the efforts of one organisation or even all actors in civil society alone can change society profoundly. They need alliance partners across all levels, and in searching for ways to increase the scope of impact, it is necessary to engage and enable a broader range of actors – other civil society, national and local governments, business, the education sector – to join in with what they can do. Some ideas on whom CNA might focus on were brought up by our interview partners:

⁹³ The limited number of interviews that we conducted for this evaluation does not allow us to claim consistent or comprehensive impact; but a very high percentage of those we spoke with underlined the effects and ongoing motivation for activism they gain from having worked with CNA.

"They must start to deal with politicians, especially young ones, for example parliamentarians." former journalist

"Maybe they should work more with schools, young people in secondary education, parents. [And also involve the Ministry of Education]." NGO activist

This shift should build on the strengths and approaches already developed, as was supported by another person we spoke to:

"Keep as you are. I would be afraid if they started to work on another level. They are important where they are. Rather cooperate with actors on other levels", NGO activist

4.5.2 Theories of Change

Linking back to chapters 3.5 and 1, we have tried to distil a number of CNA's ideas about how to generate change. The importance of making explicit unsaid and implicit "theories of change" has been stressed in recent writings on planning and evaluating impact (see OECD/DAC 2007; Church/Rogers 2006). This approach encourages teams to reflect systematically on the ways in which they believe social change to happen in relation to their own programmes and activities, and to explore whether their assumptions are supported by the results achieved.

We have found the following embedded ideas about change in CNA's work:

1) Change happens through certain methods of communicating

- Work with people subscribing to different (national) identities: "the experience of personal stories trainees told each other... will encourage mutual empathy that crosses over the lines of identification only with the suffering of 'our own'... this is one possible way to initiate changes in our communities, because this kind of exchanges does not take place very often nor is there much initiative for it in public space."⁹⁴
- Being a visible "thorn in the side" that cannot be ignored: "... it was especially important to make people react and to raise an issue that society in general was reluctant to accept or deal with, using a more immediate and visceral medium, for instance film."⁹⁵

2) Change on broader level is significantly influenced by the media

- Placing a message in the media can lead to social change: "CNA certainly perceives *media people* as those with a significant multiplication capacity within their line of work, as well as a *capacity to initiate a process of dealing with the past on a broader social level*"⁹⁶
- High visibility will induce more opportunities to influence attitudes and have values talked about.
- Reaching more people will create a broader base of people who call for and act out social change.

3) Change needs many agents

- Cooperation is necessary; change only happens if different levels are involved: No one can do it alone; and cooperation across differences can be a good role model. In

⁹⁴ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p12.

⁹⁵ Workshop Report Dan Bar-On, March 2008, p14.

⁹⁶ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p6.

cooperating professionally, a base of shared values is seen as very important in order encourage cooperation, built on transparency and trust.

It is our view that these theories of change are supported in general by the interviews and evidence, yet it appears to us that the role of the media – and work through them – should not be over-emphasised at the expense of ground-level work and expansion of work with more “hard to reach” groups like war veterans.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter reviews once more the strengths and weaknesses of the different areas of CNA's peace education and promotion work of the last years. These suggest future areas of concentration or outline need for discussion. The chapter then highlights ongoing dilemmas and formulates some more general recommendations.

5.1. Strengths and Weaknesses in Training work and Work with War Veterans

Strengths:

The training:

- equipped participants with skills that are useful in their careers in general as well as with NGO networking and multiplying in peacebuilding (confirmed enthusiastically and credibly by all our interview partners)
- invigorated a strong and resilient value-base in individual participants (nonviolence, solidarity, building bridges)
- reached, motivated, and developed strong trustful relationships with, the influential, yet often marginalised group of war veterans
- created and strengthened networking and joint, shared vision and approach across groups⁹⁷
- moved the work from the individual to organisational level⁹⁸
- nurtured seeds for local initiatives and further CNA activities⁹⁹

Weaknesses:

Further work is required to address the challenges of:

- *attracting minority groups*: in training courses, it remains difficult to attract minority participants from certain regions, e.g. ethnic Serbs in Kosovo
- *engaging in follow-on training*: some training participants felt that there was a lack of follow-on engagement / support
- *tackling and strategising visibility*: the end of public forums meant that the publicly most visible work of CNA - with war veterans – moved into the background¹⁰⁰; the continuing training and the new documentaries and books have not created similar visibility yet.
- *responding to declared necessity versus preparedness of participants*: a CNA assessment raises this dilemma: "With this new, modified concept we were in a dilemma due to the feeling of heaviness... In other words, trainees may find it very hard to face very difficult and painful themes day after day... However, we were under the impression that the growing heaviness at the training was followed by the

⁹⁷ Martina Fischer, too, attests the formation of "a robust network of individuals and organisations who support CNA's goals and principles throughout Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro (including Kosovo) and Macedonia" (Fischer 2007a; p391).

⁹⁸ A case in point is the work with war veterans, which has matured from including individuals who participated with the backing of their association to cooperating directly with associations in organising events.

⁹⁹ Concrete examples here include: the war veterans' work that grew from a realisation that these participants in the "ordinary" training needed a special place; the documentary production and promotion that was supported by a network of partners from the training courses in particular; the group REAGUJI – REACT in Vojvodina – taking a stance for diversity and responsibility through social action – was established after a CNA-organised regional meeting.

¹⁰⁰ [We are aware that the choice was made consciously.]

increased motivation and empowerment for peace work.”¹⁰¹ This does bear the question how support for the activists can be improved as well as what innovative ideas can be found in helping/enticing society to deal with what it “needs to deal with”.

5.2. Strengths and Weaknesses in Production

Strengths:

The films and books:

- articulated and aired views and voices of those that are not usually heard
- documented and recorded stories, experiences and testimonies that might otherwise have been lost
- utilised and strengthened the network across borders and communities¹⁰²
- continuously integrated feedback and developed programming and own capacities through self-education and learning
- explored second opinion and different views through seeking advice by professionals and improvement through consultation
- approached and integrated, where appropriate, new fields and aimed to gain more visibility and standing, for example by linking up to ‘academic circles’ (e.g. developing teaching materials; Summer Academy 2008) or spreading the work through modern media (You Tube)

Weaknesses:

Further work is required in addressing the challenges of:

- *packaging products beyond the like-minded and addressing ‘interest points’*: in our assessment, the films need to be listened to already with an open mind – unless accompanied by facilitated conversation. This could be addressed through increasing the “dramatic quality & overall storytelling” in order to increase their potential effect with some entertainment or suspense qualities (and thus their attractiveness for mass media)
- *preventing production team fatigue*: it appears that the production schedule is increasingly hard on the small production team, also because it is exhausting to confront issues of the war-time past and guide people through that process. This could be addressed with additional professional supervision and guidance for the team; as well as by expanding the team through cooperation with professional production partners
- *increasing workload to explore innovative approaches*: the expansion of activities beyond training has not been accompanied by an expansion of the team. Thus, exploring and implementing new film and book projects (as well as other innovative cooperation projects) add to a heavier workload, especially as new areas are explored and things are done that haven’t been done before and for which there are consequently no established routines, tested capacities, or of realistic estimates of the time and energy needed. This should be discussed among the team and taken into account in planning next year’s activities.

¹⁰¹ 9th Annual Report, 2006, p5.

¹⁰² This assessment is supported, among other things, by statements like this: “Around 20 persons from Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Macedonia have started to work on this book project. Many of them belong to CNA’s informal network and participated in the “Training for Trainers” programme.” (CNA 6-month report 2005, p9, cited in Fischer 2007a).

- *balancing film/book production versus visible engagement in public debate:* producing more publications (and more films) in house (plus also taking on the responsibility to coordinate, market, follow up, administer, etc.) risks taking away time, energy and capacity for publicly visible engagement in debates and discussions. This should be discussed among the team and taken into account in planning next year's activities.
- *exploring new, creative ideas versus strategic direction:* CNA seems to be trying itself – also according to different preferences of the team members – in many different trades at an increasing pace of ideas and products, potentially overloading the team and going off in many different directions. This should be discussed regarding its validity by the team.

5.3. Strengths and Weaknesses in Dissemination and Promotion

Strengths:

The films and books:

- built trust and solidified relationships. CNA's approach seems particularly strong in "opening up" those who participate because it can build on the established network, as well as the investment of personal energy. Participants we spoke to are therefore also eager to further promote films, books and the general approach.
- strengthened cross-boarder cooperation and networking. Working with the networks CNA has built through training and cooperation helped to promote films and books throughout the region, which is an asset in reaching "closed" or "isolated" societies
- applied directly in different (training) contexts. Materials are used a lot in CNA's own training as well as by others in training and many other contexts, from family meetings to town-hall meetings to work in youth centres, etc. as was confirmed by our interviews.
- made it into national, regional and local TV programmes (as well as some international ones) and are available in many libraries across the region
- increased and strengthened CNA's recognition among some journalists (especially "Traces"), international partners and like-minded groups and colleagues.

Weaknesses:

Further work is required in addressing the challenges of:

- *redressing decreased TV-use* (beyond "Tragovi") of films. Options for addressing this challenge may be to increase PR, work more closely with editors and journalists and improve the 'packaging' of the message.
- *reorganising time and energy* to ensure that enough is left for promotion. This includes the decision whether to continue with current team structures or whether to agree on a more diversified division of roles (administration, PR).
- *developing follow-ups and working with the publications* to date to increase visibility and public engagement and debate, so that the stated aim to become more publicly visible and influential is more fully achieved
- *balancing the capacity-intensive work for high-quality focused professionalism versus income-generation:* From our interviews and comparisons with other publishers and productions, it appears unlikely that films and books can become a major source of income, thus a continued emphasis in this area creates the need to acquire funds through other sources.

- *creating high visibility productions while maintaining low organisational profile*: the tension between a personal (or institutional) preference for a low profile – don't want to "brand" and push CNA as a kind of "label", need to be mindful of potential risks involved with high personal visibility – and the stated needs of the industry in order to be recognised should be thought-through once more by the team regarding benefits and costs.
- *reaching the like-minded versus reaching the hard-line mainstream*: still, it appears that CNA's work is respected and better known by those who are in the same "camp", but has a more limited reach in mainstream society. Achieving more airtime on TV is one option to address this dilemma, but further options to reach wider should be explored beyond that.

A number of **dilemmas** – or fields of tension and trade-off – are clearly present in this set of strengths and weaknesses:

- Fatigue in society vs. Need for dialogue on the past and peacebuilding
- Increasing visibility vs. Down-sides of visibility (exposure, energy investment, potential of making enemies, danger of manipulation of message)
- Demands of strategic development vs. Insecurity of finances ('ideals' vs. 'reality'; also "more of" something usually must mean "less of something else" in light of limited funds and limited team capacity)
- Need to engage vs. Opposition to certain groups ('selling-out' vs. 'isolation')
- Benefits of cooperation vs. Difficulties of cooperation (issues of control, shared values, etc.)

The following recommendations will be discussed by CNA and refined for implementation in light of these ongoing tensions.

5.4. General Recommendations

Production and Promotion Adjustments

Increasing visibility in communities: Review opportunities and interfaces to interact with the public. To further enhance exposure of CNA's products (and values), the team should explore whether it can free up time to engage in public more often, using some of its own products (films, books) for public debates, appearances in schools, public film screenings, etc. Another option may be to expand the website to include more interactive or current news features which would guarantee more repeat visits by users of the site. (R3)

Increasing visibility in/through the media: Plan and exercise media liaison and PR even more regularly and systematically: It has been strongly suggested by many of our interview partners that CNA's work could and should be more well known. Regular and systematic investment in PR and media promotion can create significant effects in this respect, and should be explored in light of current team capacities, as well as in light of the team's strategic decisions about future emphasis. CNA's media strategy should be developed on the back of its peacebuilding strategy, not the other way around. (R1)

Enhancing appeal of products through "dramatization": Build own capacity in story-telling and explore work with professional producers/editors on more technical aspects of film-making. The media market and the viewing patterns of many individuals and societies call

for “drama” and/or entertainment. While we recognize a very strong unique value in CNA’s current approach (built on relationships, modelling conversation, respectful towards the protagonists), some visual enhancement may be possible without compromising the underlying values. In light of the limited capacities of the team, such further development should be discussed both in light of personal interest of team members and of the realities (finances, ownership) of cooperation with outside professionals. (R2)

Programme Development

Building on strengths in crucial peacebuilding areas: Continue to engage with “hard-to-reach” groups. As was found by the Reflecting on Peace Practice project, “...dealing with the ‘hard’ is important for cumulative impacts to happen” (CDA 2008, 8). Also, CNA’s work with war veterans has already found great resonance and meets several criteria for effectiveness (creating independent initiatives, strengthening resistance to daily violence, leading to institutional buy-in, i.e. through engagement of war veterans’ associations). We therefore strongly recommend that CNA continue work with war veterans in forms that are appropriate and inspiring for the team. The team should also discuss whether it can and wants to reach out to other or additional “hard-to-reach” groups in the future (for example ethno-nationalistic politicians, associations of victims’ families or non-likeminded civil society actors in the national environments). (R4)

Engaging with more and key people: Work with your materials. Having produced both films and books, CNA has ample material to enter into public dialogue about issues of peacebuilding and dealing with the past. We see this as a promising way of engaging both with more and key people, a further criterion for the enhancement of peacebuilding effectiveness. In the area of key people, CNA could explore options to work with young parliamentarians and political party activists beyond what is already done to date. In the area of more people, CNA could explore ways of taking the materials into schools, encouraging and possibly training teachers on how to lead constructive, nonviolent discussion, or lobbying for use in curricula across the region with Ministries of Education. (R5)

Contributing to more co-financing: Explore income-generation through training internationals, etc. and sharing experience on work with war veterans and dealing with the past. The financial dependency on external funding of peacebuilding work, and especially work on dealing with the past, remains a fact for many organisations. While we could not detect evidence that film/book production can become a main pillar of income and ensure self-sustainability within the context of the region of former Yugoslavia, there may be some options for income-generation on a small scale. The team could explore, for example, charging for training of international trainers (focusing on its main areas of experience and expertise: dealing with the past, war veterans); asking for cover charge for training manuals for international people and organisations; charging those who can afford it a small fee for participation in training courses and/or work in parts with businesses or other “paying customers” on related issues (communication, etc.). (R6)

Organisational Development

Revisit division of tasks within the organisation: CNA has held regular team meetings (so-called summits) during which future strategy, team roles and interests, etc. are discussed. We recommend that the team continue this practice, during the next joint workshop also

focusing on the viability of current team roles and division of tasks. Some important questions in our view are: is there a need for more diversified roles (administration, PR)? Has the workload changed in the past so that people are working much more than 150%? What additional support is needed and can be realised? (R7)

Continue to invest in personal development and burn-out prevention. "We have learned gradually over the ten years to watch over ourselves more, to take rest and not go over our limits, and to find more time for learning and our personal development."¹⁰³ The team should continue to place an emphasis on both issues and think about additional ways of supporting itself and its members in the demanding work. (R8)

Strategic Choices

Continue to work across a spectrum of activities (training, films/books, debate, discussion, presentation). The mix of different methods of peacebuilding (training, films, books, etc.) has proven to be a special asset and is seen by many as a strength, creating a signature product that models a change in values (from acrimonious relations to respectful dialogue). We therefore strongly recommend that CNA continue to work across this spectrum of activities. At the same time, we believe it is important that the team think about the number and speed of activities, and how much can realistically be achieved in a given year by a team that remains relatively small. (R11)

Continue to strategise with a view to building on own strengths and filling gaps. The team – and peace researchers – have identified several gaps that need to be filled in order for peacebuilding to be more effective: among those are, for example, a lack of sustained capacity-building for people outside of training for trainer's programmes (Open Letter for Peacebuilders 2008); working with unlike-minded groups and those who do not share the same values; working with key people and political decision makers (CDA 2004; 2008). The move towards peace promotion and the work with war veterans are already contributing to filling such gaps. Future questions then can be: who else is doing what now? which gaps best link up with the team's strengths and are most inspiring? Which can be supported, both in terms of individual and team capacity and in terms of funding/fundraising?¹⁰⁴ (R9)

Continue to work in cooperation and look for alliance partners who could maximise effectiveness in peacebuilding: "[N]o single organisation can do this alone"¹⁰⁵ – this is very true, and it is important to remember it regularly. Using cooperation strategically, different important messages could be sent: against the negative image of NGOs, against the isolation of peace activists, for change in government institutions, for work with people who are marginalised, etc. (R10)

¹⁰³ 10th Annual Report, 2007, p4.

¹⁰⁴ A useful tool here are the CDA worksheets on Strategic Choices and Criteria for Effectiveness (CDA 2005).

¹⁰⁵ Tamara Smidling, in: "Finding a Balance" – Interview in Fischer 2007, p420.

Further Reading and Links

Media & Peace

American Public Health Association (APHA): Media Advocacy Manual. Connecting with the Media [without year], available at www.apha.org/NR/rdonlyres/A5A9C4ED-1COC-4DOC-A56C-C33DEC7F5A49/0/Media_Advocacy_Manual.pdf

Vladimir Bratić: Media Efforts during Violent Conflict: Evaluating Media Contributions to Peace Building, in: conflict & communication online, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006; available at www.cco.regener-online.de

Channel Research: Evaluation of *Nashe Malo*: Design, Implementation and Outcomes – Social Transformation through the Media. December 2004, available at www.channelresearch.com.

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC): Why and When to Use the Media for Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding. Issue Paper No. 6, December 2007, available at www.gppac.net

GPPAC Awareness Raising Toolkit, 1st Draft, 2007, available at www.gppac.net/page.php?id=1962

KOFF: Media and Peacebuilding. Workshop Report. Berne, 25 June 2002.

Annabel McGoldrick/Jake Lynch: PEACE Journalism. Colombo: Sri Lanka Muslim Media Forum, in collaboration with Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies, 2006.

Christoph Spurk: "Media and Civil Society. Clarifying Roles and Relations." Paper presented at the 48th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 28 Feb – 3 March 2007.

Christoph Spurk: "Media, Peacebuilding and Civil Society. How Mass Media can play a Constructive Role and re-enforce Civil Society's Potential in Peacebuilding." Paper presented at the 49th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, 26-29 March 2008.

Vergangenheitsbewältigung und die Rolle der Medien. Thematisierung von Kriegsverbrechen in den Medien von Bosnien und Herzegowina. Von Radenko Udovičić, Ozren Kebo, Tanja Topić und Benjamin Butković. Sarajevo: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung & Media Plan Institut, 2005, available at www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_7668-544-1-30.pdf

Training & Peace

Peace Training. Preparing Adults for Peacework and Nonviolent Intervention in Conflicts, Cluj-Napoca (Romania): PATRIR 2007 (with Robert Rivers, ed.), available at www.peacetraining.org/

Nenad Vukosavljevic 2007. Training for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation. Experiences of the "Centre for Nonviolent Action" in the Western Balkans. In: *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, Online Version*. Berlin: Berghof Research Center. Available at www.berghof-handbook.net/uploads/download/vukosavljevic_handbook.pdf

Learning for Social Change. Exploring Concepts, Methods and Practice. By Peter Taylor, Andrew Deak, Jethro Pettit and Isabel Vogel. University of Sussex, Brighton, Institute for Development Studies 2006. Available at www.ids.ac.uk

Evaluation, Impact Assessment and Criteria for Effectiveness

CDA Reflecting on Peace Practice: Handbook 2005, available at http://www.cdainc.com/cdawww/pdf/manual/reflectingonpeacepracticehandbook_Pdf.pdf

CDA Collaborative Learning Projects: Has Peacebuilding Made a Difference in Kosovo? A Study of the Effectiveness of Peacebuilding in Preventing Violence. Lessons Learned from the March 2004 Riots in Kosovo. Report, July 2006, available at <http://cdainc.com/publications/rpp/articles/CDAPeacebuildingReportKosovo.pdf>

CDA Reflecting on Peace Practice: Consultation Report "Understanding Cumulative Impacts" 2008, available at www.cdainc.com

Designing for Results. Integrating Monitoring and Evaluation in Conflict Transformation Programs. By Cheyanne Church/Mark Rogers. Washington: Search for Common Ground, 2006, available at www.sfcg.org.

OECD/DAC: Encouraging Effective Evaluation of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities: Towards DAC Guidance. By Mary Anderson, Diana Chigas, Peter Woodrow. Paris: OECD, September 2007, available at www.oecd.org (DCD(2007)3 Unclassified).

Reflective Peacebuilding. A Planning, Monitoring and Learning Toolkit. By John Paul Lederach, Reina Neufeldt and Jal Culbertson. Notre Dame, Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 2007. Available at www.crs.org and <http://kroc.nd.edu>.

Politics of the Region

Crisis Group: "Will the real Serbia please stand up", Europe Briefing No. 49, 23 April 2008, available at www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?action=login&ref_id=5402

European Stability Initiative (ESI) "A Bosnian Fortress. Return, Energy and Republika Srpska", Report 2007, available at [www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpDocuments\)/A6498969F75F7468C12573B6005DAD94/\\$file/ESI+Bosnian_Fortress_-_19_December_2007.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpDocuments)/A6498969F75F7468C12573B6005DAD94/$file/ESI+Bosnian_Fortress_-_19_December_2007.pdf)

FAST Analysis and Updates 2006 & 2007, available at www.swisspeace.org

Åsne Seierstad: *With their Backs to the World. Portraits from Serbia*. New York: Basic Books. 2005

Tania Topic: Electronic Media: Regulation Efforts in a Semi-Protectorate, in: Martina Fischer (ed.): *Ten Years after Dayton. Peacebuilding and Civil Society in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Münster: Lit Verlag, 2007, 157-183. Available at www.berghof-center.org/std_page.php?LANG=e&id=197&parent=10

Other Relevant Contributions & Areas

"Dealing with the Past in Israel-Palestine and in the Western Balkans. Story-telling in Conflict: Developing Practice and Research". Dan Bar-On meets Peace Activists from the Western Balkans. Workshop Report by Veronique Dudouet, Martina Fischer and Beatrix Schmelzle. Berlin: Berghof Research Center, 2008. Available at www.berghof-center.org/uploads/download/bar_on_workshop.pdf

"Just Wasting Our Time?" An Open Letter to Peacebuilders, March 2008, available at www.lettertopeacebuilders.ning.com [forthcoming in Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 7, *Peacebuilding at a Crossroads?*, available at www.berghof-handbook.net/std_page.php?LANG=e&id=5]

Public Conversations Project (working to create a different kind of public dialogue; lots of work with politicians, whose 'combative diatribe' is found to be a divisive factor in the US and abroad; work with churches, too.) More information available at www.publicconversations.com

United States Institute of Peace: Programme on Media, Conflict and Peacebuilding; more information available at www.usip.org/media/

CNA Materials

Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA): *Four views: How I found myself in war, How to reach sustainable peace*. English translation of the supplement published in *Vreme*, No. 600, 4 July 2002, www.nenasilje.org/aktivnosti/cetiri_pogleda/pdf/4views-vreme.pdf

CNA Annual Reports 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, all available at www.nenasilje.org

Helena Rill and Ivana Franović, *Ne može meni bit dobro ako je mom susjedu loše [I cannot feel well if my neighbour does not]*, Belgrade: Centre for Nonviolent Action, 2005

Helena Rill, Tamara Smidling, Ana Bitoljanu (eds.): *20 Pieces of Encouragement for Awakening and Change. Peacebuilding in the Region of the Former Yugoslavia*. Belgrade/Sarajevo: Centre for Nonviolent Action, 2007

Nenad Vukosavljević: *Nenasilje? [Nonviolence?] Priručnik za treninge iz nenasilne razrade konflikata*. Sarajevo: Centre for Nonviolent Action, 2000. Available at www.nenasilje.org.

Nenad Vukosavljević, *Tragovi [Traces]*, Belgrade-Sarajevo: CNA, 2005 (DVD)

Nenad Vukosavljević, *Ne može da traje večno [It cannot last forever]*, Belgrade-Sarajevo: CNA, 2006 (DVD)

Nenad Vukosavljević, *Svi bi rado bacili kamen [All wish to cast a stone]*, Belgrade-Sarajevo: CNA, 2007 (DVD)

Nenad Vukosavljević, *Pticu ti ne čuješ [Not a bird to be heard]*, Belgrade-Sarajevo: CNA, 2007 (DVD)

Evaluations of CNA and Material on CNA's approach

CNA Internal Evaluation 2001, available at www.nenasilje.org

Martina Fischer 2001. *Conflict Transformation by Training in Nonviolent Action. Activities of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo) in the Balkan Region*. Berlin: Berghof Research Center. (Berghof Occasional Paper 18.) Available at www.berghof-center.org

Oliver Wils 2004. *War Veterans and Peacebuilding in Former Yugoslavia. A Pilot Project of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA)*. Berlin: Berghof Research Center. (Berghof Occasional Paper 24) Available at www.berghof-center.org

Oliver Wils & Natascha Zupan 2004: *Dealing with the Past and Conflict Transformation in former Yugoslavia. A Project conducted by the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA), Belgrade and Sarajevo. Joint Report*. Available at www.nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/evaluacija/JointReportEvaluation2004.pdf

Martina Fischer 2007a. *Confronting the Past and Involving War Veterans for Peace. Activities by the Centre for Nonviolent Action, Sarajevo / Belgrade*, in: Martina Fischer (ed.) 2007. *Peacebuilding and Civil Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten Years after Dayton*. 2nd Edition. Münster: Lit Verlag, 387-416

"Finding a Balance": *Dealing with the Past, Present and Future. Interview with the CNA Sarajevo Team*, in: Martina Fischer (ed.) 2007. *Peacebuilding and Civil Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten Years after Dayton*. 2nd Edition. Münster: Lit Verlag, 417-440

Martina Fischer (ed.) 2007. *Peacebuilding and Civil Society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten Years after Dayton*. 2nd Edition. Münster: Lit Verlag, Available at www.berghof-center.org

ANNEXES

annex a

Overview of general economical data:

	GDP <i>per capita</i> (in EUR)	GDP growth rate (in %)	Annual inflation rate (in %)	Annual unemployment rate (in %)
Serbia	2.730	6.5	17.7	21.6
Croatia	6.972	4.3	3.3	12.7
Bosnia - Herzegovina	2.095	7.4	4.1	31.3

*(Based on data from Southeastern Europe Investment Guide, sixth edition, 2007)

annex b

Viewer statistics and ratings, where available, are shown in the following table

FILM	Station	Time Slot	Viewer numbers (refers to total no of individuals watching full-length programme)	Rating in % (refers to percentage of population)	Share in % (refers to percentage of the population who was watching anything at the time)
<i>"Tragovi"</i>	BHT1, BiH	Mon, 14.11.2005 21.00-22.00	N/a	3.7	6.7
	RTRS, BiH				
	RTS-2, Serbia	20.3.2006 22.00-23.00	77,000	1.1	2.8
	K9, Kragujevac, Serbia	N/a			
	TV Montenegro	N/a			
	OTV, Croatia	N/a			
	TV Jarda, Croatia	N/a			
<i>"It cannot last forever"</i>	RTS-2, Serbia	16.7.2007 22.00-23.00	103,545	1.5	4.6
	TV Montenegro	N/a			
<i>"All wish to cast a stone"</i>	RTS-2, Serbia	29.6.2007 18.30-20.00	92,740	1.3	6.5
	TV Montenegro	N/a			

ANNEX A

Terms of Reference [August 2007]

Terms of Reference for the Evaluation of CNA work

Background

Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo-Belgrade) is a regional peace organisation which has since 1997 gathered expertise in particular in peace education. Since 2002 CNA has engaged strongly in peacebuilding promotion, initially through work with ex-combatants and since 2004 increasingly using also other methods such as video production and publication of books which presented an additional field of peacebuilding promotion within the work on the issue of Dealing with the past.

Aims of the evaluation

The evaluation should examine the correlation between the achievements of training and networking achieved in previous years, and its interdependency with peacebuilding promotion activities (video production and publication). Furthermore it should examine usefulness of applying a variety of different methods within peacebuilding and dealing with the past, including specific standards for professional use of methods and results achieved by using specific methods. The evaluation should also examine achieved results and to what extent has the envisioned target group (audience) been reached and the impacts it had. Evaluation findings shall serve the purpose of providing a base for **self-reflection** in regard to strategy and action-fields of CNA and outline specific **strengths and weaknesses**. Application of gained insights should support CNA in future **strategy of peacebuilding work and dealing with past** more useful and efficient.

Aspects of the Evaluation

Two major aspects of the evaluation are: peacebuilding aspect and media aspect (production, distribution and promotion, incl. cooperation with media).

Taking these requirements into account the evaluator team shall consist of two persons with specific individual expertise in these different fields. Main evaluator shall have peacebuilding expertise whereby the second evaluator will be media expert with at least basic insights in peacebuilding and knowledge of the context of Western Balkans.

Main questions related to:

1. Documentary films
 - a. Production process
 - To what extent were capacities built through educational work used in the production of documentary films?
 - How were capacities for video production built within CNA?
 - How were the film ideas born, who participated in their creation and design?
 - How were media professionals included?
 - b. Results and Impact
 - What reactions and feedback were received?
 - What kind of impact was expected and achieved in regard to goals of Peacebuilding and Dealing with the past?
 - Advantages and limitations of the specific role of peace organisation (goal oriented approach) in video production?
 - How were produced documentaries used, where were they shown?
 - How was cooperation with media within film promotions?

- Video production as possible pillar of CNA's self sustainability, reality, challenges and visions.
- Guidelines and questions to be answered for future strategy?

2. Publications

a. Production process

- To what extent were capacities built through other CNA work used in the production?
- How were capacities for publication work built within CNA?
- How were the publication ideas created, who participated in their design?

b. Results and Impact

- What reactions and feedback were received?
- What kind of impact was expected and achieved in regard to goals of Peacebuilding and Dealing with the past?
- How were produced books used, how are they accessible?

Procedure and methods & Evaluation outputs

The evaluator team shall meet mutual agreement and prepare a detailed plan including task division. During the field visit, interviews will be conducted with relevant individuals: CNA staff, production partners, partners in promotional activities, media professionals (particularly those who are socially engaged), media partners etc.

Based on interviews and insights gained from reporting and documentation materials, findings will be drawn from and presented in a **joint report**.

At additional **feedback workshop** with CNA the main evaluator will present evaluation results and discuss potential adjustments of work strategy based on these findings.

Schedule

The evaluation shall take place in **early 2008**. It will entail 10-13 days of travel and interviews in Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and additional 10-13 days for preparation, report writing and feedback workshop with CNA staff (**Summer 2008**).

Logistics

CNA will provide evaluators with all information and documentation needed in the preparation and exploration phase of the evaluation.

Translator will be organized by CNA if requested. Working space will be provided by CNA. CNA will assist the evaluators in other logistical aspects.

ANNEX B

Schedule of Evaluation Visit

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Venue</i>
March		
7	DK* arrival in Belgrade; first meeting with CNA team	Zagreb - Belgrade
10	BS arrival in Belgrade Meeting BS, DK and CNA Belgrade team - Logistics Meeting BS and DK – Evaluation team preparation Interview with I. Franovic (“CNA Belgrade”); BS	Berlin - Belgrade
11	Interview T. Matic (“Youth Initiative for Human Rights”); DK Interview G. Velez (“Groupa 484”); BS Interview V. Kranjac (“B92 TV”); DK Interview H. Rill (“CNA Belgrade”); BS	Belgrade
12	Interview K. Milicevic (“TV K9”); DK Interview N. Kostic, (“War Veterans for Peace Association”); DK Interview A. Samokal Jovanovic (“Library Leskovac”); DK Interview N. Vukosavljevic (“CNA Belgrade”); BS	Leskovac/ South Serbia Vlasotince/ South Serbia Kragujevac/ South Serbia
13	Interview J. Jankovic (“War Crimes Prosecutor’s Office”); BS Interview L. Zekovic (Podgorica/Montenegro by phone); BS Interview F. Svarm (“Vreme”); DK	Belgrade
14	Interview D. Ilic (“Fabrika Knjiga”); BS Interview T. Gnjidic (Subotica/Vojvodina by phone); BS Interview L. Radonjic (“Mreza”); DK Interview D. Markovic (“Hajde da”); DK Feedback Marcelo, Serbian hip-hop artist (via e-mail)	Belgrade
15	Transfer to Sarajevo	Belgrade - Sarajevo
16	Interview C. Glavas (“Odisej” Bratunac); DK Interview A. Grabner; (Sarajevo by phone) BS Interview Slobodanka (Nevesinje by phone); DK Interview S. (Boba) Dekic (journalist & activist); DK Interview A. Trifunovic (“TV Banja Luka” & Nansen Dialogue Center”; Banja Luka/RS by phone); BS Feedback V. Beara (“Centre for War Trauma”; Novi Sad, via e-mail)	Sarajevo
17	Interview S. Deankovic (“CNA Sarajevo”); BS Interview T. Smidling (“CNA Sarajevo”); BS Interview L. Milovanovic (“Youth Council Srebrenica”); DK Interview B. Avram (by phone); DK	Sarajevo
18	Interview B. Kontic (“Media Centar Sarajevo”); BS Interview A. Arnautovic (“xy films”); BS Interview N. Horozovic (“CNA Sarajevo”); BS	Sarajevo
19	Interview Z. Catic (“eFM radio”); BS Interview A. Delic; BS Interview N. Karacic; BS Interview A. Hasanbegovic (“CNA Sarajevo”); BS	Sarajevo
20	Interview M. Tokaca (“Research and Documentation Centre”); BS	Sarajevo
April		
25	Interview V. Terselic (“Documenta”); DK Interview I. Zenzerovic (by phone/email); DK	Zagreb Zagreb

28	Interview P. Jurisin; ("Zensura" by phone/email) DK Interview E. Jakovcic; ("Zensura" by phone/email) DK	Split Split
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**Evaluators initials (also indicating main interviewer):*
BS = Beatrix Schmelzle DK = Davor Konjikusic

ANNEX C

People interviewed in chronological order

Ivana Franovic, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 10.03.2008)

Tanja Matic, Regional Media Coordinator, Inicijativa mladih - Youth Initiative for Human Rights (Belgrade, 11.03.2008)

Gordan Velez, project assistant, Groupa 484 (Belgrade, 11.03.2008)

Vanja Kranjac, chief of production, B92 TV (Belgrade, 11.03.2008)

Helena Rill, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 11.03.2008)

Katarina Milicevic, director, TV K9 (Kragujevac, 12.03.2008)

Novica Kostic, War Veterans for Peace Association, participant in training for ex-combatants, public forums, film protagonist in *Tragovi* (Vlasotince, 12.03.2008)

Aleksandra Samokal Jovanovic, director, Library Leskovac (Leskovac, 12.03.2008)

Nenad Vukosavljevic, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 12.03.2008)

Jasna Jankovic, PR War Crimes Prosecutor's Office (Belgrade, 13.03.2008)

Lidija Zekovic, now works on sustainable development issues, interviewer and promoter for book "I cannot live well if my neighbour does not", participant in Basic Training, Training for Trainers and public forums (Belgrade/Podgorica (Montenegro) by phone, 13.03.2008)

Filip Svarm, journalist and editor, "Vreme" (Belgrade, 13.03.2008)

Dejan Ilic, director, Fabrika Knijga (Book Factory) (Belgrade, 14.03.2008)

Tijana Grnjidic, now works as manager for an IT company, interviewer and promoter for book "I cannot live well if my neighbour does not", participant in Basic Training, Training for Trainers, part of group REACT (Belgrade/Subotica by phone, 14.03.2008)

Lila Radonjic, journalist, "Mreza" (Belgrade, 14.03.2008)

Darko Markovic, member of board, former president, "Hajde Da" (Belgrade, 14.03.2008)

Marcelo, hip hop singer, film protagonist in "All wish to cast a stone" (via e-mail, received 14.03.2008; also published in Politika online, www.politika.rs/rubike/Pogledi-sa-strane/CNA.It.html [accessed 30 September 2008])?

Cedomir Glavas, Odisej, participant in training courses (Sarajevo, 16.03.2008)

Anita Grabner, now works in a bank, formerly youth organisation Gorni Vakuf/Uskopolje, interviewer for book "I cannot live well if my neighbour does not" and participant in Basic Training and Tft (Sarajevo, 16.03.2008)

Slobodanka (Boba) Dekic, journalist & activist, (Sarajevo, 16.03.2008)

Slobodanka (Sarajevo/Nevesinje by phone, 16.03.2008)

Aleksandar Trifunovic, journalist and activist, Nansen Dialogue Center/TV Banja Luka "Buka" (Sarajevo/Banja Luka (RS) by phone, 16.03.2008)

Vladan Beara, co-founder and project director, Centre for War Trauma, Novi Sad (via e-mail, received 16.03.2008)

Sanja Deankovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Sarajevo, 17.03.2008)

Tamara Smidling, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Sarajevo, 17.03.2008)

Ljubisa Milovanovic, Youth Council Srebrenica (Sarajevo, 17.03.2008)

Boris Avram, student from Nevesinje, interviewer for book and promoter for film (Sarajevo, 17.03.2008)

Boro Kontic, director, Media Centar (Sarajevo, 18.03.2008)

Aldin Arnautovic, journalist, editor and activist, xy films (Sarajevo, 18.03.2008)

Nedžad Horozovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Sarajevo, 18.03.2008)

Zoran Catic, journalist, eFM radio (Sarajevo, 19.03.2008)

Amer Delic, participant in training for ex-combatant in ABiH (Sarajevo/Zadovici, 19.03.2008)

Nermin Karacic, participant in training for ex-combatants and film protagonist in "Tragovi" (Sarajevo, 19.03.2008)

Adnan Hasanbegovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Sarajevo, 19.03.2008)

Mirsad Tokaca, director, Research and Documentation Centre (Sarajevo, 20.03.2008)

Vesna Terselic, director and peace activist, Documenta (Zagreb, 25.04.2008)

Iva Zenzerovic, (Zagreb by phone and email, 25.04.2008)

Pero Jurisin, journalist from Split, co-founder of NGO Zensura – Association for the Promotion of Media Freedoms (Zagreb/Split by phone and email, 28.04.2008)

Eugen Jakovic, journalist from Split, co-founder of NGO Zensura– Association for the Promotion of Media Freedoms, editor from local TV station Zadrán (Zagreb/Split by phone and email, 28.04.2008)

ANNEX D
Guiding Questions

(1) Questions for Partners in Production and Promotion – draft 26.2.2008

On familiarity/connectivity

How did you first learn about CNA? What was your first contact? (*follow-on: How has your professional relationship developed since then?*)

How would you describe CNA's mission?

On expectations, capacity-building and perceived change

What attracted you to get involved in CNA's work? How did you get involved exactly, what was your role?

What were your expectations? Were they met? (*follow-on: Can you give an example in what way they were met or not met?*)

What would you say you have learned by working with CNA? (*follow-on: What capacities were strengthened, if any? How have you made use of these new capacities / insights since then?*)

For you personally, did your involvement bring about any changes? (*follow-on: Did you see any changes in your environment (community, society) that were caused by your work with CNA or CNA's films/books/activities?*)

Did you get any reactions, any feedback on your own work with CNA, or on CNA's films/books/activities? (*follow-on: What kind of reactions, can you give a concrete example?*)

For those who participated as interview partners in films or authors in books

How did you hope this production (film/book) would be used?

What do you know about the actual use of the production (film/book)? Were your expectations met?

Would you like to participate in another film/book production {or promotion} by CNA? (*follow-on: Why? Why not?*)

How were, as far as you know, the film and book ideas born? Who participated in their creation and design? (*follow-on: Are those "all the right people"? Should anybody else be involved in future projects?*)

What would your recommendations be for making CNA's productions (more) attractive for networks/publishers and viewers/readers?

On role of NGOs, perceptions of importance of peacebuilding and dealing with the past

What is, in your personal opinion, the role of NGOs in your society?

In your own understanding, what is the most important component of peacebuilding?

What do you see as the main priorities for the societies of the Western Balkans with respect to peacebuilding and dealing with the past in the coming years?

What do you see as the main priorities of peacebuilding organisations in the coming years?

What do you see as the role of the media in this process? (*follow-on: How would you describe the relationship of peacebuilding organisations and the media? What would you like this relationship to look like?*)

What would you see as your personal role/contribution?

On all else

Any other suggestions/thoughts/ideas?

(2) Questions for Media professionals, especially the programming people at TV stations – draft 26.2.2008 (also used as base for other NGOs)

On familiarity and making contact

Have you heard about the work of the Centre for Nonviolent Action? What do you know about them? (*follow-on: Can you describe what you see as their mission? How have you first heard about them?*)

Which of CNA's books or films are you familiar with? (*follow-on: How did you get to know about the books/films?*)

On "quality" judgements of products/audience

From your personal background and experience, how would you judge the professional standard of the books/films? (*follow-on: What are your criteria for "high-professional standards"?*)

Of the films that have been broadcast so far on TV, we have the following viewer ratings {Alternatively: Of the books we have produced, we have distributed/sold XX many copies...} How would you interpret these numbers? How do they compare (in terms of the audience they reach) to other, similar productions?

On reactions/feedback

[*If films have been shown by the network; {alternatively: if books have been presented/sold/promoted}*] What reactions, if any, did you receive in response to the broadcasting of CNA films/ presentation of CNA books?

Would you be interested in showing more films by CNA / Would you be interested in promoting more books by CAN? (*follow-on: Why? Why not? What would be subjects that you think are especially important and/or interesting?*)

On selection criteria

What are your selection criteria for films/books you choose for your programme?

On options for income-generation through films

Thus far, CNA's films/books have been offered for free. Would your network/organisation be willing to pay for showing such local productions? If yes, what would be a marketable price? (i.e. how much would your network/organisation be willing to pay...)

What would your recommendations be for making CNA's productions (more) attractive for networks/publishers and viewers/readers?

On role of NGOs, perceptions of importance of peacebuilding and dealing with the past

What is, in your personal opinion, the role of NGOs in your society? How should the media engage with NGOs?

Does your network/organisation have any explicit rules of engagement/partnership with NGOs?

In your own understanding, what is the most important component of peacebuilding?

What do you see as the main priorities for the societies of the Western Balkans with respect to peacebuilding and dealing with the past in the coming years?

What do you see as the role of the media in this process?

What would you see as your personal role/contribution?

On all else

Any other suggestions/thoughts/ideas?

(3) Questions for CNA Team – draft, 26.2.2008

On goals/vision and theory of change

What do you hope to achieve with peace promotion?

What does “social change” mean to you? How, in your personal opinion, does social change happen? (*follow-on: in people?, in relations?, in structures?, in cultures?*)

Have you seen such change happen in relation to CNA’s training, publication (films/books) and promotional activities?

On creative production process

How were the film ideas/ book ideas born? Who participates in the creation and design? (*follow-on: Are those “all the right people”? Should anybody else be involved in future projects?*)

How do you produce documentary films? (*follow-on: What is most important to you? What could be improved? What have you learned so far about film production?*)

How do you produce books? (*follow-on: What is most important to you? What could be improved? What have you learned so far about film production?*)

On cooperation with the media in production and promotion

How did you cooperate with the media during film/book production? (*follow-on: What worked well? What would you change?*)

How do you promote your events, films, books?

How did you cooperate with media during promotion activities? (*follow-on: What media do you use/approach? How do you establish contacts with media? What worked well? What would you change?*)

What do you know about how your films/books are distributed and used? (*follow-on: Who is the audience? What are their reactions? How do you gather your information, what sources do you use?*)

On the impact of films/books and their promotions

What impact do you expect your films/books to have in the areas of peacebuilding and dealing with the past?

What impact do you see/witness? (*follow-on: How do you measure impact or change?*)

On directions for the future

What do you see as the main priorities of your work in the coming years, and why?

What do you see as the main obstacles for your work in the coming years, and why?

On all else

Any other suggestions/thoughts/ideas?

ANNEX E:

Feedback Workshop 18-20 September 2008 – Agenda and Main Discussions Results

Participants

CNA Belgrade Team: Nenad Vukosavljevic, Ivana Franovic, Helena Rill, Nenad Porobic; CNA Sarajevo Team: Tamara Smidling, Sanja Deankovic, Nedzad Horozovic, Adnan Hasanbegovic; Beatrix Schmelzle (*external evaluator & workshop facilitator*)

Agenda

Thur, 18 September 2008: Agenda Setting

Fri, 19 September 2008:

- Main Findings of the Evaluation (Input: B. Schmelzle)
- Discussion and Clarification of Report
- Joint Analysis of selected Recommendations regarding: options of implementation, pre-conditions for implementations and likely consequences (*see below*)
- Collection of Open Questions for Discussion during Team Summit

Sat, 20 September 2008:

- Agenda Adjustments
- Continued Joint Analysis of selected Recommendations regarding: options of implementation, pre-conditions for implementations and likely consequences (*see below*)
- Collection of Open Questions for Discussion during Team Summit
- Debriefing of Evaluation Process and Feedback Workshop (*see below, "worked well" and "do differently"*)
- Next steps for Finalising Evaluation Report

Discussion of Selected Recommendations[#]

Recommendations	How can it be implemented? -some options-	Pre-requisites?	Consequences?	
			☺	☹
R1. better visibility in media: more media liaison + PR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - press screening of films - inviting journalists to trainings - statements on political events (important ones) - more media contacts - more TV presence - more press material - work with 'celebrities' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * time * experienced person 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - could open doors (media, donors) - could increase influence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - so far limited results - team consensus needed - feeling manipulated/ 'used' by entertainment TV
R2. dramatization of products		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * strategy with priorities If nat. PB>yes If not>not so important 		
R3. better visibility in communities: more interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - linking with events, e.g. Miramidani - visiting mayors, etc. in communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "visibility is a means pr influence" "visibility of work" "visibility of team" 		
R4. continue work with 'hard to reach' groups	<p>WAR VETERANS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - training per year + prep. + follow-up enough - training for trainers / advanced training in mixed groups - actions, meetings, conferences - promotion of documentaries with war veteran associations <p>OTHERS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - victims' families' assoc. - politicians: > include in activities, but no new 'programmes' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * team capacity > diff. formats (from training) to open for more team members > explore work with others outside CNA * support for hard work of team members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - takes a lot of energy - beyond of capacity of team

	> reflect on their role within 'national strategy'			
[R5.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
R6. contributing to self- sustain. Rather: to income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - taking a fee for trainings (as a symbol for commitment) - fee for summer academy - developing training programmes for int. activists (work with w-v, dealing with past) 	<p>PB is dependent on being funded</p> <p>* coop. with others</p>	- can be some addition to covering running costs	- will not be big enough to unsure full peace building programme
[R7.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
[R8.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
[R9.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
[R10.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
[R11.]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Notes from flipchart: Helena Rill – many thanks!

Open questions for the team

- organisation of work in the team: how to make *explicit* agreements on how to do it (differently) stick
- how to increase visibility – possible trade-offs (e.g. political messages, statements)
- co-producing films – what can it look like?
- increasing promotion / PR – how can it be done? Possible trade-offs?
- How can team members support each other better within the team?

Evaluation of the Workshop and Overall Evaluation Process

<i>WW (= worked well)</i>	<i>DD (= do differently)</i>
Taking into consideration comments/feedback b/w 1 st and 2 nd draft	Think about pro & contra of journalist as media expert
Trust built by being treated as partner; 'subject'	Prepare 1 st draft w enough time (content before deadline)
Logistical support for eval. team	Avoid treating team like 'object'
Close & respectful 'external'	Avoid being a secretive 'team of experts'
Opened some access to media field (specifically by having a media expert)	Have ears for interview partners; allow more questions
Good cooperation and listening	Think about ways to prepare for feedback workshop (team-internal)
Face-to-face preparation meeting	Be clearer about expectations
Good to have feedback workshop at the end	Check in when stuck (shared responsibility)
	2-3 interviews per day max (really!)
	Check in regarding focus mid-way

ANNEX F

Contact Information

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More information on the Berghof Research Center's work can be found on its websites:

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www.berghof-handbook.net

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