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Cultural Policy in Bosnia Herzegovina: Experts Report

Togetherness in difference: Culture at the crossroads in Bosnia Herzegovina
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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily engage the responsibility of the Council of Europe.

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Executive Summary

Together in Difference is a stand-alone commentary on Bosnia Herzegovina's cultural policy situation. There is no National Report on cultural policy to which it responds. Given the difficulties of the post-war period it is understandable that the two entities and ten cantons found it difficult to write a jointly agreed report. However getting the three sides –Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats - to discuss cultural policy together was of immense importance. It is perhaps the lasting legacy.

We urge the entities in Bosnia Herzegovina to continue the National Report writing process by answering the questions within the ideal cultural policy template suggested below. It will provide the baseline from which to move forward and to engage in European level debate. It provides a useful trigger to think about issues as well as to generate and implement policy. The hidden benefits of undergoing a review process are immense as it highlights weaknesses and strengths and gaps in knowledge. Given the fragmentation of the country hardly anyone knows how the system as a whole works. As a consequence there is a severe lack of expertise in the country especially on legal and financial instruments.

Cultural policy so far has been concerned with reconstruction and saving the infrastructure from the past and there is little cultural development work or re-assessment of the role and purpose of cultural activity and cultural institutions. Culture is still to a large extent considered narrowly as the high arts, the classics, the tradition and heritage without considering the broader spectrum of culture including its central role in the creation of identity, or as an instrument for establishing integration and cohesion as well as helping us understand cultural diversities. Furthermore popular culture is downplayed so appreciating the potential of the cultural industries becomes difficult. Consequently the wider social, economic, image and tourism impacts of culture are under-estimated and this contributes to culture being under-valued at one level. On another level though culture is politically over-emphasised in terms of highlighting that the differences between the Bosniac, Croat and Serb people are fundamental in some essentialist sense as distinct from resulting from different historical, religious or personal experiences.

In no country in Europe is cultural policy more important than in Bosnia Herzegovina. Culture is both the cause and the solution to its problems. Cultural arguments were used to divide the country, yet culture might be able to bring people back together again through initiating cultural programmes and activity that increase mutual understanding and respect.

We propose that Bosnia Herzegovina undertake 10 major and 100 smaller tasks in a 1000 days. By posing the issue in these dramatic terms a sense of urgency is created as well as a defined goal. The **10 big tasks** proposed for discussion are:

- To consider developing a **talent strategy for Bosnia Herzegovina** as the overarching theme of the country's cultural policy
- To initiate a **National Cultural Policy Report writing programme**
- To consider the setting up of **Cultural Commission or Cultural Task Force** made up of a wide diversity of interests that should undertake the research and writing for such a report. The Cultural Commission should lobby for a new style slimmed down and strategically focused and innovative ministry.

- The **role of state institutions should be clarified**, broadly discussed and perhaps new organizations should be added to the list of state institutions so both geographically spreading them as well as allowing them to have various stations throughout the country.
- An **anti-counterfeit programme should be initiated** in parallel with an awareness raising and educational programme.
- The **book-fund** already agreed should be **implemented** to give confidence to cultural actors.
- A **surprising theme or project should be invented** that is not even yet on the agenda, but emerges by thinking through cultural policy afresh.

Vigorous attempts should be made to agree **three cultural policy priorities**, which will assist in nurturing the country's talent, such as:

- A **'Giving hope to the young' strategy**, which is essentially the core of the talent strategy, involving young people and the setting up of a Young Persons Task Force
- Developing a programme called **'A Sense of Belonging: An Intercultural Agenda'**
- Initiating **'Creative Bosnia Herzegovina: Unleashing the power of the cultural industries'**.

It is not for us to outline the details of the **100 smaller tasks** except to indicate the kind of activities they could include, such as:

Finding a series of schools with a focus on the three constituent peoples to set up a creative education initiative linked to an exchange programme between them; developing an intergenerational project where young people teach older people computer design skills or web design; creating a music competition involving younger players from the different communities; re-discovering older rural traditions and re-inventing them in the new locations of displaced people; creating a cross-departmental project, say a tourism heritage trial, with a joint budget to encourage collaborative working; identifying a series of public spaces where improvements are created by multi-disciplinary teams of artists and planners; instigating an analysis of the state of the cultural industries; setting up a cross entity young peoples cultural committee, and so on.....

Having a target of 100 tasks to fulfil in 1000 days might be a useful method of thinking through what initiatives to take and to monitor between the entities and cantons what has been achieved that is original, effective and forward-looking. At the end of the 1000 days BiH's cultural policy efforts should be reviewed - say in autumn 2005.

The fact that there has been no ministry could be turned into an advantage by creating a new style ministry of culture. This would act in partnership with key stakeholders as the strategist of cultural development and national coordination, so ensuring that culture plays a full part in every aspect of Bosnia Herzegovina's reconstruction and development. The objective is not to increase centralized powers or overload a central body with many tasks, but to identify a few strategic tasks that are appropriately undertaken by a slimmed down ministry at a state level. Indeed the notion of subsidiarity, whereby decisions are taken at the level closest to the people, is clearly important for the context of BiH. The interim solution is to set up a Cultural Commission or Cultural Task Force with a representative structure, but an executive group that is delegated to implement the tasks outlined above. This will fill a significant gap as there is no structured mechanism to share information between and within entities. Developing and

updating a National Report as an on-going process gives the Commission/Task Force a first *raison d'être*.

A crucial question to assess honestly is how many of Bosnia Herzegovina's current cultural problems are to do with war and how many of them with broader world-wide cultural shifts that BiH would have had to deal with in any case. Within this the role, function and purposes of major cultural institutions must be rethought from scratch to make them fit for 21st century purposes. Otherwise they will lurch from crisis to crisis given that they eat up the bulk of the country's cultural budget.

In terms of finding inspiration and relevance from elsewhere it is equally important to learn from the successes of countries with a similar past as BiH such as Slovenia, Romania, Hungary or Poland as well as Western countries.

Section One: A template for developing cultural policy

‘It is always the same question we ask ourselves: What happened to us – and then we sink into a sense of bewilderment and shock’.

Unsurprisingly the cultural policy review process in Bosnia Herzegovina (BiH) was completely different from other countries – **this is the only report and there is no National Report on cultural policy to which it responds**. It is important for readers, especially in Bosnia Herzegovina therefore to know, what the ‘normal’ Council of Europe cultural policy review process is. This will help BiH in the future to work on its own unique cultural policy. Cultural policy, in our view, is crucial and of central relevance to the development of the country – more so than perhaps anywhere else. At the end of the report the recommendations challenge Bosnia Herzegovina **to undertake 10 major and 100 smaller tasks in a 1000 days**. By posing the issue in this dramatic way, we seek to highlight the focus and urgency required to address a series of problems such as: The complexity of cultural policy making in fragmented ‘statelets’ brought about by the Dayton settlement; the massive brain drain and the disaffection of youth; the position of state institutions in the 21st century; information and knowledge gaps and the need for greater skills and management capacity.

The normal procedure by which Council of Europe cultural policy reviews are undertaken is as follows. A country approaches the Council asking for an external review of its cultural policy. On approval the Council selects a multinational group of usually five experts representing a variety of European cultural policy traditions, such as the Nordic, Germanic, Anglo-Saxon, East European and Mediterranean. One of these people chairs the group and there is also a rapporteur who writes the report. Before the expert group begins its task the country has written its own National Report commissioned by its Ministry of Culture and delegated to an external group of local experts. These reports increasingly tend to follow a template provided by the Council. The Council in this sense acts as a useful catalyst.

We summarize the main kinds of question such a template suggests, so that on-going work on cultural policy in Bosnia Herzegovina has an internationally recognized example to follow. This template has developed for three reasons: First it is based on what the twenty or so existing reviews have found to be the key issues; second it allows for a degree of comparability between the cultural situation in different countries; third it is practical. The check-list within the template is a helpful organizing device and can include the following questions:

- **Cultural policies in a historical perspective.** What were the major policy trends and instruments used over the past years, what were the cultural policy priorities in the past five years and why were they highlighted? For example, one country might focus on cultural heritage, another on cultural tourism and a third on developing the cultural industries.
- **Decision-making:** How is culture organised, what is the system and its structure at national, regional and local level and who is responsible for what and how does co-ordination between levels of government occur? Why was it decided to organize culture in this way and has it been effective? How does the public, private and community sector relate? Do public authorities work inter-departmentally and across the sectors in partnership in order to maximize opportunities? For example, are there links between tourism agencies and the tourism ministries or between the department of economic affairs and cultural industry companies or associations?

- **General objectives of current cultural policy:** What are the main elements of current national cultural policy? What definition of culture is used? Is it more related to the arts or is it seen more in terms of the wider anthropological definition of culture? Do cultural policy objectives reflect the principles developed by organizations such as the Council of Europe or Unesco, or the practices adopted by good performing countries in your region? What are the key contentious and difficult current issues in your cultural policy development and debate, such as decentralization and devolution versus the degree of centrality in the cultural sector?
- **Main legal provisions in the cultural field:** What is the overview of legal competences and the legal framework within which cultural workers, artists and organization operate? What provisions exist for the cultural industries, such as film, TV or the music industry? Is there sufficient protection for an independent media? What is the state of intellectual copyright, property rights and cultural heritage law? What is the assessment of your regulatory and incentives structures, such as in promoting public-private partnerships or sponsorship? Are there special conditions in your country that require unique legal treatment?
- **Financing of culture:** How is culture financed both publicly and privately? What are the dynamics of cultural market and does this encourage or deter cultural development? Is culture centrally or de-centrally funded? What financial instruments are available, such as matching funds, sponsorship laws or sector specific incentives including dedicated film or book funds? What capacities exist in understanding financial complexities and opportunities both at the national as well as international level, such as the European Union and foundation funding or resources available from international development banks? Are there any special incentives to encourage cultural activities or creativity in general?
- **Employment in the cultural sector:** What are the key facts about the labour market? What is the state of training within the different cultural sectors; how well is cultural management developed and are there strategies to stimulate employment in the cultural sector?
- **Cultural industries:** What are the dynamics of the book trade, music, film, television or design industries or those of the media and new information technologies? How well are these understood and analysed? Have economic impact studies been undertaken? Is there adequate regional spread or is everything focused on Sarajevo? Is this positive or negative? How well are domestic industries doing or are they being dominated by foreign owned companies? Where does most cultural product come from? Are there possibilities of creating regional programmes or developing regional markets across language lines? Are there incubator units and support structures to encourage company development and local product? What programmes exist to help the cultural industries? Are there links between culture departments and those concerned with economics or tourism? What is the state of cultural tourism? What mechanisms exist to encourage this sector?
- **Heritage development:** Are legal provisions for monuments, heritage protection and natural landscapes adequate and are they being implemented? Are international conventions adhered to? Is there a regulatory and incentives regime to encourage public and private owners to invest in heritage? Are there active links between urban planning departments, conservation bodies and cultural divisions?
- **Cultural institutions:** What is the state, status, role and development potential of major cultural institutions, such as archives, libraries, museums, academies, visual and performing arts venues? How are they organized, financed and managed? Are new forms of management and ownership emerging, such as trusts and are

partnerships or collaborations developing? Is there an overall modernization programme or are the institutions operating as they have always done? Is the role and remit of national institutions clear; what is their geographic spread or is there a concentration on a few major cities? Is there a network of performance spaces that form part of a circuit? Are there too many institutions or too few? How many does BiH need? How many can BiH afford?

- **Cultural minorities:** Are there special legal provisions to safeguard minority cultures and is there active promotion of cultural diversity? Is diversity seen as a contentious issue and if so what is being done to foster inter-cultural understanding? Are there fusion art forms between different cultural groupings?
- **Arts education:** What is the condition of arts education and training at primary, secondary and tertiary level? What are the main changes in the last five years and what are the trends within specific art forms such as music, performance or the visual arts? How well are industry schemes and more informal programmes developed such as in community arts to generate more active participation? Are there programmes for all age groups? Is the broader role and potential impact of participation in the arts publicly acknowledged beyond culturally interested people?
- **Cultural associations and centres:** What is the role of cultural associations or cultural centres; are these new style organizations or traditional throw backs to a former era? What role do they play in civil society development? How are they constituted, managed and networked? What activity programmes do they have? Are the participants amateurs or semi-professionals and is there evidence of their contribution to creativity development? Do the associations or centres connect with the education sector and adult learning or are they more self-referential?
- **Participation:** What are the trends in participation, such as audience figures or consumption patterns? What is the balance of participation in the classic arts, or folklore or popular culture? How much viewing and participation is domestic or foreign culture? What policy initiatives exist to promote participation in cultural life both for mainstream and marginalised groups? What is the level of participation in commercially generated activities and what for subsidized activity?
- **Support to creativity:** Are there any special artist support schemes, incentives or policy initiatives that foster creativity? Are there schemes targeted at non-artists to increase their appreciation of creativity? Are there schemes to provide artist studio spaces?
- **Level of cultural debate:** To what extent is a debating culture on the country's culture and its development encouraged and fostered through the various media? Is this a sophisticated debate? Is there an alternative cultural scene across the country to balance mainstream activity?
- **New forms of international cultural collaboration:** What forms of bilateral and multilateral co-operation exist; what is the level of international collaboration between cultural organizations and individuals, does this filter beyond the official links and in what ways is it encouraged and supported? What international organizations operate within the country and how effective are they?

Under easier circumstances all of these questions would have been addressed in a National Report. There would have been an assessment and judgment on issues and major strategic dilemmas would have been raised. These dilemmas might have included issues such as: The role of national institutions and their renewal; the difficulties of the domestic cultural industries to survive economically; the disengagement of youth with traditional cultural institutions. This would have made the role of the external experts report clear and easier: to

comment on a pre-existing written report. It would also have provided a sense of equality between what internal specialists would have said and outsiders.

We **urge** the entities in BiH to continue the National Report writing process **by answering the questions within the ideal cultural policy template provided above**. It will provide the baseline in terms of both statistical evidence and judgement about activities from which to move forward and to engage in European level debate. This will help Bosnia Herzegovina negotiate with the key international cultural actors. It provides too a useful trigger to think about issues. It is not expected that BiH will as yet have policies under all the various headings mentioned, especially given recent history. Indeed most countries do not have these comprehensive policies. For example, the ideal Council of Europe template asks ‘what are the programmes for the cultural industries’, the baseline answer for 2002 might be ‘we have as yet not considered these, however we are now aware that they are important and will begin to address the issue’. Such a statement of intent would in itself then become an element of cultural policy, especially if it is then specified what precisely will be done about the topic and under what timescale.

The hidden benefits of the National Report writing process: The Council of Europe’s National Report of Culture Policy programme and process has had another unsuspected benefit for participating countries especially those in transition. It is usually the first time that a country brings together facts, statistics, analysis, interpretation and opinion on its cultural situation. When done well, with honesty and enthusiasm it can act as a catalyst. It can clarify options and burst the bubble of unrealistic expectations that might either be held by official bodies or cultural actors or even outsiders who want to help. Producing the National Report is in itself a lesson in acquiring the necessary skills for cultural policy-making, leaving aside the Report’s role to communicate. Developing the National Report should be conceived as an on-going process, the result of which is a live document that is regularly up-dated and added to, as it helps to:

- Build an up to date picture of the current and past cultural situation in factual, statistical and policy terms.
- Act as a structured mechanism to share information between and within entities and provides a core activity of the proposed Cultural Commission or Task Force.
- Provide the basis upon which broad aims, objectives and targets can be set by the various cultural stakeholders.
- Clarify the dynamics and strengths and weaknesses of the cultural system.
- Identify the strategic dilemmas in culture that the country faces so helping to determine priorities and roles for the different cultural actors.
- Highlight new agendas, such as the importance of the cultural industries or the social inclusion debate.
- Create greater understanding of how a national culture is connected to the global cultural system.
- Clarify the different approaches to cultural policy making and their applicability to a country such as Bosnia Herzegovina.
- Focus on what European best practice is and the extent to which it is replicable in Bosnia Herzegovina.
- Establish the need for collaborative partnerships within and outside of the public sector.
- Offer a template and monitoring tool for future updating and evaluation

- Provide the basic data sources for national-decision making and international organisations.
- Serve as the reference for future up-dates and starting point for any future researchers, policy makers and government officials.
- Be the basis for informed conversation nationally and internationally.

The differences in approach: The Bosnia Herzegovina review happened differently as can be seen. Going through its story is instructive, because it highlights the cultural policy making dilemmas the country faces. At the outset it became rapidly clear that no National Report in the conventional sense could be written. In the aftermath of war the last thing people were thinking about was cultural policy, even though it could be one of the main levers to bring the country forward. The country has been pulled apart; networks have faded or atrophied, survival at any cost has been the priority and there seemed no immediate practical benefit of standing back and assessing what to do strategically in culture. Furthermore who would write the report and who would they represent? The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and within that the two groups Bosniacs and Croats or the Serbs from Republika Srpska? Would there be one report or two or three? Immediately the fact that BiH has three constituent people, living in two entities caused a barrier.

The involvement of the Council of Europe was helpful in bringing the parties together especially as BiH was keen to join the Council. The expert team consisted of Charles Landry, who acted both as chairman and rapporteur; Veronika Ratzenboeck from Kulturdocumentation in Vienna, who took part in the majority of visits; Delia Mucica, a legal expert from the Romanian Ministry of Culture who was present on two occasions; Vladimir Simon from the Romanian ministry; Andy Feist, an employment specialist and Peter Inkei from the Budapest Observatory all came on one visit each. Instead of doing study tours around the country and meeting people along the way it was decided to hold a series of seminar workshops with each seminar focusing on a topic where BiH experts would present papers on topics with the intention of drawing them together as one. The first event was held in Bihac in the summer of 2000, the second in Banja Luka in March 2001, the third in Mostar in September 2001, the fourth in Sarajevo in January 2002 and a final week long visit for a variety of personal interviews in Sarajevo and Banja Luka in March 2002. We thank our colleagues from Bihac, Banja Luka, Mostar and Sarajevo for all their efforts in arranging meetings, which we know were difficult to organize and for their participation.

Initially it was agreed that the expert team would act as ‘critical friends’ to the two entities in writing a joint single report for the Council with the role of: Helping to edit drafts jointly prepared by the entities; to synthesize those drafts and prepare them in such a way that the messages and issues are clear; to provide within the report an expert commentary as pointers for the future development of cultural policy. In the end in fact the externals have written an independent stand-alone report that from the beginning was clear should address both internal and external audiences.

The first meeting was about the historical context, that outsiders would need to understand in order to assess how they might help BiH develop and implement its cultural policy. It immediately became apparent how difficult it was to come to a jointly agreed text to describe both the distant and more current past. Every event had multiple interpretations, every personality triggered different responses, every phrase seemed laden with complex meaning and potential dispute. For example are the South Slav peoples **really ethnically different or merely culturally different**. On how this fact alone is interpreted a mountain of problems

rest. Yet without doubt the various population groups lived side by side for centuries with varying degrees of harmony and tension and the result has been layers of overlapping history and loyalties, but also a cultural richness that in former times could be seen in places like Sarajevo, which was one of Europe's truly multi-cultural places. Another example of contention was how different actually the languages of the Bosnians, Serbs and Croats are. Again to the outsider the differences appear minuscule and far less as compared to the differences between a written Scottish and an English English or Hochdeutsch and Bavarian or Sicilian and Milanese.

The next problem was in finding a common definition of what the 1992 war was about, why it happened, where blame was to rest and what could be concluded in assessing cultural policy problems. In order to move forward many things had to remain unsaid, such as the differing roles or ambitions of Milosevic, Tudjman, Karadzic or Izetbegovic. Srebrenica could not be discussed and a myriad of other events such as Grabovica, Stpni Do or Kazani. But at the same time the war did happen, it did unleash untold damage, it was completely negative, it was a failed endeavour.

To the outsider there were also all sorts of hidden semantic traps. For example, whatever the official designations Bosnia is the name generally given to the country, but intense care had to be taken when to say Bosnia Herzegovina or the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina or Republika Srbska. These are matters of extreme importance internally, but bothersome to the average outsider.

In spite of these problems the mere fact that we insisted in **getting the three sides to discuss cultural policy together** was of immense importance – it **is perhaps the lasting legacy** and has created a precedent to be taken forward. The individual participants, which over the whole process amounted to more than a 100 people, claimed that the joint meetings on their own were significant. The first meetings were tense - the different sides kept to themselves, but over time a more relaxed atmosphere emerged, especially as a number of people knew each other as former friends, colleagues or had studied together.

As a consequence of all these difficulties we decided to move forward pragmatically. The different entities wrote the first elements of a National Report describing their situation and the statistics from the Federation were especially useful as were the descriptions of the Republika Srbska system. For the Federation there was always the difficulty that it had little control over culture with cultural responsibilities lying with the 10 cantons who as it turned out were difficult to coordinate. These snatches of text, the discussions held during the usually two day meetings and the subsequent personal interviews held with officials and independents actors during the rest of the time form the basis of this report back **Togetherness in Difference**.

In light of these circumstances this report seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- To engage and address two audiences: an internal one - public, not-for-profit and private organizations within BiH, including cultural actors, general opinion formers and decision makers, and an external one. These include the Council of Europe and its member states, the European Union, national governments and their embassies, organizations such as Soros and other funders as well as the international cultural policy making world. This means that some things are spelt out that are obvious to domestic audiences, but not to foreign ones.

- To act as a catalyst to encourage debate and to raise the level of that debate about what cultural policy is and what it can achieve in BiH highlighting the priorities the author considers of most importance. Some conclusions might not please everybody all of the time. This is not surprising as this report is written from the point of view of an outsider. Yet BiH readers might find it useful to get a feeling what their situation looks like from that perspective.
- To outline the steps that need to be taken for BiH to develop an efficient policy making machinery.
- To spell out the implications of the cultural policy priorities we propose, especially in terms of how the international community might respond.

This report is not a survey of the cultural situation in BiH, that would have been the role of the National Report. It is a commentary on what we know and given its history it is inevitably more impressionistic. It is not an academic or scholarly piece of work, and instead attempts to be a practical document that is ultimately about action.

Section Two: Can culture save Bosnia Herzegovina?

Country context: Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated in the western part of the Balkan peninsula, bordering on Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia. It covers an area of 51 197 square kilometers. Up until 1992 it was one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with a population of 4 377 033. In April 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina was internationally recognized as an independent state and became a United Nations member state. From April 1992 till December 1995, there was a war, which dramatically changed the social and economic picture of the country. Around 300,000 people were killed or disappeared - over 6% of the pre-war population. Nearly 50% of the population changed their place of abode. A great number of people found asylum abroad. Many families split up, some disappeared. There was a cataclysmic break in developing knowledge and education and a loss of professional skill.

After the Common Framework Agreement for Peace was signed in Dayton in 1995, the state was composed of two almost equal entities: The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (25 989 square kilometers) and the Republic of Srpska (25 208 square kilometers). The Entities have a very high level of independence in executing functions of state government. The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is administratively divided into 10 cantons. The Republic of Srpska is administratively one unit consisting of 61 municipalities.

According to estimates 3 745 227 people now live in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are 2 276 045 inhabitants of which 73% are Bosniacs and 20,5% Croats and 5% Serbs and 1 469 182 inhabitants live in the Republic of Srpska of which 88% are Serbs. Before the war the ethnic distribution was far more balanced right across the country.

The official languages are: Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian and two scripts are in official use - Latin and Cyrillic. The recent constitutional amendment, insisted upon by the Office of the High Representative (OHR), called the Vital Interest Protection Agreement of March 2002 for the first time makes all the three cultural groups constituent people in each entity. This means that each group is represented in each entity parliament. It thus strengthens the idea of BiH as a multi-cultural place. OHR's strategic objective is to ensure that the integrity of the state of BiH is reinforced and maintained to avoid centrifugal forces tearing the country apart into ever smaller units or statelets that are completely unviable economically or alternatively allowing parts of BiH to be incorporated into other countries.

In no country in Europe is cultural policy more important than in Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH). Culture is both the cause and the solution to its problems. It is the cause, because cultural arguments were used to divide the country and to turn the different groups against each other in an orgy of destruction; it is the solution because culture might be able to bring people back together again through initiating cultural programmes and activity that increase mutual understanding.

A culture is the combination of shared values, shared ambition and shared vision based on common assumptions, norms and habits of mind – *'the way we do things around here'*. In one short aberration that sense of sharing and common destiny was torn apart. And the country is living with the consequences that will take at least a generation to heal, if ever.

The descriptions of the 1992-1995 war and its impacts in words and film are numerous. It was written about by writers, journalists and participants from both sides of the new divides, descriptions were written too by outsiders who watched in stunned amazement at events unfolding. The details do not need to be re-rehearsed here. Just the mention of a few names sums up the terror, sums up the horror: : Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Mostar, Visegrad, Grabovica, Ahmici, Kazani.

The consequences of war are always worse than the gains that were originally sought as a few significant facts remind us:

- 62% of young people now want to leave BiH and most want to leave forever, according to an UN survey. The best and the brightest are finding it easiest to leave. This represents a brain drain of dramatic proportions and untold consequences.
- During and after the war over a million people left the country, around 25% of the total population - and again it included a large proportion of the professional classes from doctors to lawyers, teachers, artists and scientists – many have not come back and never will. As a consequence the intellectual and knowledge infrastructure of the country has been decimated.
- Over 300,000 people were killed and the majority of these were Bosniacs. Practically everyone has lost a relative or loved one. The scars are deeply etched into the collective psyche.
- 40% of the population is displaced creating immense problems of community building. This has changed the socio-demographics of practically all cities. Sarajevo, as an example, has far more people from the countryside than it ever had before – it is now a much less cosmopolitan city. Jajce has more Croats than before and the towns and cities of RS are now largely Serb when before the war the many were mixed. As a result peoples sense of having a geographic anchor in a climate of trust has to be rebuilt.
- The loss of wealth is incalculable – individually and for society as a whole. Tens of thousands of homes have been destroyed and the belongings of many more lost. Cultural artefacts and monuments have been destroyed on an unimagined scale from the Mostar bridge to the many mosques and churches.
- Unemployment averages 42% in the Federation and 36% in Repulika Srbska. In Sarajevo it is over 40% and in Foca as an instance it is over 90%.
- A survey of young peoples' aspirations undertaken in Banja Luka by a local youth theatre shows that 18% want to become criminals and 21% politicians as these are the categories of people they see making money.
- Rates of suicide, psychological disorder let alone personal sadness have risen on an escalating scale.

Everyone has been affected by war. As a mere outsider acting as rapporteur to this report I encountered more instances than I wanted: The lone father who lost his only son; the interpreter who has not seen 7 of his 10 best friends in years as they left the country forever;

the chain smoking cultural advisor whose pain is so stark she that can hardly put into words her experiences - the list is endless. Yet there were moments too of humanity, resilience and focus on the future. The Serbian educationalist who hid her daughter's Muslim boyfriend so saving him from certain death; the university student who although enticed by the mafia instead sets up a local cultural centre in a small town in Srbska, the young woman who helps set up a national debating club in Sarajevo. However, each inhabitant of BiH would have far more telling stories to relate.

What is the role of cultural policy in this context? The central and perhaps only role of cultural policy must be to address the effects of the issues outlined above. This means three things:

- How can the young be helped: to re-connect to their society, to re-engage with their communities and their centres of learning, to re-discover their creative potential say through active civic participation, to re-imagine a future which gives them a central role rather than being forced to fight the old battles of their fathers that they do not want to fight.
- How can cultural policy help heal the psychological scars of war say through programmes of theatre in education, encouraging debate on the future of the region's culture, arts as therapy, participative cultural activity programmes or the simple joy of unleashing undiscovered creativity.
- Using cultural policy to focus on intercultural understanding as a means dealing with diversity, difference and distinctiveness the key issue for the 21st century states. This will lead to debates about the future of BiH and its component parts. This implies an active role going beyond equal opportunities and respect for existing cultural differences, to the pluralist transformation of civic culture, institutions and public space. It aims to facilitate dialogue, exchange and reciprocal understanding between people of different cultural backgrounds.

In this context the cultural funders, cultural institutions and organizations should assess how they operate in order to support the three priorities noted above. It is a world away from how most operate now, which tends to focus on the traditional delivery of artistic programmes. It means that theatres, galleries, museums, films, literature, libraries and so on financially supported by public authorities should have relevance to the aims noted above. There is a mass of cultural activity that is not supported by public funds and they are, of course, free to decide what to do independently.

Section Three: What is the ‘culture’ in cultural policy?

Cultural choices are political choices: Culture is a difficult term, it has many definitions, some broader and some narrower. As it can mean nearly everything it is complex to address in policy making terms. At its broadest what we call culture is that, which a society values and therefore remembers, holds on to and cherishes. What this is or should be is contested daily. So culture is about the negotiation of values and what should be valued in a place like Bosnia Herzegovina, and so it is about choices and as it is about choices it is about politics. The choices we therefore make about cultural policy are intensely political. Cultural policy is then the strategic assessment and implementation of cultural choices balancing often a set of difficult or at times incompatible options.

Overcoming the paradox of the less you do the more you survive: In most countries in transition cultural policy is the continuation of what happened before, the maintenance of historic infrastructure, especially buildings, and the choices made through crisis – and never more so than in BiH. It is policy imposed by circumstance not by relatively free choice and free will. As habits of mind change slowly they have affected the current approaches to cultural policy. There is a tendency too not to make the hard decisions. Thus some projects or institutions continue even though viewed objectively it might be better for them to close. When cuts are made they tend to be done equally across the board so everyone shares the pain rather than setting priorities. It is then difficult to see priorities and new initiatives have much a greater problem in getting off the ground. In many cases there is only sufficient resource to pay for salaries and so little developmental work happens with a tendency to create static, undynamic, uninspiring institutions.

Under the former Republic of Yugoslavia cultural policy was determined centrally, there was a focus on access to the tradition, effectively variations of high culture and folklore. One means to achieve this was by setting up cultural centres with cultural workers as employees of the state and life-long contracts provided they towed the line; artists too were officially paid usually as members of cultural associations, there was also an admirable, very well developed arts education system. As capital of one of the republics there was a high concentration of facilities in Sarajevo. Given FRY’s relative freedom there were also quite a few independent cultural organizations and movements of artists. The legacy of this old system for the new BiH is that there is a large physical infrastructure to maintain; the existence of many old-style associations and habits of mind.

The style of cultural policy making thus tends to remain old-fashioned, working with a definition of culture that is outmoded, because it does not include its full richness and possibly wide impacts. Its definition of what constitutes culture is narrow largely focusing on a pre-existing canon and ‘truth’ of essentially the classics, the tradition and the high arts with a celebration too of folklore that is often in danger of being treated nostalgically and as a piece of exoticism. The management approach legitimized tends to be hierarchical with a political command and control attitude that leaves little room for consultation and true joint working. The same is true for educational establishments where in our interviews with the young these same attitudes they felt stifled their creativity.

Yet if cultural funders were to stand back, and especially the many ministers of culture in BiH, they could and should at least shape the direction of how they allocate resources. The limited resources they give to culture might remain the same, but they could be given under different conditions, criteria and guidelines. For example, should could decide whether to:

- Making it happen or letting it happen – should public authorities intervene directly, by for example organizing an event themselves or should they sub-contract or provide resources for a network that organizes activity?
- Maintaining control or encouraging creative freedom – should cultural policy or programming be decided from the top or should there be a consultative procedure to create joint ownership?
- Subsidizing creativity or investing in creativity – what are the conditions of giving grants, for example, that cultural managers or curators must take management courses or agree to certain targets of achievement?
- Should there be a focus on generating symbolism and meaning or industrial viability. For example, should more effort be placed on rebuilding heritage or on creating the conditions for the creative industries to flourish?
- Where is the priority in terms of capital works or human capital development. Should more resources be spent on refurbishing buildings or on initiatives to develop peoples creative skills?
- Should there be an emphasis on heritage maintenance or fostering contemporary culture?
- Should the priority be on creating nodes of excellence such as the state cultural institutions or on creating a culture for all programme?

The overall list of policy options is much longer, but these give a hint of the kind of choices BiH can make within existing budgets. The temptation is always to say we will pursue both options, but the issue is where will the greater emphasis be. **There is currently no written cultural policy statement of any kind**, in any part of BiH, that would help the domestic or international cultural community understand what the country's cultural objectives are, although Sarajevo Canton has a reasonably transparent and clear policy.

In reality, though not explicit, the cultural policy priorities in the past five years have been to focus on the problems of reconstruction, to maintain existing infrastructure and thus not to be pro-active. Nevertheless recent policy issues and debates though informal have included: whether the cantonal system is effective and whether you need 10 of everything (such as multiple arts centres that duplicate each other) and equally in reverse whether the municipalities of RS should have more devolved powers. Effectively what degree of decentralisation or centralisation is desirable. A crucial question is whether the dominance of Sarajevo is healthy, in some respects it is in others it is not – what is the balance for the peoples of BiH? Other issues include: the need to collaborate on issues such as inter-library loans and the need to develop joint legislation on issues such as heritage protection; what level of co-ordination between the entities is possible; and crucially the need for state institutions to have independent status in order to raise more resources from the international community.

In terms of RS the main elements of cultural policy is a continuation of past budgetary obligations such as the libraries or cultural centre in Banja Luka, leaving only 500,000 marks for programmes. As a consequence and because of the ministry's small staff of 5 people and the bad economic situation it is difficult to take a developmental approach. In terms of the Federation the description is slightly different. In many areas the Federation has found it difficult to develop a cultural policy, because the main cultural budgets lie with the 10 cantons. However the setting up of the independent film body is an example of federation

cultural policy as its agreement to set up a bookfund, which has however not been implemented.

Twin tracks same destination: Navigating the complexities of culture: The broader use of the term culture is normally discussed as ‘culture and development’ and the narrower as ‘cultural or arts development’. The first is about beliefs, traditions and ways of living and how that affects behaviour and the things people do in a given social group. It is thus concerned with identity. This is the combination of BiH’s shared history, shared joys and conflicts, shared and divergent values and ambitions based for most of its history on agreed assumptions, norms and habits of mind that are then etched into local traditions, sub-cultures and enthusiasms or the glorification of local heroes and heroines. One only needs to think here of the original Ottoman invasions; or later the control by the Austro-Hungarian empire or unification within Yugoslavia. These combined experiences and the values each in turn exerted have shaped BiH as a country as well as its component parts.

To talk of ‘culture and development’ in BiH means discussing the relationship between cultural factors and BiH’s development and how these influence each other. For example, if BiH decides that reinforcing cultural differences is a priority it will be a cultural factor determining its future and in the context of attempting to integrate with Europe it would be extremely negative. Equally if a centralizing command and control approach is allowed to dominate it would be a cultural factor shaping BiH’s potential to develop and is unlikely to be very successful. Thus all development is cultural as it reflects the way people perceive their problems and opportunities.

The suggestion of this review is to argue that the authorities in charge of culture foster a culture of creativity, imagination, self-responsibility, aspiration, ‘can do’ spirit’ and entrepreneurship. This will help an active and healthy arts environment to develop and allow talent to be identified and nurtured. The implication for cultural policy is that those concerned with decision making consider how they operate and what their mindset is or equally how new ownership relationships for BiH state institutions could be explored such as trusts or that ways be found to provide more resources for independent initiatives. It implies too that there should be more collaborative and consultative working between the state or local institutions and the community, independent and private sector as these are all stakeholders of BiH’s culture.

Practically all ministries of culture in Europe, as in BiH, are in fact more closely ministries of the arts, in that they focus on music, painting and performing and the institutions connected to these activities such as theatres, galleries and repositories like libraries or museums. Yet it is crucial that ministries relate to the more extensive sense of culture in deciding their priorities and importantly too that other non-cultural departments like social or economic affairs or planning should also have a sense of the broader significance of culture in their activities. For example, if intercultural understanding becomes a priority economic development decisions should reflect those priorities.

Crucially cultural or arts development in its humanistic and artistic dimension connects in this particular period of history intimately to the broader objectives above given that the arts are an empowering, self-expressive activity; the arts help provide identity, meaning, purpose and direction; the arts foster aesthetic appreciation and the arts as creative industries are major wealth creators. Firstly the arts, therefore, encourage a particular form of critical imagination, which BiH needs if its young people are to remain attracted to staying in the country. Second

the arts are concerned with quality, attractiveness, performance and beauty and thus the design of our environment and how it is animated – again something any cultural policy maker should be concerned with. Third, the arts and creative industries play a role both as economic engines of growth as well as in terms of their social impacts. As a consequence arts and culture in this narrower sense connect to how the culture of BiH as a whole develops and within that how the country organizes, manages and governs itself.

Tolerance and its role in attracting and sustaining talent: BiH cultural policy should be concerned with BiH's organizational cultures in order to help foster a more resourceful environment for imagination and creativity to flourish. The barrier here is that the traditional management ethos in BiH institutions and the private sector, remains strongly hierarchical and male driven. The relative lack of participative and consultative approaches is likely to become a long term issue in encouraging and maintaining creativity and retaining talent. Attracting, nurturing and sustaining talent is increasingly the primary role of government. As a number of long term research projects have shown (cf Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, Harper Collins, 2002) there is a strong connection between the ability to attract talent and tolerance in being economically competitive. The war, of course, has completely changed those possibilities. This agenda is a major responsibility of all stakeholders, within which the cultural authorities should play a significant part - driving this vision forward and whenever possible acting as a role model in terms of how it acts.

Encouraging curiosity: Making this transition towards a vision of BiH focused on talent will be very difficult as the dramatic break of the war has shaken all assumptions about the relatively settled cultural landscape that previously existed. This has led to emphasizing ethnic or cultural differences with the appalling consequences for all to see. Emphasizing difference and divergence, rather than the distinctiveness of the various cultural groups may sound like a fine point of semantics, but in reality it reflects a completely different way of seeing the world. The first tends to close in the world and reduces imaginative possibilities, whilst celebrating distinctiveness and seeing dignity in difference encourages pride in one own traditions and ways of seeing the world, but not at the cost of putting down the 'other'. Focusing on differences ghettoises, separates and divides; as one interviewee noted 'we are teaching children to see their neighbours as enemies' or another 'we are painting the world in black and white, when in reality there is much more grey' or 'In the past I was never aware of the ethnicity of my friends, now you cannot avoid it'.

At this point in history cultural policy in BiH can in reality only have one central purpose, and in other periods there may be others: to encourage curiosity and to provide the conditions whereby people from different cultural groups get on better together – and this might mean using the arts to change political culture significantly. If it does not happen the young will continue to leave and the best and most gifted too. The resulting brain drain will lead to a worsening economic situation with other countries and regions moving ahead at a greater pace. BiH will be left behind in a backwater.

Section Four: Can culture survive: A reality audit

BiH is affected by world dynamics in culture, whose impacts they feel are unique to them when they are in fact all-pervasive. The reality check below seeks to present a dispassionate appraisal of the situation so attempting to provide a 'baseline' and benchmark from which to move forward, however difficult the initial messages are. So far public sector policy makers have not stood back to consider where they are, to reflect on that and to consider the BiH response.

A reminder, if needed, of the war context that shapes peoples perception of what the key issues are: 'The politics tried to divide people, they are putting us in smaller and smaller circles, we need the opposite we don't need a border or boundary every 30 kilometres, we need to be open to the world'; 'when you feel you are in a cage there is always somewhere better'; 'the difference between here and the West is that here we do not believe we can control our future, there are forces somewhere and we are like their puppets'; 'we are divided unnaturally – this is one cultural landscape, the differences are no different than you find between villages or towns anywhere, the differences are in reality minor'; 'here at home we accentuate the differences, when we are abroad in a neutral place we are united, close and share a vision, there are lots of positive energies'; **'through culture we can build a mosaic'**.

The constitutional setting

The Dayton Agreement makes no provision for culture beyond its references to cultural heritage maintenance. There is the Federation of BiH representing the 10 cantons where Bosniacs and Croats pre-dominate and Republika Srpska largely made up of Serbs. These two entities independently hold cultural responsibilities. There is no responsibility for cultural affairs at the state level and even ministries such as foreign affairs have minimal cultural initiatives.

Even though the Federation has a cultural ministry, which is combined with education and sport, the real power lies with the 10 cantons, of which Sarajevo Canton is by far the largest. Whereas the Federation's ministry has little power and budget the cantons have significantly more. Some cantons are extremely small such as Bosansko-Podrinjski (Gorazde), 504,6 km² with a population base of 35,250 people. Within Republika Srpska there is a central ministry with little power for the 61 local authorities.

This is a complicated hybrid structure reflecting the realities at the moment of settlement at Dayton. It is an unsustainable long term structure for cultural development, even though some of its principles could and should be maintained in a more rational structure and calmer environment. For example, the relative degree of regional and local autonomy, which lies at the core of the majority of BiH's problems, is in fact something to be encouraged. However, only if there is a prior and positive acceptance – not merely tolerance - of the state of BiH. To repeat autonomy should be fostered, but within the framework of a state, otherwise the centrifugal forces will cause chaos.

Switzerland and Belgium are cited by colleagues in BiH as examples of federal models they might wish to follow as power is devolved to smaller units such as cantons. However if they wish to pursue this path a number of points should be considered. Both countries are stable states which came together voluntarily. The rights of statehood are not challenged. In that context devolved powers are positive features. Yet it should be remembered that within the

Swiss constitution federal/state involvement is provided for in the following fields: support to film production; protection of nature and heritage, education and cultural activities of national interest. The Federal Office of Culture, as an example, operates at the state level and is responsible for: Preparing decisions to be taken by parliament; for disbursing funds for film production, visual arts and design and giving grants to professional associations. It plays an important role in the field of historic monuments, heritage preservation, language policy development and issues related to international trade in cultural goods. The Pro Helvetia Foundation is totally funded by the state level including its 13 outposts abroad; it funds activities in all cultural fields; promotes artist exchanges and cultural relations with other countries. The department for Foreign Affairs also promotes cultural activities. Importantly too there is an organization called 'Kunstplattform Schweiz' which improves the co-ordination between the actors noted above and the cantons and cities who have responsibilities for culture.

Yet in both Republika Srpska and the cantons the core commitment to the state of BiH appears shaky. For example, it can appear at times that in RS the emphasis is continually on generating more autonomy or even separation rather than also productively working on the shared responsibilities of statehood. Indeed there are some in RS, as was related to us in Banja Luka, who would ultimately want RS to become part of Serbia. This creates an instability at the core of BiH's statehood. Unless that is seen to be politically unacceptable it is difficult to condone the positive aspects of autonomy and work on these creatively to the benefit of all. Without doubt the international community as represented by the Office of the High Representative (OHR) will seek to ensure that BiH's statehood is strengthened. It cannot and will not let it appear as if the ethnic cleansing project has won.

There are similar problems and tensions within the cantonal structure. The more local control over culture is praiseworthy. However the question is whether it is going too far. A complaint made was that there was a danger is that each canton becomes a fiefdom or barony, which will not take on broader regional or national responsibilities. The new reality of power is that to share power is not an abdication of responsibility but the only feasible and responsible means by which leaders can possibly achieve everything they want for their communities. By trading power for creative influence, the cantons can achieve far more for its citizens. Having influence over a more powerful larger patch is better than having a lot of power in a smaller patch that has no influence.

In sum there is one country with two entities and two structures with the Federation adopting a very decentralized cantonal structure and the RS adopting a far more centralized one. Each provides for opportunities and constraints. In the cantonal structure, for example, it is more difficult to assess the overall needs of the Federation or BiH and then appropriately to designate resources for broader objectives or the bigger picture. At the same time it allows for local flexibility. Within the more centralized structure that local flexibility is more constrained.

The overall structural problems relating to culture are:

- The weakness of the centre and its incapacity to deal with central functions such as setting the regulatory and incentives environment or dealing with cultural diplomacy
- The lack of clarity about the status, financing, purpose and role of state institutions.
- How regional or state wide initiatives, that cut across entity or cantonal boundaries, can be financed and implemented
- The dominance of Sarajevo canton.

- How to relate to international organizations and to develop international opportunities
- How to set state wide priorities or to develop projects of over-riding importance to both entities.
- How to understand the dynamics of global culture and to respond in policy terms.

The legal and financial setting

A number of functions quite obviously should be considered at the state level. Officials, clearly made of the different cultural groups, should have the authority to discuss the extent to which it is desirable, efficient and effective to seek legal complementarity between the different entities and in which areas it is advisable for each entity to develop its own independent policy and to implement conclusions accordingly. In so doing they should keep abreast and judge European best practice which any country, autonomous region or city could be expected to adopt in order to operate at a European level based on the principle of 'togetherness in difference'. The core task is to distinguish between the necessary, the desirable and the optional in terms of legal and financial harmonisation. The exemplary work of the Communications Regulatory Agency, an example of European best practice, should be seen as inspiration for others working in the legislative or financial regulations field.

- There are a wide range of instruments within which to assess whether there should harmony between the entities, these include: Legislation; financial instruments such as incentives and regulations; the signing of international conventions; the application of commonly accepted standards; operating guidelines; the practice of policy making. For example there is no reason why the core laws relating to heritage protection or intellectual property as well as internationally accepted standards for library operations or culturally relevant international conventions should not be similar or agreed upon. Indeed without these it is impossible for BiH to operate in an international environment. Some of these activities are happening, but usually with a struggle.
- At the next level there are tried and tested elements of cultural policy, where learning from elsewhere and adopting proven methods is simply more effective. For example legal arrangements to set up private companies or foundations, labour and social security conditions for freelancers or sponsorship regulations or conditions and guidelines under which public service broadcasting can operate.
- Finally there is a wide area where harmonisation is optional such as the precise funding arrangements for a particular cultural institution, the degree of centralization used to implement cultural policy or the priorities for culture set by the entities or festivals and events that any region, city or smaller community might wish to develop.

There is a **severe lack of expertise in the country on legal and financial instruments**. Given the fragmentation hardly anyone knows how the system as a whole works, people rarely have a grasp of the bigger picture, notable exceptions aside, because their job gives them only a partial vista. A small canton, for instance, simply will not be able to afford people with sufficient experience, which if they had it would work in the private sector for far greater pay. Indeed several of the legal specialists consulted for this report were in the private sector. Within the legal area, for example, there is no widely publicly available documentation which explains which previous legislation has been taken over from the former Yugoslavia, which a ministry official say in RS or a canton could refer to.

It was difficult to get clear and consistent answers to questions such as the following, (which the discipline of writing the National Report would have provided): What culturally relevant legislation, such as on labour law or heritage has been taken over from the FRY? What legislation applies to both entities? What legislation only applies to one or other entity or canton? Are these elements of legislation being implemented? Are they effective? What are the barriers to implementation of law and can they be overcome? What is the state of intellectual property legislation? Are there differences in legislation between the two entities or between cantons? Is existing legislation being enforced such as private copying, piracy or sanctions against copyright infringements? Is there availability of training in these areas? What is the position of social security provision? What level of protection do cultural workers have? Are the provisions of the 1980 Unesco recommendations on the status of the artist being adhered to? What are the labour relation conditions? Are the provisions of the International Labour Office being followed?

The list continues.....Are international conventions being adhered to, for example, in the area of cultural heritage protection, such as the Unesco Convention of 1972, which proposes the evaluation and auditing of cultural heritage and restoration measures, or the Hague Convention of 1954 and its amending protocols of 1999? Equally have European conventions been adopted such as those of Granada and La Valletta, which focus on architecture and archaeological heritage? Have these been signed and transposed into domestic legislation? Are there legislative mechanisms to safeguard traditional civilization and knowledge? For example, the protection of brand names which links to intellectual property law? Are there incentives for crafts development? Is there training for craftspeople, in both skills development and promotion? What legislative provisions exist for the audio-visual sector? What conditions apply for public service broadcasting and what does it provide for? What are the rules for private broadcasters? Are there incentives to encourage national production or for independent producers in order to ensure media pluralism? Does it include percentages for local production? What is the legislation or policy that encourages the cultural industries, for example preferential loan schemes, marketing initiatives or incentives such as for publishing, record production? What are the legal provisions to set up separate legal entities, such as private companies, public companies with public good objectives, independent trusts, foundations or NGO's? Are these the same in both entities or within entities? Are there legal provisions available for restructuring cultural institutions, such as their ability to receive income from a diversity of funding sources, to earn income from within their institutions such as a shop or restaurant? Equally can they readjust their staffing levels or change their constitution? This long list of questions amply demonstrates, in our view, the importance of cultural policy and the need to develop expertise especially at the state level.

The kind of financial analysis a National Report could provide, includes the following: A summary of financial statistics, which in fact are quite well developed, but are not aggregated into a state framework nor are they gathered on the same basis in both entities; an outline of the composition of the cultural budget clarifying the division between heritage and arts. A clarification of the extra sources of cultural funds within other ministries, such as in defence, or by the interior or foreign ministries. A description of the process for drawing up the cultural budget, for example, how institutions make bids to ministries and whether ministries encourage bids. An analysis of what proportion goes to programmes and projects, what on development or investment initiatives and what on running costs and the maintenance of institutions and what proportion on salaries, what proportion on private sector or NGO projects. Furthermore of these total sums how much is already pre-planned and how much

goes on ad hoc distribution. It would answer too questions, such as what is the proportion of monies coming from the private sectors, what is the proportion of earned income and are there incentives to increase it.

The status and role of state institutions

BiH has 8 state institutions and there is great uncertainty about them, they are: The National Gallery, National Theatre, the State Museum of BiH, the National Museum of Literature, the National and University Libraries, the Library for Blind and Sight Impaired Persons and the Centre for the Protection of Cultural, Historic and Natural Heritage. Under the constitution of the former Republic of Yugoslavia these were all acknowledged as national centres. After the war the different cultural groups, who define themselves as nations have all wanted their own national cultural institutions with the Croats and Serbs asserting that the existing institutions all of which are based in Sarajevo increasingly represent Bosniacs. There is, for example, a national library and theatre for RS in Banja Luka; and the Croats in Mostar are proposing a national Croatian theatre.

In a settled political environment none of this would particularly matter as long as the difference between the claims of the state and those of the nation were clear and not conflicting. There are numerous examples of national institutions within states from the Basques to the Scots to the Sami in Finland. It is for Serbs or Croats valid if they so wish to set up national institutions, but not to claim that those institutions should represent a separate state. Currently, for example, RS desire a separate seat at international bodies. The real problem that is apparent to everyone, but which largely remains unspoken, is that if this were allowed the process of ethnic cleansing would be seen to have won.

This leaves the question open about what to do with the eight state institutions. To ensure their credibility as representing the whole of the state their content has to reflect the diversity of the whole of BiH, which they largely do, but would need to continue to do. Crucially also their management and employment practices would need to ensure proper representation of Serbs and Croats. Without being formulistic about it would mean that sometimes these institutions would be run by someone who happens to be a Serb or Croat. However the prime condition of their appointment, as indeed of Bosniacs, is their cultural and technical competence and not their ethnic allegiance. In essence this means trying to de-politicize cultural appointments. Once this is achieved joint financing by all cultural groups is a valid proposition and an appropriate policy. In addition it may be wise to ensure some sense of geographical spread so that places like Donja Gradina or the national parks in RS are added to the list of state institutions and paid for by RS and the Federation.

Seen so one can also conceive of a situation where there is a state cultural institution such as the state library, which has national branches in Banja Luka or Mostar. Yet the state section would then truly have to represent the cultural richness of the whole country. In the case of the library have on-going collections of Serbian and Croat books. Thus also although there is a national library in Banja Luka it would nevertheless focus too on Bosniac books, although its core specialism would be Serbian material. Once this notion is accepted the core problem that Serbs and Croats have over national representation in international bodies could be solved in that they may on occasion be that state representative.

At the time of writing Sarajevo canton provided 62% of the funding for state institutions, a situation they do not want to continue, and it has practically no contribution from anyone else;

the other cantons are locked into their tiny island worlds and RS refuses to fund them until there are changes in their management. It is clear that they should not be proportionately so reliant on Sarajevo. Furthermore current funding merely ensures survival at a minimal level, essentially trying to cover salary costs. Thus they live in a strange limbo land. The **paradox is that the less they do the more they survive**, because they have no money to spend on programming, development or initiatives. In this sense they are not fulfilling their public function and have hardly any relationship to their audiences. An extreme example is the state museum which has no heating and so is often closed to the public. In effect the employees have little to do not through any fault of their own.

State level initiatives and policy making bodies

The lack of a state level forum to discuss cultural policy and funding powers restricts possibilities and reduces aspirations. It is difficult to create a powerful cultural vision for the country as a whole. It means that ambitious initiatives cannot take place either in maintaining current assets such as the institutions above or Donja Gradina and the national parks in RS or in developing new ones. For example, if a review were to consider that the main cultural management school or cultural tourism course or dance academy for BiH should be in Mostar, Bihac or Prijedor there is no mechanism by which this could be discussed, agreed and funded. Instead there is likely to be duplication in the longer term, with each canton replicating facilities others already have, such as a multi-purpose cultural centre or the fact that there are now three music academies for such a small country. The original one in Sarajevo with 220 students, a new one in Banja Luka with 80 students and a third in Lukavica in Serbian Sarajevo with 15 students – and this whilst music professors have disappeared, so that the youngest professor in Sarajevo is over 50 years old.

Whilst at the level of core legislation such as copyright agreement has been found, in part because there is international pressure, it will be in the optional areas that problems emerge. For example, if there were a cultural industries assessment of the country and a cluster of talent, say in crafts or music, identified in a geographical area how would that potential be maximized? The larger initiatives cannot be funded at a cantonal level nor at entity level. This means that Sarajevo which is already culturally powerful is likely to remain so, because it is the only canton that could in principle attract larger ambitious projects. These include the Soros Centre for Contemporary Arts whose innovative and radical programme might be difficult to stage in a smaller community or the proposed Ars Aevi initiative, the contemporary arts collection that has been donated by international artists and is seeking to build a home for itself.

These issues throw up the need for top level co-ordination and ultimately for a cultural ministry – perhaps in fact called a ministry for the arts and thus a revision of Dayton. It is more effective for such a ministry to develop the overarching legislative framework and financial regime or cultural diplomacy and foreign representation of cultural interests. **The fact that there has been no ministry could be turned into an advantage by creating a new style ministry of culture.** Its primary roles should be:

- To act in partnership with key stakeholders as the strategist of cultural development and national coordination, and ensuring that culture plays a full part in every aspect of BiH's reconstruction and development.
- To develop a comprehensive and forward-looking cultural policy in partnership and

collaboration with arts and heritage interests, the cultural industries; the Federation and RS as well as the cantons; other ministries whose work has a bearing directly or indirectly on culture such as economic development, tourism or urban planning; civil society organizations and key foundations.

Elements of such a policy might be:

- Assessing incentives such as matching fund schemes, whereby the public sector puts in a certain amount of resources if it is matched by other funds; the blank tape levy to support the audio-visual sector; the establishment of lottery style initiatives; dedicated local hotel taxes; import customs preferences for cultural goods based on the Unesco Florence agreement pledges; export incentives whereby commerce or foreign affairs ministries support exports.
- Establishing state wide schemes involving non-monetary incentives such as public recognition or awards and prizes for best practices.
- Ensuring the taxation regime acts as an incentive to greater effectiveness and productivity
- Ensuring that legislative standards meet European best practice.
- Lobbying that legislation is implemented in order to benefit the cultural sector, such as dealing with counterfeiting and other copyright infringements.
- Exploring joint representation at festivals or trade fairs as well as ensuring that appropriate mechanisms exist to undertake international collaborations such as in film or publishing.
- Helping develop overarching programmes to gain international support for culture.
- Acting as a role model for BiH best practice, for example by awarding prizes for certain commonly agreed objectives.
- Acting as advocate for culture so that it becomes an integral part of the government programmes of social and economic development and renewal.

Such a Ministry would ‘generate debate, articulate objectives, coordinate interests and instil a sense of purpose, basing its credibility on a broad overview, open dialogue and consultation, clear objectives, and the transparency of the structures, procedures and criteria it employs for funding and decision-making’. (ref: Moldova Report)

The objective is not to increase centralized powers for the sake of it and to overload any central body with many tasks, but to identify a few strategic tasks that are appropriately undertaken by a slimmed down ministry at a state level. Indeed the notion of subsidiarity, placing decision making as close to the people as possible, is clearly important for the context of BiH. Other lower tier levels then will identify activities appropriate to their level of responsibility and fit for purpose.

As the ministry idea will take time to take hold an **interim solution is to set up a cultural commission or cultural task force** with a representative structure, but an executive group that is delegated the tasks outlined above. This will fill the gap of having no structured mechanism to share information between and within entities. Developing and updating the cultural policy National Report as an on-going process gives the task force a *raison d’être* and is perhaps its first task.

‘Don’t ask me how I made my first million.....’

.....everything since then has been legal’. This quote, mentioned to us, summarizes the difficult environment within which policy makers operate and shapes the cultural environment. The uncertainties of war meant that a number of people enriched themselves through smuggling, weapons dealing and worse. Most people know who the key people are. Yet it is this ethos of illegally garnered gains that sours the overall cultural environment both in its narrow and broader sense. The open selling of counterfeit goods, such as CD’s, videos or computer games in places like Arizona near Tuzla or CD Alley in Srbsko Sarajevo both pleases people, because the goods are so cheap, yet makes people cynical and fosters negative ambition.

The decline of the pre-war industrial economy and the onslaught of de-industrialization has led families and communities to develop strategies for coping and surviving hard times. Survival is a natural human response to danger, but it is debilitating as a permanent state. Unfortunately, even as general economic conditions stabilize and improve relatively speaking, a culture of survival remains in BiH. The traditional businesses working in the mainstream economy are surviving with extremely tight margins as equipment is usually out of date. Public sector jobs in this context are very desirable. It is estimated that up to 70% of the population needs to survive on the margins which underpins a culture of low aspirations, low achievement and lack of drive as survival is all. Yet within this survivalist dynamic a mass of transactions occur that deserve further analysis. On the one hand the positive web of mutuality that is built strongly on the BiH’s traditional culture provides a means of softening the effects of deprivation. This expresses itself in a myriad ways from joint childcare arrangements, self-help activities to the informal swapping of favours. Its effect is to reduce the need for monetary transactions. This process builds social capital, trust, community and civic life.

On the other hand there is a countervailing force of the hidden economy – a combination of cash-in-hand deals, the selling of counterfeit goods, drug dealing and tax avoidance. Controlled by local mafias no-one is sure how extensive it is, nor the extent to which it supplements the income of some or decreases that of others. What is generally agreed, however, is that proportionately it is very high and a more significant factor than in most nearby places, such as Croatia or Slovenia. It has been put to us that the hidden economy is evidence that the people of BiH are actually more entrepreneurial than they are given credit for. Entrepreneurial it may well be, but whether it is the kind of entrepreneurship that is needed to pull BiH out of its economic hole is doubtful. Indeed, it may even have a deleterious effect on those who are genuinely striving to move the country back into the economic mainstream. A hidden economy, by definition cannot be transparently open, strategic or partnership-based, and so undermines competitiveness. It breeds an acceptance of underhand dealing and survival as the main reason of economic activity, rather than innovation or change and so its internal dynamics cannot lead to growth.

The market will drive cohesion: The dynamics of the cultural industries

All cultural workers should think entrepreneurially: All cultural activities whether they are subsidized or commercial interface with a market or audiences. From the museum which wants to increase visitor numbers to ensure its local politicians feel the subsidy is worthwhile, to a librarian who wants to attract disaffected children through its internet access to increase their life chances to a theatre professional who does voice overs for radio or TV commercials

to supplement their income. Furthermore there is a strong relationship between subsidized and commercial cultural activity and the movement between the two sectors far greater than commonly acknowledged. Most successful film stars initially worked in the subsidized theatre; a backing group for a pop star may be made up of classical musicians and a commercial graphic artist may also put on art shows. All face a simple fact no one can avoid the industrial and financial worlds and no activity lives in isolation – for individuals, for political entity or for a country.

In connecting to these wider worlds all cultural workers should think entrepreneurially. It is helpful for all cultural workers to understand culture as an industry and not only to obviously commercial activities within publishing, music or film, but all other cultural activities, who need to think in a more entrepreneurial way. This includes librarians, who can think of themselves as internet providers and develop a community service; museum curators who can think of exhibitions in ways to attract greater audiences, conservator sections in museums who could sell their expertise or services to outside organizations; or theatre workers who could help private organizations in their communication skills.

Understanding cultural markets: In exploring the dynamics of cultural activities and the cultural industries more specifically it immediately becomes clear that BiH must align itself to the broader markets of the former Yugoslavia and even beyond. Whatever attempts are being made to segregate parts of the country from each other the reality of day-to-day consumption shows that the world has long moved on. Bosniacs listen to Serbian music and vice versa. One of the most popular Bosniac singers, for example, sells more records in Serbia than BiH and his concerts are sold out in Belgrade and Sarajevo. People read each others books, as they read books produced in Croatia or Macedonia, and the same goes for films. A Bosnia Herzegovina market is economically unsustainable, let alone a micro-market in the Federation or a Republika Srpska market.

Every person we talked to involved in a cultural industry stated that their market and cultural space was the former Yugoslavia, a population base approaching 30 million. By looking at book selling and publishing, music and film the economic dynamics become clear. The costs of printing a book for the BiH market would be 5-7 euros for possible sale at 10-15 euros, with target sales at 500 in BiH and at least the same amount outside. Breakevens points are around 6-800 copies. This margin of 1 to 2 is far too small to be viable, given that there are design, marketing, distribution costs and bookshop discounts. In more developed publishing economies the cost/sale multiplier margin is 1 to 8 or 10, implying that print costs would have to be 1-1 ½ euros. In Croatia or Serbia printing costs are 2-3 euros. Furthermore there is no established distribution system as ‘bookshops never pay and you have to be very heavy or hire someone to be heavy for you to get money’. This means publishers have to be inventive, for example Buy Books in Sarajevo or Besjeda in Banja Luka. Buy Books sells in its own two bookshops; it swaps books with other stores; it sells to libraries; via a website and effectively subsidizes the whole operation through selling English language teaching books, plus the fact that its launch costs were helped by Soros. In principle a Federation **bookfund has been agreed** to help with translations and if implemented could strengthen the market. A similar picture is true for Besjeda, who noted: ‘my cultural space is everywhere I can sell my books, not only Srpska’. They regard their market as the whole of ex-Yugoslavia and only in this way can survive. In addition there is the occasional grant or hidden subsidy, such as not needing to pay royalties and a level of self-exploitation.

In music the situation is completely undermined by counterfeit sales, which outrages performers, who feel 'copyright is a human right and counterfeit sales theft'. After the war criminality and the local mafia invaded the music industry. As an example, a leading pop star we interviewed used to sell 600,000 of discs in the old Yugoslavia. This has reduced to 60,000, although his popularity remains the same. 90% of sales are estimated to be counterfeit. In one instance the singer is practically a millionaire in the next relatively poor as those reduced sales incur further costs to him. His concerts seasons are seen by several hundred thousand people from Belgrade to Sarajevo, but even these do not earn much as the standards expected of performance are international with their associated costs, yet ticket prices must remain at a level BiH inhabitants can afford – around 5-10 euros. The hall might cost 15,000 euros to rent with additional costs of 60,000 euros for marketing and related issues, leaving little margin for the group as a whole. In order to survive he has moved abroad acting as producer/composer for Austrian and Swedish pop groups. The implications for the cultural and interior ministries are clear. The dilemma, of course, is that with so many people living on the breadline cheap, illegal recordings or videos are a blessing. So once the state of BiH generates the will to address the problem it needs to be prefaced by a publicity campaign to explain to the population why it is initially making them worse off and that the short term losses will be balanced by longer term gains. Certainly it will be a significant and positive signal to the international community.

In film the situation is equally dire. Given international competition and global standards the cost base is the same as Europe but the income only 5-10% of it. Importing one hour of US soap, whose costs have already been earned back, is far cheaper than producing an hour of BiH material even if it produced at a low level of sophistication. As a consequence it is not surprising that over the last 6 years only 3 feature films, 10 short film and 6 documentaries have been made and most of these were produced in co-production and thus are not pure BiH films. BiH TV companies will broadcast the domestic films, but not pay fees or royalties for them. During the war a company such as Saga produced 65 very short documentaries, for which they received the Felix Award, but then Sarajevo was in the media spotlight. Therefore to survive well established companies have to be local providers for foreign companies. Given these dynamics and the high tax rates for those not defined as artists, who only pay 17%, which effectively range from 43% to 80% the situation drives people into cash in hand work or even tax avoidance.

At the same time in the Sarajevo Film Festival the country has an increasingly known event launched in 1995, whose popularity originally drew from the iconic status of Sarajevo. It is a key component of projecting the new Bosnia Herzegovina and receives 30% of public funding and 70% from sponsors. Effectively the Festival represents the government, yet the feeling is that government does not recognize the strategic importance and multifaceted impact of such an event. For example it has become the meeting point for producers and distributors the kind of activity that elsewhere a cultural ministry might broker.

An essential starting point for the BiH's cultural policy work is to establish **baseline information on the cultural industries** and on that basis to develop strategy.

Section Five: The dynamics of the emerging cultural landscape

Cultural decision makers must understand the new cultural and economic landscape and its far reaching implications. The young are already much more comfortable with it, whilst older people – that is most cultural decision makers - view it with mistrust. Without an open public debate Bosnia will fall behind and think about its cultural futures in old-fashioned ways.

The world is changing dramatically in ways that amount to a paradigm shift. In such situations responding in old routinized ways will not address current problems. Many fields, pre-eminently those within economics and politics, have been forced to rethink their purposes, goals, and procedures. Think of, for example, in the realm of politics the collapse of the absolute categories of right and left; or in economics the shift from an industrial to an information-based production system. The world of culture in Bosnia Herzegovina has as yet not “stood back” in a similar way and fully assessed the implications of these new conditions. Yet culture is buffeted by the same global forces of change which will affect what it does and how the institutions supporting culture operate.

The new conditions include: the ascendance of the marketplace as an arbiter of value and taste and the rise of the entertainment industry; the rise of the knowledge-based economy; a decreased role for the state and the emergence of political formations beyond the left/right continuum; the demand by many publics to participate in defining the values and purposes of society – the social inclusion agenda; challenges to the unified canon of knowledge in many fields from science to the arts and a blurring of intellectual boundaries; the growth of multicultural national communities; the reordering of relationships between the sexes; changing conceptions of place, space, time and tempo particularly driven by technological advances; a general sense of fracturing in the unity of a body politic; and a reconsideration of what identity means locally, regionally, and nationally.

Our view is that the world of Bosnia Herzegovina culture should reassess its purposes within these new conditions and determine what its response should be - not merely to adapt and adjust but also to play a central part in the emerging social and economic landscape.

This is the kind of issue a national cultural debate should discuss, what instead is likely to happen is that issues fall back on immediate problems, such as funding for state institutions important as these are. Below we outline one way this agenda could be discussed.

A crucial question to start with is **how many of BiH’s cultural problems are to do with war and how many of them with broader world-wide cultural shifts** that they would have had to have faced in any case – war or no war? The notion of what a national institution is, is a war-related problem, with Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs each demanding they have a national library, theatre, museum, archive and so on. However what the role of cultural institutions are whether national, local or private is a general problem, as is how they are funded, managed and marketed. The war and its consequences has thus layered an additional problem on an issue they had to deal with in any case. Assessing how culture in the world around is changing is a vital activity as culture never stands still. Culture is about what we value, expressed in various forms from buildings to artefacts to activities. As society develops these values are continuously negotiated and re-negotiated. **The role, function and purposes of its major cultural institutions is something BiH must rethink from scratch to make them fit for 21st century purposes** otherwise they will lurch from crisis to crisis. It is they who eat up

the bulk of the country's cultural budget. In so doing they need to bear in mind three key factors world-wide:

- **The resource crisis:** Conventional sources of funding are re-assessing why they give money to culture and for what purposes. They are demanding that culture and cultural institutions provide a reinvigorated rationale of their aims and goals and find ways of proving their claims. These include governments and other public institutions as well as private patrons of culture, corporations, or social elites. Places that have purposes beyond the bottom line and commercial profit like cultural institutions, although seen as beneficial, cannot assume that society will invest in them out of some sense of their inherent "goodness."
- **Increased competition:** Institutions such as theatres have always straddled the divides among the classical, the experimental and the popular and museums too from their beginnings have negotiated the worlds of the academy and of amusement. But now the competition for leisure time is more complex and today there is greater hunger for spectacle and diversion. Equally though with more discretionary time people are continuing to search for deeper meaning, purpose and educational value. Are traditional cultural institutions providing this or is it provided elsewhere by for-profit entities outside traditional cultural institutions? What then happens when culture and commerce or education and entertainment converge? What is the balance of positives and negatives?

Instinctive commitment is fraying too as we do not truly know what happens educationally in theatres, galleries or museums as they cannot deliver easily quantifiable and precise indicators and measures of their success. In the enlightenment notion, which once held sway, it was a given fact that the cultural experience delivered through traditional institutions automatically led to self-improvement. This led them to be more self-assured and sustained them in their purpose. In a world of measurement these traditional cultural institutions are having difficulty justifying themselves with precision.

- **The rise of new agendas:** The first concerns the **social inclusion** of a wide variety of communities, so broadening the participation and audience base; the second the acknowledgement of multi-cultural goals, while highlighting the **distinctiveness and diversity of cultures**. These both have a dramatic impact on cultural policy in general and how cultural institutions operate in particular. It then tends to break down the accepted canon of a unified culture, requiring a new assessment of the frameworks and boundaries of culture, particularly in a national context.

This combined agenda adds up to a **profound change of terms and redefinition of what cultural institutions or cultural activity are for at the beginning of the 21st century.**

A brief sweep of history: The following segment may help contextualize how culture in BiH could develop if it is discussed openly, objectively and without defensiveness. Our sense from our extensive interviews is that these complex issues have not been addressed by cultural policy makers or the intellectual community sufficiently. For most of human history cultural institutions, such as museums, galleries, libraries, or activities such as festivals or singing traditions have been aligned to the broader purposes and goals of their society – and they were the mediators of society's values. They reflected back to society the aspirations of its

leadership and what was recognized as mainstream culture. What are BiH's institutions reflecting back to their citizens? Is there a vision that the young can relate to?

As can be seen throughout BiH the greatest modes of cultural expression in the Middle Ages and later, for example, went to the service of religion both through the building of churches or mosques and the paintings or songs praising religious beliefs or figures. In the Renaissance, whilst the religious impulse continued, cultural institutions focused too on the re-creation of the city in the service of princely power or local warlords. By the Enlightenment, the emphasis switched to the development of knowledge in the service of establishing an improved citizenry and society. Out of that grew the 19th century cultural institution: the museum and gallery, the public library, and the symphony hall. They played an aspirational function either connected to learning, appreciation of quality or wonderment and awe as well as nation building. In sum they were about civic pride. What is their equivalent role today? Is it an aspirational goal?

At the heart of the 19th century conception of the cultural institution lay the notion of the democratization of knowledge, whose purpose was to uplift and improve the broader public to suit the emerging conditions of the industrial era and the emerging nation state. This was followed through into the 20th century, when many of these types of institution continued to be built especially as part of an expression of nationhood. One example is the state museum in Sarajevo. Their approach to culture typically had certain characteristics - an underlying philosophy or ethos built on hierarchies of knowledge and cultures, on categorizations, taxonomies and fixed boundaries. Essentially, the elites invited the citizenry to become educated to a prescribed view of the world and its cultural order. Have cultural policy makers and institutions taken these ideals and adapted them to current conditions?

Already at the beginning of the 20th century, this unified concept of culture linked to national goals and social purpose began to break down, splinter and be challenged and this is accelerating today and the war in BiH has fractured this even further. This long term challenge is reflected in our discussions with young people from Banja Luka, to Mostar to Sarajevo. Their cultural habits and patterns of participation and involvement are completely different from those of their parents. Are there inter-generational projects in BiH where these differing perspectives are discussed?

A sharper division between "high" and "low" culture has emerged. High culture is seen as more self-referential. Occasionally it is transformed and connected partly into the avant-garde movement, which celebrates the artist as rebel. The recent exhibitions in the Skanderija in Sarajevo are witness to this. Popular culture, bolstered by the rising power of mass society, has emerged as the independent and dominant force fuelled by the needs and possibilities of commerce built on the new technologies of recording, film, and broadcasting. As a result multi-national cultural corporations tend to define our taste and choices. Yet for the young pop culture in BiH is a way of connecting to a bigger outside world, a cosmopolitan world and out of the narrow-minded claustrophobia they feel. They are more interested in the latest house, rave and garage music trends than Beethoven's Ninth symphony. Are there projects in BiH that try to create a bridge between "high" and "low" culture?

Also separating itself out especially in the last two decades has been the rise in the idea of the "instrumental" notion of culture according to which culture's principal value hinges on how it serves various strategies and political objectives of social or economic improvement or development, such as social inclusion. Many of these projects have been successful for

example in urban regeneration, where young people might use their artistic and creative talent by being involved in helping to design an area or are able to beautify it. This increases their commitment to the place they live in so reducing graffiti as an instance. Have projects like this been developed in BiH?

Today, these four strands of culture -- the avant-garde, the popular, and that concerned with social development -- together with the continuing idea of the traditional culture of refinement, are in tumultuous interplay, causing a confusion of aims for those working in the cultural field. Traditional high culture advocates often feel under siege in the demand to justify their existence through a commitment to democratic and participation objectives, which places on culture what they see as the extraneous burden of social or political goals. At the same time cultural ministries or city governments are reluctant to fund large organizations unless they deliver explicit social goals. Avant-garde culture feels challenged and challenges those standards, alternating between standing aloof and distant or instead embracing a radical social vision. Those who see culture's purpose primarily as the achievement of broader social aims such as by using arts for community development or to encourage diversity and empowerment fight what they consider elite privilege and insular purpose in both traditional and avant-garde high cultures. And all, in different ways, confront a standard with its emphasis on amusement or consumption which in the current phase of capitalism acts as the arbiter of value.

Popular or youth culture mostly ignores or rejects these high flown notions of culture, whether focused on community-service or elite based, while occasionally using some of its elements for its own purpose. Culture by and for the young often creates innovative and "alternative" forms of expression that may be comfortable with conventional or commercial notions of "entertainment" yet often seek to radically subvert and redefine their meaning. The diversity of modern cultural expression, then, makes for a whirlwind of responses to modern conditions: some traditionalists are frustrated, defensive, indignant, whilst others say they are elitist; by contrast the avantgardists are called on occasion superficial; too ironic, or too playful. Yet at their best artists often achieve true experimentation, recombination, and occasionally integration.

This debate occurs within a system that is dominated by the early 21st century market economy, which has a set of distinctive features, although not every aspect has as yet touched BiH. Characteristic of this era is boundary blurring, such as in the development of multimedia; the creation of identities based on lifestyles and not geography or ethnicity; mixing and matching, fusing and hybridising identities, styles and life preferences. In doing this tradition is rejected, and the young seek empowerment, they emphasise individual satisfaction, they feel more comfortable with the reach of globalization and its mixing of cultures and its cultural diversity and the centrality of the new information technology.

Embedded within this new world dominated by the market economy and helping to make it work is the focus on: *flexibility, fluidity, portability, permeability, transparency, interactivity, simultaneity, and engagement*. There is an interest above all in process and experience; it favours the immediate over the long term; gratification over fulfilment; inventiveness over convention; openness over privileged access. And all of these aspects can be seen in BiH when one looks closely at culture especially that of the young.

So today the situation is different and mainstream cultural institutions are less aligned to where society is going overall. In the era of the mass-based marketplace economy ruled by

commercial patterns of consumption, many cultural institutions have an uneasy relationship with the underlying conditions of the era. The cultural world has provided a series of responses, ranging from principled opposition to the circumstances of modern life, to uncritical acceptance of its demands, to ironic detachment. Can Bosnia Herzegovina, in spite of its problems use its cultural institutions to create a more imaginative engagement with their audiences that takes into account the era's challenges and possibilities? In short can it imaginatively respond to and deal with Disney, Borders bookshop, Niketown and others who mix entertainment, learning and culture? So far the answer has to be largely no, because the discussion is seen as too complex.

One response to this emerging landscape is for cultural people simply to go with the flow of trends. Another is to fall back on past justifications. Yet neither extreme will work. Simply asserting the value of cultural activities and institutions and the existing form they operate in is not good enough; nor is giving in to commercial imperatives or seeing their value as based only on their usefulness as instruments of social policy. Cultural institutions have to argue their case in their own terms and show, for example, how they distinguish themselves from theme parks or social agencies, while not reverting to exhausted snobbery.

For all these reasons in BiH's current context **we focus on the need for cultural institutions and activity to give hope to the young, heal the scars of war and foster togetherness in difference.**

Section Six: Rebuilding the argument for culture: The transformative power of culture

It is ironic that a country like Bosnia Herzegovina that has had such deep cultural experiences under-exploits its potential by undervaluing culture's multifaceted impacts. Once the issues involved in the new cultural landscape above are absorbed BiH should prepare itself to rebuild its argument for investing in culture, taking into account a number of European cultural trends, such as;

- The increasing acknowledgement that the cultural attributes and attitudes of a country play a core role in its sustainable social and economic development and regeneration.
- That equally the attitudes and attributes that made places like Bosnia Herzegovina relatively successful in ex-Yugoslavia are precisely those that might constrain it in the future.
- A widening focus of cultural policy to include arts for arts sake, the commercial cultural industries and heritage without distinguishing between amateur and professional activities and with an emphasis on the constant interaction between them.
- The wider overall ambit of concern is to create the conditions for creative action by intervening directly or indirectly in areas from education and training, to developing physical infrastructure, creative production, heritage protection, encouraging the cultural industries, audience development, marketing, distribution and access to participation.

In these contexts the role of public authorities is changing so they:

- extricate themselves as much as possible from directly managing cultural activities and institutions
- foster the progress of vibrant independent institutions and networks
- act in partnership within the public sector and across to private organizations and the community sector
- operate on the principle of subsidiarity by identify the appropriate public responsibilities at national, regional and local levels which are closest to peoples real concerns
- support cultural activities both for their intrinsic artistic value as well as instrumental value, such as achieving social and economic goals as well as developing civil society
- assume mixed funding through grants, earned income, trading and sponsorship
- base public grant giving on specific criteria, agreements and guidelines about aims, objectives and outcomes
- not only provide for existing cultural institutions, but also encourage new projects, new organizations and new ways of working that encourage self-responsibility which may often be artist-led

It is clear that cultural funders in BiH do not operate in this way and each point is worthy of examination within a National Report. In terms of finding inspiration and relevance from elsewhere **it is better to learn from countries with a similar past such as Slovenia, Romania, Hungary or Poland** who might act as role models.

There are a number of audiences to whom the rebuilt arguments for culture are targeted:

- The cultural community, who with more sophisticated arguments, can help themselves better.

- Various levels of government and especially those departments not concerned with culture such as interior ministries, tourism, economic affairs, urban planning and foreign affairs.
- The business sector both domestic and international companies.
- The world of foundations
- International audiences

The first key objective in rebuilding the argument for culture is to make culture seem tangibly relevant by connecting to the concerns of potential partners. This requires evidence as to how arts activity can help them achieve their objectives. For example, how involving artists in urban design and planning can beautify the urban environment; how using arts in a social context can reduce truancy or criminal behaviour; how involving arts people in trade missions can positively affect the image of Bosnia Herzegovina; how well maintained and well interpreted heritage sites can enhance tourism potential.

Secondly a statistical base, that is Bosnia Herzegovina based, needs to be built up to provide evidence of the claims made for culture. An array of studies elsewhere have documented that the impact of participation in the arts can be wide-ranging, transformative, deep and long-lasting as are their wider social and economic effects. Taking a broad view of cultural activities their multi-faceted nature becomes clear thus showing that the arts are more than purely aesthetic or physical experiences. This enhances their possible contribution to regeneration both physical and psychological.

Cultural activity can weave its way like a thread through endeavours of all kinds adding value, meaning and impact as it proceeds. For example, getting young people to actively participate in a local arts programme with even younger people can increase their sense of commitment and responsibility. Equally using the arts in campaigning or awareness raising can be very effective, such as with the environmental or health issues. Making a successful partnership between the arts and culture more broadly and regeneration requires a more imaginative understanding of arts and culture, and the way they work. It means appreciating that 'high' art, 'low' art, popular art or 'community' art each have something to offer a place. Some of the building blocks for creating a strong argument for culture include:

◦ Cultural activities, both traditional and new are concerned with and embody the identity and values of a place, so creating purpose and 'meaning'. They express local distinctiveness - ever more important in a world where places increasingly look and feel the same. One thinks here of the local festivals that still exist around the country. Bosnia Herzegovina's cultural heritage in particular is inspiring to residents and visitors alike, perhaps because in the headlong rush to develop economically people find solace and inspiration in buildings, artefacts and skills of the past and because in a globalised world they seek local roots; connection to their histories, their collective memories - it anchors their sense of being. The wealth of culture in a place engenders civic pride. This pride in turn can give confidence, can inspire and provide the energy to face seemingly insurmountable tasks that may have nothing to do with culture. Unfortunately the war has often broken the link with place - so re-establishing and reminding oneself of these varied traditions should be a focus in towns and cities.

◦ Cultural activities are inextricably linked to innovation and creativity and historically this has been the lifeblood of cities, regions and countries as a means of unleashing their capacity to survive and adapt. For example, the skills of craftspeople have often contributed to

new forms of building or artists working with scientists have found solutions to problems in fields as diverse as psychology to computer software design. Creativity, of course, is encouraged in the arts and is increasingly seen by business as the key attribute they look for in employees. Briefly, genuine creativity involves the capacity to think problems afresh or from first principles; to be reflexive; to experiment; to dare to be original or rewrite rules; to be unconventional; to visualise future scenarios; to discover common threads amidst the seemingly chaotic and disparate; to look at situations in an integrated way, laterally and with flexibility. These ways of thinking encourage innovation and generate new possibilities. Is this happening in BiH?

- In a world dominated by images the cultural sector is inextricably linked to the image of a place and a strong culture creates a positive, yet often complex, image. Culture is associated with a high quality of life. For this reason marketing strategies the world over tend increasingly to focus on their cultural offer, the presence of artists, creative people, festivals and cultural industries in general. Just think of any well known city from Barcelona, to Amsterdam or Prague and the point is made. Culture is thus a means of attracting international companies and their mobile workforce who seek a vibrant cultural life for their employees. Thus by helping to create positive images the cultural sector has a direct impact on inward investment. A significant issue to address, though, is that the arts and culture projected should not be made uncontentious simply to serve marketing purposes.

- Culture's role in tourism is key, it is the primary reason a visitor comes to an area in the first place. And tourism might be the first step that allows someone to explore and know a place and later perhaps invest in it or ambassador for it. Tourism offers are largely focused on cultural activities, be this the collecting institutions like museums or galleries which exude presence, power and relevance as well as the live activities like theatre, clubs, festivals or locally distinct rituals.

- The cultural industries are one of the fastest growing industries in the world and are seen as major drivers of the new economy representing, for example, between 3-5% of employment in most British cities. These include: the performing arts (theatre, dance, opera, live music etc.); music (classical, popular, folklore); the visual arts (painting, sculpture, public art and the decorative arts); the publishing sector based on literature and writing (including books, newspapers and magazines); the audio visual and media sector (film, television, photography, video); the emerging multi-media sector (combining sound, text and image); the crafts. Because they were previously seen as isolated sectors their impact was not recognized.

- Perhaps most importantly the social impact of direct participation in cultural activities is increasingly understood. They help engender the development of social and human capital and transform the organisational capacity to handle and respond to change, they can strengthen social cohesion; assist in personal development and increase personal confidence and improve life skills; they can create common ground between people of different ages; improve people's mental and physical well-being; strengthen people's ability to act as democratic citizens and develop new training and employment routes. They thus have an important social, educational and regenerative impact.

In spite of the glowing possibilities of culture: 'Culture is always in the last position - it is not taken seriously' was a common refrain. It can only increase its political status by projecting itself as centre-stage in development and spelling out its impact – ideally as a first stage in

economic terms. This is not to say that only economics counts, but that it is a powerful argument.

Given that in a war torn country there will always appear to be other priorities higher up the agenda **unless cultural policy makers become more sophisticated in how they argue for themselves the position of culture will decline.** This will not happen without political will and commitment and a change in mindset. A mindset that feels relaxed about traditional culture and the cultures of youth; a mindset that understands that the commercial cultural sectors are not by definition ‘trash’ culture and that within them there is equally the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ as there is in traditional high art culture. Only through ten thousand changes in mindset at all levels in society can a culture change and cultural policy too. This might involve the politician preferring to give up control and power over a budget and instead to have creative influence by allowing a cultural commission to make decisions; the business person illegally trading in counterfeit business person who decides to uphold the copyright laws; the artist who sees that their responsibility is to help the young.

Section Seven: Harnessing talent, tolerance and technology: Three routes to a creative future

We propose three possible cultural policy routes to the future as a means to identify, harness and nurture talent. They are easy to remember, they give focus and could be attractive to a variety of audiences and funders. They involve ‘giving hope to the young’; ‘developing intercultural understanding’ so attempting to heal the scars of the past and beginning to think about the cultural industries. Within each aspect of the policy proposal decision makers should ask ‘is this developing talent’, ‘are the young being given an opportunity’? As Leonie Sandercock notes in her groundbreaking book ‘Towards Cosmopolis’ the focus for decision makers in cities, regions and countries is how they can ‘organize hope’, ‘negotiate fears’ and ‘mediate memories’.

The focus on talent implies cross-departmental and cross-sectoral working as it falls not only into the remit of cultural divisions. Economic development, education and social affairs, for example, all have a role to play.

Our emphasis on talent is not to decry the need to stabilize the major institutions and to clarify their future roles or to downgrade the need to address concerns such as issues of decentralization.

Organizing hope: A talent strategy for the young

Young people lie at the heart of Bosnia Herzegovina’s future. The capacity to harness their talent, motivation, will and commitment will determine how successful the country can be. Yet there is a dramatic crisis of and for the young, the majority want to leave and the most gifted and talented are able to. The old still dominate the mindset and decisions, and there is a missing middle age group. ‘The young want to go and the middle aged have gone’ noted a visual arts student. A large proportion of middle aged professionals at the height of their careers have left the country and not returned. Behind them they left older people and young people who have not yet qualified. This means that teachers at academies of arts or music, in schools and other training institutes have a very high average age with most being near retirement or even beyond. The dean of Sarajevo’s music academy was one the oldest teachers before the war, now he is the youngest. On balance it has a negative effect reinforcing, according to our group meetings with young people in both the Federation and RS, their sense of alienation, detachment and desire to leave.

The kind of remarks they said were: ‘Students are not encouraged to think laterally; everything is hierarchical and there is the cult of the professor, who gives you knowledge from the top which you are expected to accept; there is no view that the student should be helped to explore their work further, or reward for thinking for themselves’; ‘there is no interdisciplinary work; we are not taught self-motivation’. Talking about music some comments were: ‘basically we are taught the tradition and in music education we stop at Schönberg and this means I have to work via internet with a tutor in Zagreb to do a study on John Cage as there is no specialist in post-modern music in Bosnia’; in fact at least 50% of the professors have not used the internet’; ‘world music does not exist as a discipline’; ‘in school we were taught ex-cathedra and we were not encouraged to discuss or to learn to think’. Or equally: ‘we learn about the visual arts chronologically and not in context, so Van Gogh’s life is told like a children’s story’; ‘my course finished at Impressionism and I never had the opportunity to talk about contemporary art’. In another youth group it was noted that: ‘young

people grow up too fast, a 15 year old thinks like a thirty year old, they think about a job and not about a date'; 'their role models too have changed – whereas previously it was someone who did well by conventional means it is now someone who plays truant or does something on the edge of legality'.

'To lead an ordinary life you have to be an extra-ordinary person', 'you have to have an astonishing will and energy, and this is so difficult when we young people are now so apathetic – there is simply no hope'. The implications of these comments are stark and highlights the need to develop a talent strategy which identifies, nurtures, attracts and sustains talent and assesses the pre-conditions for such talent to choose BiH and to stay there.

It could be said that there is a 'conspiracy of complacency' played out by ruling elites against the young which has been confirmed through the series of consultations with young people. Cultural policy needs to find ways to help young people: to re-connect to their society, to re-engage with their communities, to re-discover their creative potential, to re-imagine a future which gives them hope. Our interviews may have only scratched the tip of an iceberg. Fears of future growth in youth disorder and self-abuse are well founded, but a bleaker outcome, unless drastic action is taken, may result in a mass exodus of young talent and enterprise out of the country as soon as opportunity allows. Politicians of all persuasions have a critical responsibility in addressing this problem and the culture and education departments should assist them. The problem for many 12-19 year olds is one of disengagement: with the formal education system, with civic participation, and with the political process. We did not find evidence within the cultural policy making world that they realise the scale and urgency of the problem or are planning to act quickly to reverse the spiral of neglect. Unless a truly 'collegiate' strategy is adopted the problems will not be addressed holistically. A cross-sectoral Young People's Task Force would ensure coherence, support enthusiasts, multiply benefits and avoid the complacency and envy which has prevented groups and individuals from working effectively in the past. Such a task force must not be bogged down by political infighting between political parties, between entities, between local authorities, between cantons – the problem is far too serious.

Secondary and tertiary education, youth services, enterprise initiatives, health, police and other social agents all need to find a way to talk –and act – together. Multi-agency approaches bring multi-agency solutions. Collegiate projects would not only send out a clear external signal of a changed culture - they are also more likely to be financially realisable. The Soros Foundation might take an important role through its integrated joint youth programme.

A major iconic project could provide inspiration and radically affect the hearts, minds and spirits of those concerned with young people and education at all levels. One opportunity could be the creation of **new model 'centres for learning'**, involving: A coming together of a range of learning opportunities which would fuse together secondary, further and higher education centres on one location; a range of on-site agencies would not simply support formal teaching and learning, but help provide a philosophical and curricular focus for the campus as a whole, which could include:

- an **arts & media resource** (encompassing recording studios, rehearsal spaces, artists studios, multi-media resources, etc) managed by an arts in education development agency

- a range of **clustered services** (cafes, advice centres, police base, learning support unit) which would encourage wider involvement and ‘de-school’ the campus
- a **Centre for Creative and Civic Intelligence (CCCI)** – which could develop into an ‘ideas-base’. The centre would constitute a focal point for the intellectual capital of the BiH, with young people as ‘curators/directors’ of projects which deliver truly active citizenship. In so doing they would extensively use the arts. This ‘ideas bank’ would be greatly strengthened through networking and discussion fora with the burgeoning social activist networks globally

These centres would have flexible timetabling and family learning projects, where parents study alongside their children; and a radical re-visioning of the role of the teaching professionals – from *knowledge-keepers* to *knowledge-managers* – involving the widest possible input from other creative practitioners, and recognising the need to stimulate, not dictate. The centre would become a reference point for creative, leisure and service industries and be linked perhaps with a youth enterprise.

In order to implement this model as a starting point a series of **educational transformation seminars**, with facilitators who understand the change agenda, should be set up, whose objective is to widen the circle of stakeholders in promoting creativity and cultural development in places of learning (formal and informal) for young people. This process is likely to **highlight the weaknesses of many existing cultural centres, whose role and function should be reviewed**. A rejuvenated role may see them hooked-up and connected through broadband, they could be places which offer face-to-face learning opportunities, virtual ‘town halls’ (where e-democracy enables politicians to connect more directly with *all* their constituents), or simply provide social and cultural activities in line with the more targeted specialisms described above. Whilst it is important for young people to have ‘a place of their own’, it is also critical to the concept of inclusive communities to stimulate inter-generational awareness. Discussion fora have their place, but in our experience a much deeper understanding would be served by a range of inter-generational projects.

Creating the **connection between creativity, young people and enterprise** is vital as a ‘poverty of aspiration’ characterises life for many young people. The problem lies in creating a critical (and visible) mass of creative proposals which can demonstrate real change. A second major opportunity could be setting up two or three **Young People’s Enterprise Centres** after feasibility studies in different parts of the country, perhaps with a twin focus on social enterprise and creative industries would be useful so ‘tackling poverty, increased self-esteem and social capital as well as encouraging greater community activism’.

A social enterprise is defined as a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are used to deliver social objectives; they operate in a businesslike manner by applying entrepreneurial skills with a strong social purpose, so re-energizing the public service ethos within new organizational forms. Social enterprise is not new; yet there has been a remarkable upsurge in social enterprise, such as credit unions, housing co-operatives, home maintenance organizations, fair trade and ecological enterprises, managed workspaces, recycling initiatives, community arts development projects, farmers’ markets and social care co-operatives. They are knitted together by a sense of values. Social enterprises unusually can be economically and socially inclusive at the same time. They can build trust and connections in communities by focusing on local sourcing as well as creating local livelihoods; they can

generate markets and so encourage enterprise. The centres could combine a number of functions by providing:

- Managed workspaces for creative, retail, service and community industries
- Advice and support to young people
- Socially managed projects, services and solutions in areas of social disadvantage.

The enterprise centre would effectively also become an incubator centre for young peoples businesses many of which would be in the creative industries. In addition in order to encourage drop-in use, the centre should play host to arts, media or sports provision, with a range of linked entertainment resources (e.g. online games centre, café, bar) all of which would serve as inspirational role-models in community-focussed business development.

Overall the objective is to find opportunities for young people's involvement and perhaps the most symbolic statement of this could be the setting up of a highly visible **Young People's Parliament** modelled on a number that exist throughout Europe, whose objective is to show that young people matter.

A sense of belonging: Negotiating fears and the intercultural agenda

The difference between multi-culturalism and inter-culturalism is that in the former cultural differences are acknowledged, respected and celebrated, in the latter the focus changes to focusing on those issues, problems and opportunities where fostering mutual understanding, sharing and doing things together between groups becomes the priority.

Integrating Bosnia Herzegovina into a cosmopolitan Europe in the 21st century is the strategic issue facing BiH and many other countries. A principle that is clear is that cultural conflict can only be confronted through ongoing public dialogue with members of all communities, not just the formal representatives but individual dissenters and minorities within communities, including fundamentalists of different kinds.

By addressing the intercultural agenda imaginatively the cultural community in BiH would have a completely different image in the external world. By showing the courage to continue to engage in dialogue with different perspectives and to confront conflicts and seek to resolve them on the basis of the principles of cosmopolitan citizenship one can see many opportunities emerging and a willingness to contribute financially. By developing exemplary initiatives they will have a symbolic effect of raising the cosmopolitan credentials of the country and popularising cosmopolitan values. Importantly this initiative does not need to be seen as a worthy activity, but can use the arts in innovative, radical and exploratory ways.

That noted perhaps a first catalytic and symbolic step would be to discuss the possibilities of developing a **Charter of Cosmopolitan Citizenship** as an aspirational statement of intent to which people could sign on. This in itself would engender a heated yet ultimately positive debate. Artists and arts organizations can play a special role in the discussion in that they offer an innovative way of countering exclusion and marginalisation across language, background, class and psychological barriers. This has proved very successful in difficult situations where nothing else has worked. It also implies that public funders look with sympathy at those arts organizations who are seeking to address intercultural issues.

Policy makers could look at strategies such as those of the city of Birmingham, which has recently published a report called 'Birmingham and its cosmopolitan futures' and which focuses on the city becoming a leading exponent of interculturalism in order to secure its economic and social future. In addition organizations such as Creative Exchange have an extensive world-wide network of arts organizations working on projects in this domain. (hotline@creativexchange.org <http://www.creativexchange.org>).

The crucial factor for BiH in building a sense of joint citizenship involves implanting the idea of it as a country of diverse communities and citizens, who must all feel a sense of belonging to the notion of a Bosnia Herzegovina and a sense of a common destiny with both the country, the wider region and Europe. The charter could facilitate this by articulating the principles of cosmopolitan living based on:

- **respect** for people however different they are from each other
- **cultural recognition**. This requires equal opportunities for public representation, practice and display of different cultures, but also funding and employment opportunities.
- **intercultural mixing** - to override separation and stereotyping of the other, by establishing intercultural meeting places and occasions where new solidarities across ethnic boundaries can be created. This is the moral and political argument for interculturalism, but there is also an innovation argument in that new cultural hybrids and cross-over forms emerge which can have positive knock-on effects throughout the economy and society.

Bosnia Herzegovina should treat the mixed identities of people from intercultural backgrounds as a resource, harnessing them as '**cross-cultural navigators**' in intercultural exchange, by setting up new festivals and events, so negotiating community conflicts and developing public debate. Indeed within the UK in the new 2002 census the category of people defining themselves as dual heritage has risen ten-fold.

- **civic belonging** - citizenship as the everyday practice of rights and responsibilities, of a civic ethic of caring for each other and sharing living space.

We are **under no illusion that prejudice will inevitably continue** thus strategies are needed to prevent different communities being played off against each other. By extending the networking between community organisations of different ethnic composition but tackling similar problems in different parts of the country enables them to share experience and understand better the needs of the other. This will also **build the capacity for strategic thinking**. Unsurprisingly, given the war this pooling of knowledge is very underdeveloped, but could be facilitated by allocating people from within cultural departments with the responsibility for building community networks.

The war has led to under-representation of the different cultural groups within cultural institutions, especially those of the state, even though there is a formal commitment to equality. This requires monitoring, active career training at lower and middle grades and changes in training for management of a multi-cultural workforce, so as not to perpetuate exclusion.

In order to build pride of place, fellow feeling and a sense of mutual belonging in citizens there needs to be a **strategy for civic identity**. BiH has to actively build and sustain an overarching civic identification – which unites everyone who lives in the country, whatever their cultural or social background. To do this cultural policy makers need to develop their own intercultural programming capacity in an ongoing way, as well as facilitate occasions for contact between communities, the meeting of minds, joint projects and production. In the first instance the **library network could take the lead** in conjunction with other relevant departments in a:

- **Public campaign of collective recognition and self-definition** (as Berlin has famously done – see: 35 ways of being a Berliner) by soliciting responses to the question: **What is a Bosnia Herzegovina person?** and **Who does BiH belong to?** – using the web, local media, radio, T.V. and papers with letters and e-mails targeted at civic and community organisations, schools, colleges, trade unions, political organisations (Berlin solicited 20-30,000 replies)
- **Poster, postcard, public advert campaign** and from the collage of results used to provoke thought, change self-image and effect the wider public image of BiH. The city and rural departments responsible for economic development, tourism and place marketing could develop the campaign in collaboration.
- **Scheme to promote diversity as an economic and social asset** – of cultural enrichment, civic virtue, a business asset, an innovative driver and not just for foreign consumption, but with chain effects on innovation throughout the economy and society. This should publicize the recent research on the positive correlation between economic competitiveness and tolerance.
- **International promotion of BiH as a culturally diverse, intercultural place of re-engagement and experiment**, linking the country's place marketing with new forms of intercultural understanding, citizenship and harnessing of creativity

In parallel with the libraries, the museums world with education departments and involving other cultural, educational and research institutions and community organisations especially concerned with cultural representations should develop an:

- **Intercultural exhibition programme of history and public art** to include buildings and public spaces. Its focus should be critical examination as well as celebration. It should explore written text and a variety of media projects with artists, historians, teachers, imaginative writers, amateurs by both working with people on projects as well as developing curated exhibitions. For example one result might be a community play which entails retelling and re-enacting the particular history of a place from multiple viewpoints. Each project would need to develop its own separate group of organisers, promoters, sponsors and funding strategy.
- **Iconic intercultural centre or centres** – like Berlin's Werkstatt der Kulturen or London's proposed Rich Mix centre. It could be an existing library, gallery or museum if they became real intercultural spaces or a completely new institution. It would need to be:
 - a place with facilities for intercultural production and performance.

- a forum of public debate
- an exhibition space for ongoing re-evaluation of history (like the Hall of Memory in the Rich Mix Centre) and art forms
- an oral and photo archive, revealing the role of the country's minorities into Bosnia Herzegovina's history and their place in the world economy

The intercultural agenda needs to address the problem of how to show respect for different cultures whilst also confronting the problems of fundamentalism and sectarianism. Fundamentalism is defined by its claims that it holds a monopoly of truth and its refusal to accept the diversity of genuinely held beliefs, so denying respect and recognition of the rights to others. It therefore tends to be exclusive and exclusionary. However it has become a growing force in the vacuum of widespread public debate about disagreements on sensitive cultural issues. A secular context which allows for religious diversity and respect for differences of belief provides a public space for debate. One idea might be to explore a **public cultural forum** – of community organisations and individuals which could include an **inter-faith forum** and a **minority ethnic forum** to debate contentious issues of cultural conflict

Creative Bosnia Herzegovina: A strategy for realising the potential of the Cultural Industries

Setting the pre-conditions to maximize cultural industries potential: The relative lack of economic development in BiH might mean that some people feel a focus on cultural industries is premature. We acknowledge this point, but nevertheless feel a start should be made and thus propose our step by step approach. This begins by proposing an audit of what exists, assessing the gaps and opportunities emerging and then acting upon them.

Significantly encouraging the cultural industries in Bosnia Herzegovina is one of the most powerful means of enhancing the country's identity and distinctiveness, while simultaneously creating employment, developing human skills and generating social capital and cohesion. In a globalising world where every place begins to feel and look the same, it is cultural products and activities that mark out one place from the next – difference in this sense creates competitive advantage.

By focusing on cultural industries attention is paid to the requirements of the market and the difficulties this creates as well as to audiences. This has an effect on all cultural actors even those working in the subsidized sector such as libraries or theatre. Our assessment of the dynamics of the cultural industries in BiH in section four showed the extreme difficulties the sector is facing due to international competition and the tiny size of the BiH market. This affects not only the commercial sector, but also the subsidized one, because each sector depends on the health of the other. A healthy commercial cultural sector needs the talent emerging from the subsidized sector, and that sector in turn requires a vibrant commercial sector to provide alternative employment opportunities.

Nevertheless we believe that the cultural industries can play an important role in the renaissance of Bosnia Herzegovina, even though they remain currently quite undeveloped, and that the findings of our proposal to undertake an extensive cultural industries analysis would support this claim. It is only with an analytical baseline that this area can be properly addressed.

We suspect that BiH has a stronger cultural sector than recognized and a rich potential and emerging talent to feed and sustain its further growth. It could well be that alone within music, film, television and publishing more people earn a living than in some of the traditional industries. Unleashing and harnessing this potential requires recognition at the highest levels of government and industry as well as appropriate policies to realise and develop this potential opportunity. Only then will Bosnia Herzegovina reap the benefits – economically, socially and culturally – that its talent deserves.

The research proposed has the overall aims to:

- make explicit the current economic and social contribution of the sector;
- identify impediments to industry growth in each sector;
- explore the linkages between the cultural industries and the macro-economic policies of BiH's economic strategy;
- propose industrial growth strategies for each sector and for the cultural industries as a whole.

Furthermore the study should:

- introduce the cultural industries as an important sector in its own right;
- describe the dynamics of the cultural industry sectors, such as film and television; music; publishing and the crafts;
- make recommendations on the development of the cultural industries to the various ministries and the industries themselves;
- provide a template for the collection of further statistics and set a benchmark for future monitoring and evaluation.

In undertaking its research and then making proposals the team should assess the size of the industry, its structure, the characteristics of the market, such as whether there are significant niches within international and regional markets which can be exploited or how the domination by foreign companies can be overcome as well as the future of the industry. This resulting document, "Creative Bosnia Herzegovina" would have four key objectives:

- create awareness within both government and the cultural industries of their potential for growth in spite of global competition;
- set ambitious yet realistic targets and goals for the development of the cultural industries;
- encourage a self awareness within the cultural industries that they are an industry of significance;
- map out how "Creative Bosnia Herzegovina" can be implemented.

What are the Cultural Industries?

Arts, culture and creativity are slippery terms. For the purposes of the proposed Creative Bosnia Herzegovina research we refer to that bundle of activities where creativity is a prime condition of its existence as the 'Cultural Industries'. Others sometimes use the term 'Creative Industries'.

The cultural industries include;

- music (classical, popular, folklore);
- the visual arts (painting, sculpture, public arts and the decorative arts);

- the publishing sector based on writing and literature (books, magazines, newspapers);
- the audio-visual and media sector (film, television, photography, video, broadcasting);
- the performing arts (theatre, dance, opera, live music etc.);
- the emerging multimedia sector (combining sound, text and image);
- crafts;
- cultural tourism;and
- the cultural heritage sector (museums, heritage sites and cultural events such as festivals and commemorations).

The cultural industries sometimes also include those sectors where the creative input is a secondary but crucial means of enhancing the value of other products whose marketability and effectiveness would otherwise be lessened.

These sectors include:

- design;
- industrial design and fashion;
- the graphic arts (including advertising);

Thus in analysing the cultural industries as industries one is not only concerned with the front end of creative production – the ideas people or performers – but also those who have to turn ideas into products as well as those who market and those who provide outlets for cultural products to be seen and sold.

Cultural Industries: Drivers of a New Economy

The British Government has recognised the enormous potential of the cultural industries and is using aspects of British culture such as music, art and design to market Britain as a destination for investment and to promote British products abroad. Already in 1997 the Prime Minister showed his commitment to the sector.

“Design alone employs 300,000 people in Britain - more than in the car industry, let alone in traditional industries like shipbuilding or coal....[it is one of the] new creative industries which have never existed before” (the Economist - September 22nd 1997)

The marketing potential of the cultural industries has long been recognised, but it is their potential to create jobs and contribute to competitiveness which is now seen as key.

Why have the Cultural Industries not been taken seriously before?

The cultural industries have traditionally not been taken seriously. Indeed until recently it was difficult to get policy makers and those active in the cultural sectors to view the cultural industries as an industry at all. What are the reasons for this?

- Historically the cultural industries were seen as insignificant when viewed against the backdrop of the rest of the industrial economy. The situation has now changed as the cultural industries are being seen as part of the information or knowledge economy and it is recognised that they make a substantial contribution to the economy.
- The cultural industries were rarely viewed as an integrated sector of the economy. Theatre, the visual arts, music, film-making, design and fashion were regarded as separate sectors without any recognition of the interconnectedness between them. Seen in isolation the

sub-sectors may seem relatively small - when viewed as a whole they account for a significant portion of the economy;

- With the exception of a limited number of major players the cultural industries has traditionally consisted of a larger group of medium sized firms and a mass of small and micro-enterprises. The prevailing image has been one of a sector dominated by small enterprises of little economic impact;
- Culture has traditionally been viewed by governments as a cost to the fiscus and has been associated with subsidies and tax incentives aimed at promoting national cultural policies rather than as a productive sector of the economy;
- The cultural industries have traditionally been poorly organised. There has been a low commercial awareness on the part of most players about the potential which the industries have to contribute to the economy.

What are the specific dynamics of the cultural industries?

The cultural industries in many ways resemble traditional industries but they also have a number of distinctive qualities which are unique to the cultural sector:

- **Tangibles versus intangibles**

The cultural industries are dominated in many ways by reproducible tangible products such as CD's, books, films for example. Many of the "raw materials" of the cultural industries, however, are intangible and perishable products such as concerts, festivals and operas which are hard to reproduce. In addition because culture deals with symbols, myths and meanings it is difficult to quantify and evaluate its output, outcomes and impacts.

- **One off versus mass production**

The cultural industries are also typified by two varying types of products. On the one hand there are one-off products such as paintings, sculptures, ceramics and theatre performances, each of which is a unique product, while on the other hand there is the mass production of CD's, photos, posters, books and films.

Importantly though the "one off" is often the laboratory/R&D function for the more commercially mass produced cultural products. Thus the one-off and the mass produced are intrinsically connected.

- **Convergence**

One of the key changes occurring in the new global economy is the convergence of the information, communication and entertainment industries through the digitilisation of content. Convergence is becoming increasingly visible between industries and technologies and between content providers and content distributors.

Because the cultural industries are "information-rich" and a source of original content they are increasingly becoming a site where convergence occurs. In addition, they hold the potential to be a source of innovation, technology development and technological leapfrogging see for example the recent innovations in web design.

- **Interdisciplinary movement**

Artists and cultural workers often work across different sectors. For example musicians are often involved in a combination of activities ranging from live performances to studio recording, which includes recording for film scores. A graphic artist may at one moment work for a design company and the next produce a record cover. In addition, most creative products are no longer confined to one medium - instead they are cross-media (e.g. the film of the book) or even multimedia products (combining text, sound and image). It is increasingly common to find people involved in the cultural industries working in inter-disciplinary teams, moving between the sectors and generating new and innovative products which involve the interaction of traditional media and art forms.

How important are the Cultural Industries for Bosnia Herzegovina?

The proposed research will show this. Declining employment in the BiH economy is not dissimilar to that of other countries. Over the past thirty years there has been a world-wide decline in the job-creation potential of “traditional” sectors of the economy. This is especially true of primary sectors such as mining and agriculture, but is also increasingly applicable to manufacturing, where the rise of China is stripping out manufacturing from most of Europe.

So where are new jobs likely to be created? Simply put, jobs, especially “value adding” jobs, are more likely to be generated in advertising, finance, consulting, media, tourism, fashion design and a range of activities, traditionally classified under “services”. A large component of these “modern industries” is based on providing the creative design and intellectual input for the production and distribution of information-based products. Examples range from fashion design and film production to management consulting and marketing. Two strategic issues arise for developing countries who wish to take advantage of these opportunities in information-based industries:

- Fewer barriers to entry and lower capital investment requirements allow for technological “leapfrogging” which is the adoption of new technologies sooner than developed countries;
- Information based products allows developing countries to exploit their cultural and geographical uniqueness in response to a global demand for more and more differentiated, information-based, products.

As noted earlier the cultural sector provides benefits in terms of identity creation, distinctiveness, image, innovation, social impact and tourism and the cultural industries play their role here. Importantly though is their economic significance. Culture creates wealth. The cultural industries have the potential to create employment as demonstrated in more developed countries where on average between 3-5% of employment and in the USA over 5% is in the cultural industries. Worldwide the cultural industries are considered the fifth largest economic sector in terms of turnover after financial services, information technology, pharmaceuticals and bio-engineering and tourism. It is a sector with substantial scope, scale, size and significance.

Section Eight: 10 big tasks, 100 small tasks in a 1000 days

We propose that Bosnia Herzegovina undertake 10 major and 100 smaller tasks in a 1000 days. By posing the issue in these dramatic terms a sense of urgency is created. The big tasks proposed as suggestions are:

- To create a **talent strategy for Bosnia Herzegovina** as the overarching theme for its cultural policy
- To initiate a **National Cultural Policy Report writing programme**
- To consider the setting up of **Cultural Commission or Cultural Task Force** made up of a wide diversity of interests that should undertake the research and writing for such a report. The Cultural Commission should lobby for a new style slimmed down and strategically focused and innovative Ministry.
- The **role of state institutions should be clarified** and broadly discussed and perhaps new organizations should be added to the list of state institutions.
- An **anti-counterfeit programme should be initiated** in parallel with an awareness raising and educational programme.
- The **book-fund agreed should be implemented** to give confidence to cultural actors.
- A **surprising theme or project should be invented** that is not even yet on the agenda, but emerges by thinking through cultural policy afresh.

Vigorous attempts should be made to agree three cultural policy priorities which could be the three suggested outlined above:

- A **‘Giving hope to the young’ strategy**, which is essentially the core of the talent strategy, involving young people and the setting up of a Young Persons Task Force
- Developing a programme called **‘A Sense of Belonging: An Intercultural Agenda’**
- Initiating **Creative Bosnia Herzegovina: Unleashing the power of the Cultural Industries**

It is not for us to outline the details of the 100 smaller tasks except to indicate the kind of activities they could include. The main criteria for inclusion should be that they are original, forward-looking and connected to relevant, significant and explicit cultural policy themes. Below we list 10 smaller ideas to get the thinking going:

Finding a series of schools with a focus on the three constituent peoples to set up a creative education initiative linked to an exchange programme; developing an intergenerational project where young people teach older people computer design skills or web design; creating a music competition involving younger players from the different communities; re-discovering older rural traditions and re-inventing them in the new locations of displaced people; creating a cross-departmental project, say a tourism heritage trail, with a joint budget to encourage collaborative working; identifying a series of public spaces where improvements are created by multi-disciplinary teams of artists and planners; instigating an analysis of the state of the cultural industries; setting up a cross entity young peoples cultural committee, assessing whether the Soros Foundation might take a significant role through its integrated joint youth programme; with the help of foreign embassies twinning local arts projects with international partners as a means of fostering exchanges of ideas and contacts as well as enabling people to make friends; develop an outreach programme with museums and galleries with curators working in the community. The potential list is endless.

Having a target of 10 big and 100 small tasks to fulfil in 1000 days might be a useful method of thinking through what initiatives to take and to monitor between the entities and cantons what has been achieved and is effective. At the end of the 1000 days BiH's cultural policy efforts should be reviewed - say in autumn 2005.

Thanks

The thinking in section five on 'The dynamics of the emerging cultural landscape' was developed with Marc Pachter, the director of the National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian, Washington and has been published by Comedia as 'Culture at the Crossroads: Culture and Cultural Institutions at the beginning of the 21st century'; the ideas in 'Giving Hope to Youth' were developed with David Price; the ideas on the 'A Sense of Belonging' with Jude Bloomfield all of whom I would like to thank.

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