



## WHAT DOES ART MATTER?

Contemporary art & development in Sarajevo: 1996–2005

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This article suggests that the comparative study of practicing contemporary artists offers a forward option for development theory and policy. In March 2005, the author interviewed 14 Sarajevo based artists, curators and administrators. Those interviews served to identify points of connection between artistic practice, civil society and development initiatives, as well as essential conditions of difference.

ISSUE 2  
October 2005

### INTRODUCTION

Most people will agree with the notion that art is important to society, or at the very least part of society. Is it because art embodies beauty? Is it because art is an expression of the cultural elite? Is it because art is radical? Is it because art is rhetorical? Is it because art is profound? Can art actually change things? *What Does Art Matter?* explores this question in relation to development.

*Every work of art represents an aspect of reality.*

As a starting point, I offer to the reader a conceptual tool created by Susan Leigh Star and Geoffrey C. Bowker, the 'boundary object': "we define boundary objects as those that both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. In working practice, they are objects that are able both to travel across borders and maintain some sort of constant identity. ... Abstract or concrete... Such objects have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting communities" [1].

Interlinked and cross-disciplinary practice is increasingly being recognized as an important strategy for consideration across the arts and

sciences. Conceptual borders are being rethought throughout the academy. We can locate this as an emerging trend in the development community itself [2].

## ABOUT THE RESEARCHER

My professional background is as an Arts Administrator at a Canadian Cultural Institution [3] with a specialization in new media art and research. Prior to this, I was part of the alternative community radio scene in Canada, both as an administrator/programmer and as a policy and funding lobbyist for the volunteer cultural media sector.

In December 2003 I met Amra Bakšić Camo, Production Coordinator of the Sarajevo Center for Contemporary Arts (SCCA), founder of a regional network for media and culture workers, and one of the program directors of the Sarajevo Film Festival. This established the context for my 2nd visit to Sarajevo in March 2005 to conduct a 3-week field study on the relationship between art and civil society in post-war Sarajevo. Once there, I found myself in the exceptional situation of having full access to the resources and archives of the Sarajevo Center for Contemporary Art [4].

Soon it became clear that many artists were engaging in some way or another with civil society: this was not just the domain of the media artist, but also of painters, print makers, sculptors and curators.

Over the course of the 14 formal interviews I conducted and the countless informal discussions I had with members of the cultural community, the war and the occupation of Sarajevo continuously surfaced as the reference point for all activity past and present. Therefore, I will as follows provide a brief description of the cosmopolitan city Sarajevo and the war that has informed all of the people I interviewed.

“On the fifth of April, 1992, around Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had about 500,000 inhabitants, around the city in the valley of the river Miljacka surrounded by mountains which made it the host of the 1984 Winter Olympics, in the very center of what was Yugoslavia, appeared: two hundred-sixty tanks, one-hundred-twenty mortars, and innumerable anti-aircraft cannons, sniper rifles and other small arms. All of that was entrenched around the city, facing it. At any moment, from any of these spots, any of these arms can hit any target in the city. And they did hit, indeed –civilian housing, museums, churches, mosques, hospitals, cemeteries, people on the streets. Everything became a target. All exits from the city, all points of entry, were blocked...The

besieged city defends itself by culture and thus survives. Groups and individuals create whatever they used to create before the siege. In impossible circumstances they produce films, write books, publish newspapers, produce radio programs, design postcards, stage exhibitions, performances, make blueprints for rebuilding the city, found new banks, organize fashion shows, shoot photographs, celebrate holidays, put on makeup...." [5].

The war lasted from April 5, 1992 to February 29, 1996. An estimated 12,000 people were killed in Sarajevo and another 50,000 wounded, "as the undisputed victims of Serb bombardment, most of them civilians, and many of them children" [6].

Given that context, what does art matter? When you have had your home destroyed and all of your familiar social conventions are gone, you are left with a need for the basics [7] of food, water and shelter. This point was brought up numerous times during my interviews with artists who stayed in Sarajevo during the war. Alma Suljevic is one of Sarajevo's best-known artists. She explained to me what happened to her career as an artist during the war: "I was completely desperate. I mean in this period, which kind of art? what art? what is it like? It is something you must be ashamed of if you think about this. I had similar feelings in the beginning of our war and then I became a soldier in the front line. I mean, what does my life mean if I sit at home and wait? What? Someone go and come and kill me. I was a soldier (laughs) without guns. I tried to give help somehow" (A. Suljevic, personal communication, March 17, 2005).

Zlatan Filipovic, a new media artist and teacher at the Sarajevo Academy of Fine Arts, was too a soldier during the war. He explains: "All the neighborhoods closed down and people did not really move around at the very beginning. Information was really like very much reduced and there was no public posters and communications of that type, but really what got very important at that time was word of mouth, so the information for example about the first film festival that was in the war time, that was in one small place that was showing films everyday (...) You would say it to the neighbor, he would say it to somebody and he would walk 100 meters and say it to someone else and information would travel like that. It was a certain circle of people that really started communicating. (...) You have to do something; you would go insane if you just sit and wait for it to end. You can hide for like a month but then what is the point of living? So, people started making art, and it was art that was a response to what the situation we are living in is. Most of what was material for art making, was actually material that was all around us, the ruins, the rubbles, the pieces and fragments of other people's lives that were just lying on the street around. That is how one of the most important exhibitions in Sarajevo was created: 'Witness of Existence', organized by the Obala Art Centre in

1994. They managed to get it out from Sarajevo and show it around the world” (Z. Filipovic, personal communications, March 17, 2005).

*Every work of art represents, in subjective manner, a subjective aspect of reality.*

## CULTURE AS DISPENSABLE

In Sarajevo we can see an example of how conservative thinking about economics and development exists at the highest level of political order. There are some major cultural institutions in Sarajevo, such as for instance the Museum of Literature, the National Theatre, and the troubled National Museum. As stated in an online news article published Friday March 11, 2005: “Bosnians who want to see the most impressive pieces of their country’s heritage had better hurry. The National Museum in the capital Sarajevo has just been reopened after being closed to the public since mid-October. But no one knows how long it will manage to stay open, since its basic problems -lack of funds and neglect by the government- have yet to be resolved. The closure was the culmination of a nine-year tug-of-war between the museum and the government. During that time, staff salaries were paid irregularly and sometimes not at all, and the museum’s operating costs were financed on an ad-hoc basis. The last straw for the management came when the heating was turned off. The National Museum’s sorry state is shared by other cultural institutions in Bosnia, including the Museum of History next door, which also had to close. All have suffered as politicians have used Bosnia’s complex constitutional set-up to shift responsibility to other layers of government” [8].

During an interview, Maya Bobar and Ivana Udovicic, lead curators at another cultural institution on the brink of closure, the National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, voiced their frustration with the current cultural policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or lack thereof. Here is an excerpt from the interview conducted on March 16, 2005 in the gallery.

SK: Does Contemporary Art have a role in the reconstruction of Sarajevo?

IU: It should be.

SK: Why should it be?

MB: It should be a mirror of this society. It is going together, it should be.

SK: Does the presence of the international community here in BiH affect the reference system for art somehow?

IU: I will try to illustrate that with one unpleasant story. Here is OHR [9], it is the Office of the High Representative. Somehow, whenever here in the

country there is a problem we are expecting that OHR will solve it, and usually they do. So when the problem of our status of national institutions of culture, etc. came to the OHR...

SK: Is that Paddy Ashdown? Is he the High Representative?

IU: Yes. Instead of solving it however, he just said that culture is a luxury and it was the end of our hope that they would solve the problem (laughs).

MB: I can show you how curators can do contemporary art (reaches into her desk and retrieves a rubber ink stamp that says 'LUXURY' in bold letters).

IU: We put this seal on our invitations.

MB: Mr. Ashdown said once that culture is luxury and we decided to put it on everything. I think that those politicians know, that's my opinion, very well that culture, culture and sport are very powerful. It is very important not to develop it, to support it. That is why it is in the Dayton agreement; culture education and sport are at the lowest level of administration at this Canton level because they don't want to have a powerful cultural scene, good sportsman or something because it can unite people. That is really my personal opinion and that is why Mr. Paddy said Culture is Luxury.

In Sarajevo, there exists the following dichotomy: on one hand culture is dismissed as a low level development priority; on the other hand it is a flash point for a reconstituted society that no longer feels secure within its geographical borders. The economic and political neglect of culture and lack of adequate cultural policy may result in societal ramifications far more significant than the seemingly benign closure of museums and art galleries.

*If a work of art were to mirror reality, it would be objective (as something passive), but since a work of art can only represent reality, it is subjective (as something active).*

## RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

It was the aim of my research to develop, through the artists' and cultural workers' ontology, a broader interpretation of the meaning of contemporary art in cities in transition such as Sarajevo. Art is perhaps uniquely capable of being part of the development process because it represents a rebuilding of being, of public and private identity. The matter of art is not just a private aesthetic experience. It is also material matter presentable to the public, conceptual matter capable of social bond making, and a political matter as in the case of its neglect noted above by the curators. In the case of Sarajevo, this notion of 'matter' is prescient as people are simultaneously trying to rebuild their lives out of post-war

rubble and to create new meanings, new cultures and new contexts for their contemporary nations and for their collective histories. Matter, indeed in its expressed form, is a boundary object that spans across society, art and development.

Contemporary art stands apart from the physical reconstruction of the city and the actual bricks and mortar projects that are receiving the majority of attention and funding from the local and international community. What about the rebuilding of people's emotional and psychological well being? War is not something that a person can just experience, forget, and then rebuild their house and all is well.

Contemporary art has the potential to connect to and offer something innovative to development. The challenge is how to articulate development with a phenomenon that is mostly experiential.

Hence, we arrive at the research objective of this field study. Through the process of conducting interviews across a wide range of people in the arts community of Sarajevo, I documented their practice and placed it alongside development theory. A survey of artists and arts administrators and their activities from 1996 to the current day formulated the breadth of my case study. In particular, I researched the question *How does post-war contemporary art practice in Sarajevo engage with civil society?*

Manuel Castells captures some of the essence of what it is I was searching for: "Art has always been a tool to build bridges between people from different countries, cultures, classes, ethnic groups, genders and power positions –bridges of meaning, sometimes through the expression of the social conflicts between the people on both sides of a meaningful contradiction. Art has always been a communication protocol to restore the unity of human experience beyond oppression, difference, and conflict... This could be its fundamental role in a culture characterized by fragmentation and potential non-communication of codes, a culture where multiplicity of expressions may in fact undermine sharing. Lack of common meaning could open the way for wide spread alienation among humans (...). In a world of broken mirrors, (...) art could be (...) a protocol of communication and a tool of social reconstruction" [10].

My area of research focused on emerging and established contemporary artists who are first and foremost recognized for the quality of their creative practice. My study in Sarajevo investigated whether or not contemporary artists' work and art-based projects can be reframed as non-formal articulations and negotiations of the development process.

*Every work of art is subjective.*

## DEVELOPMENT AND CONTEMPORARY ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

The SCCA presents us with an example of current social practices and processes operating in the framework of contemporary art and civil society. It has conceptualized and implemented a series of projects whose ideological underpinnings challenge the Balkan region's dominant cultural models of nationalism, ethnic homogeneity and dismissal of art as the inconsequential matter of decoration. In partnership with the Federal Cultural Foundation Germany, the SCCA is in year two of a three-year project called 'De/Construction of Monument' [11]. On one level, the project is a series of thematized seminars and artists presentations on art in public space and monuments to negative histories, folkloric heroes as producers of the revolutionary body, social realism, and iconoclasm. Running parallel to the seminars is a competition open to all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to submit a proposal to an international jury convened by the SCCA for the creation of a new monument of their own making, design, and subject matter that would function as public art. The winner of the competition will receive a commissioning fee and production support to have the monument realized. The civic forum of the SCCA, an informal body of citizens who launch the public actions and initiatives related to the project, will then present the Canton of Sarajevo with a fully funded, democratically produced and publicly validated monument for installation in the city.

Public monuments are almost unanimously the product of the ruling national elite. Monuments are politically sanctioned ideological constructs. The same can be said for the removal or termination of monuments that fall out of vogue such as national anthems, culturally significant street names, closures of gallery exhibitions and the statues of heroes who become recontextualized as enemies when geopolitical borders are redrawn. Here we can see examples of the destruction of artistic and cultural matter in the support of the perennial process of the control of history and the realignment of civil society. The SCCA has identified this polemic as a systemic and harmful manipulation of culture.

"Attitude towards the past nowadays is the key for not/solving of numerous regional problems particularly in the countries of former Yugoslavia whose people have, almost through the whole 20th century lived in one common state and learned one common history. The process of overcoming past cannot be truly commenced unless history ceases to be identified with collective memory, national epic poems, tales of heroes, myths of eternal heroism and sacrifice. The project, whose basis lies with the more recent art practice, deals in all its segments with the clearing of mental space, or with overcoming the past" [12].

This kind of activity encompasses many of the hallmarks of the development discourse. Yet, it is radically different in its form, process and ontology. Is it contemporary art or is it the development of communities of practice [13] that are engaging in a bottom up process of the reconstruction and healing in post war Sarajevo?

*The reality that a work of art represents is a “subjective reality.”*

## DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH SAMPLE GROUP: PROCESS AND RATIONALE

Qualitative interviews were conducted throughout Sarajevo with 14 individuals from the local arts community. One of the 14 candidates was a member of the Bosnian Diaspora living in Germany, but in Sarajevo at the time of the interview. Members of the public were purposefully not interviewed. The research focus is on practice, not reception, though clearly the two are linked.

Locating the initial phase of research in the investigation of artistic practice presents a potentially new and experimental way to approach development. The perspective of the contemporary art scene provides a new data set which can then be unpacked, analyzed and potentially reframed through the development paradigm. The validity of the interviewees’ statements is positioned as being that of the informant. The focus is on the subjects’ observations, experiences and practice.

*Every “subjective reality” is contained in reality.*

## ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

How artists articulate or position their practice opens up new windows through which development research can make inquiries. In many cases, artists appropriate other kinds of contexts and bring them into their own practice, and this too is a strategy for combining knowledges that increases meaning, communication and relevance.

We return now to Alma Suljevic, the former sculptor who rejected art during the war, an artist whose practice triggers the analytic of critical holism. She combines public intervention, feminist theory, communications, public safety, sculpture, performance art and pedagogy.

Since the end of the war she has been conducting her own independent form of development and artistic intervention in Sarajevo. She has built her practice around confronting the fact that there are three million landmines in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 1.777 registered minefields in Sarajevo alone. Alma physically de-mines communities. She visits public markets with information maps about minefields in Sarajevo. She enacts a method of performance art in order to draw attention to her de-mining information and disseminates public safety messages to the women shoppers. She sells bags of de-mined dirt internationally as art to bring attention to Sarajevo. She builds exquisitely beautiful jewel boxes and places defused mines in their velvet lining for exhibition in the National Gallery. Alma claims that formalism no longer exists, conventions are no longer valid, art is everywhere and it is critical to the development of society. During a second interview with her she reflects on this premise.

“Which kind of product do you want to make? Which kind of message do you want to give? Which kind of consequence do you want after your exhibition and after your art piece and with all others in communication? What do you want to get, that which they call feedback? I don’t see differences between some of my art pieces and that what my friends do in this way, fighting for the rights of women who have been raped during war... Art must take the position of doctor of society. We must recognize our problems. We must tell of its cancers, it is this and that and that. We must show a way for people, how they can use their brains make this our society better. I mean to make it healthy” (A. Suljevic, personal communication, March 25, 2005).



*Minka,  
2000.  
Alma*

*Suljevic*

## PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Full transcriptions were produced from the 14 interviews. All interview

subjects were either artists, curators, art students or arts administrators. All of them had a current practice based in Sarajevo at the time of the interview. A systematized analysis of the transcripts was done including a word frequency count. The most frequently used words were extracted from the interview and re-interpreted within the larger contexts of development, communications and globalization theory. The word frequency revealed concepts that are shared across domains. It highlighted what is frequent, what is not; what is common, what is not. The following section identifies and analyses a selection of frequently/not frequently used words and reincorporates them back into the interview transcripts, which illuminates the research results in a contextual fashion.

*It is impossible for a work of art to fall out of reality.*

The keyword ART is at the top of the frequency list. The strongest connection by over twice the frequency count is to be found in the category of art + civil society.

WAR is the third most mentioned word emerging out of the interview selections.

The fourth key word on the frequency list is PUBLIC. Public can mean an audience or collective entity and it can connect in a ubiquitous manner across all elements of development, communications and globalization. The notion of public is complex. The return of the public and the re-appropriation of public space is a key theme of post-war contemporary art practice in Sarajevo. Artists and arts administrators identified the public and public space as an area of need and also for intervention and healing. Ivana Udovicic, curator of the National Gallery of Bosnia and Herzegovina, identifies this need from her perspective as someone who is mandated to re-develop a public that is capable of appreciating culture.

“It is not a problem to put the art on a higher level, the problem is because we haven’t an educated public we have to start from the primary schools again to make a whole system of education of making a public” (I. Udovicic, personal communication, March 16, 2005).

Artist Danica Dakic targets her work to engage directly with the people of Sarajevo and public space. She is explicitly exercising her privilege as an artist to affect change in the public domain. She explains that before the war there was a public park in Sarajevo that contained many sculptures of famous Bosnian writers. The writers’ busts were removed to protect them, leaving behind only the empty plinths.

“The pedestals were without the heads after the war. The heads didn’t return (laughs) for years and it was kind of a very strange public struggle dealing with this issue. Which writers should be important in the new history of the country and which not? ... So I just put one monitor on the empty stand of Ivan Andric who is a Nobel Prize winner and very famous person from Yugoslavia and a Bosnian writer. It was like this video, one can just see one motionless hand and one could hear a very strong sound of mechanical typewriters. For me it was important to put some attention on this, to construct with this sound and image a kind of situation that the people, passers by just think about this issue. What is the history? We just wanted to make that a topic of discussion. After some years the heads returned” (D. Dakic, personal communication, March 12, 2005).



*Witness,  
1998.  
Danica  
Dakic*

SARAJEVO is the fifth most frequent word, and between the 4 sub-categories, it is most prevalent in the theme of art + post war. This finding compliments the above observations, as it could be interpreted as an indicator that the artistic community’s practice became galvanized by the war. Notions of home, location, experience, identity, survival, etc. are common subject matter for artists worldwide. However, we can see that these themes in the post-war period have become intrinsically linked to Sarajevo.

CHANGE is the ninth word on the frequency list and most prevalent in the category of art + individual. This may indicate a sense in Sarajevo that it is possible to affect change at the individual level. Amra Bakšić Camo, a member of the SCCA and the Sarajevo Film Festival organization, talked to me about her struggles as a representative of two important cultural institutions in getting the attention and recognition from the political and international level that artistic practice is in fact an agent of change and development in post-war Sarajevo.

“It’s very hard because to be able to obtain the position that we have and

survive its very hard...We have tried to focus on the things that we are interested in. That is not something very commercial obviously. ... Different culture, new media art, that is something that we share in common among ourselves and that is something that we are working on, trying to work on. But the problem is trying to keep up the profile of our organizations...There was a huge grant giving market in Bosnia. It was a grant giving market not for social or artistic or new media projects, it was mostly for ordinary media projects like journalism, like democratization in the grass-roots sense or reconstruction. So we were always fighting with the construction of an elevator in a 17-floor building and always the elevator wins. So the first fight we lost because of the elevator. And then when the grant market was gone... We didn't have any funds maybe Soros Foundation and Pro Helvetia and maybe one other organization had a program for culture. Most of them had just the grant giving and then you would try to name yourselves with different names and with very different costumes just to be able to present yourself as something which is going to democratize, which is going to change the society. Which it does (SCCA & SFF), but not change in the sense that an elevator will. ...I don't know how to call those projects. Art is always somehow on the margins, on the edge of the society. Especially the artists we are working on, it is never in the mainstream. It is never in the view (A. Bakšić Camo, personal communications March 28, 2005).

The 10 least frequent key words are also informative about where the connections between contemporary art and development do not exist. The words AGENCY, CLASS, GLOBALISATION, GROWTH and IMPROVEMENT are all hallmarks of the development discourse. Revealingly, none of these words were mentioned at all by any of the 14 interview subjects. TRANSFORM, PERCEPTION, NEGOTIATION, INTERVENTION and SHARE were only mentioned in total 10 times out of the 27,370 words contained in the text analysis sample. This absence of the discourse of development and related contexts of globalization and communications in the contemporary art community of Sarajevo is perhaps the most surprising result of the text analysis process. Given what we have learned thus far about the actual dynamics of this creative community and their active and significant engagement in processes of social change and the development of civil society, how is it then that they do not connect their practice with these concepts? How is it possible that they as a location that is the subject of such intense focus from the international community and the global efforts at post-war reconstruction and development don't at least touch on these subjects in some cursory way? On one level we identify the artists as cultural producers. On the other level we identify the international community's development apparatus as aides to the reconstruction of civil society. These are critically related concepts, culture and civil society, yet the interview results indicate that there is a disconnection between two of the main agents of this kind of activity in Sarajevo. One of the recent conceits of the development theory is that the practice has been revolutionized, and

culture is now key to it. But what kind of culture?

## CONCLUSIONS

What does art matter? Can art actually change things? The results of the text analysis support the notion that contemporary art practice in Sarajevo can be a protocol of communication, a tool of social reconstruction, and an informal apparatus of development. Artists are some form of autonomous agents in the process who self-ascribe the highest value to the quality of the art itself and the professionalism of their practice. The results of the field study in Sarajevo indicate that contemporary artists engage in dual processes of personal practice alongside the creation of a conceptual dialogue with the public. Contemporary artists are a community of practice that engages in a bottom-up process of social reconstruction and healing in post-war Sarajevo. It could be argued that the artists interviewed are developing a spontaneous form of democracy that is glaringly absent in many other aspects of Sarajevo's civil society. Further examples of this include reappropriation of public spaces, de-mining as artistic intervention, cajoling prohibited politically 'nullified' art collections out of closed galleries into independent public exhibitions, critical discussion forums about the role of culture in post-war Sarajevo, and individual actions that disrupt the public norm and hence open up new psychological spaces.

Civil society is the boundary object that this entire research project has been structured around. Both concrete and abstract, it has functioned as a means of translation and contextualization between domains. It is connected to official development indicator systems. It is also currently a platform through which many contemporary artists in Sarajevo are developing their work. Civil society, as a boundary object between contemporary art and development, facilitated a productive and focused entry point for this research.

## CONTEMPORARY ART + DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Why is contemporary art + development research (CA+D) relevant? We have already identified this area of research as connected to current social processes. More importantly, one can hypothesize that further research in this direction will increase the development community's understanding of the nuances of culture. In post-conflict situations, it is obvious that development priorities need to be linked with security, economics, infrastructure, and the restoration of civil society. Further down the process, the discussion of transition enters into the discourse and

planning for the eventual retreat of the international community and development agencies commences. What is far less obvious during this process, however, are the risks inherent if culture is marginalized in this process and defined as a product of luxury.

Additionally, we can look to examples of existing and positive connections between contemporary art and development. For instance, after the war, there was a proliferation of artistic activity that garnered the attention of the international community. This attention resulted in artist exchange programs, commissions, international exhibitions and very importantly the contribution of a different kind of discourse going out into the world about Sarajevo. During one informal conversation, an artist suggested to me that the only positive exports coming out of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the past decade has been as a result of its cultural ambassadors and the artistic community.

CA+D research is relevant because it is only through the further advancement of this body of knowledge that the domains of contemporary art and the cultural sector will be able to increase their opportunity of gaining recognition as agents of social change and reconstruction in the very prescribed and competitive landscape of the development industry. Furthermore, this recognition will only be valid as an innovator and a forward option for development theory and practice if the contemporary arts community is able to achieve this recognition based on their own terms and the value of their individualized practices.

## END NOTE

Interspersed throughout this article the reader will have noticed short quotations related to the subject matter of art. These quotations are part of a larger text by F. Dürrenmatt entitled “55 Statements about Art and Reality”. Written in 1977, the concepts embedded in the texts articulate at the poetic level why *art matters*.

*The task of society is to discover its reality in a work of art.*

\* Susan Kennard Director and executive producer of the Banff New Media Institute (BNMI), one of Canada's leading new media centres which locates itself in the tidepool of art, technology, research and culture(s) (<http://www.banffcentre.ca/bnmi>). Prior to that Kennard worked in TV and radio. She is the co-founder of radio90.fm, a hybrid net/fm pirate radio station (<http://radio90.fm>). This article is based on her

- [1] Bowker, G. C. & Star, S. L. (1999). *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. p.297.
- [2] See Pieterse, J.N. (2001). *Development Theory. Deconstructions/Reconstructions*. London: Sage Publications p. 12-13.
- [3] The Banff New Media Institute <http://www.banffcentre.ca/bnmi>
- [4] <http://www.scca.bah>
- [5] *Fama Survival Guide* pages 94, 5, 89.
- [6] Silber, L. & Little, A. (1995). *The Death of Yugoslavia*. London: Penguin Books. p. 311.
- [7] Sejla Kamberic <http://www.sejlaamerica.com/art/basics.htm>
- [8] Plazonic, M. (2005). *A Culture Served Cold*. The Bosnian Institute. Retrieved May 5, 2005 from: [http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news\\_body.cfm?newsid=2015](http://www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2015)
- [9] The position of High Representative was created under the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH (Dayton Peace Agreement) of 14 December 1995 to oversee implementation of the civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement. The mission of the High Representative is to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a peaceful, viable state on course to European integration
- [10] Castells, M. (2001). *The Internet Galaxy. Reflections on the Internet, Business and Society*. Oxford: University Press. p. 204
- [11] [http://www.scca.ba/deconstruction/e\\_main.htm](http://www.scca.ba/deconstruction/e_main.htm)
- [12] *Catalogue - De/Construction of Monument*. Sarajevo Centre for Contemporary Art.
- [13] [http://www.infed.org/biblio/communities\\_of\\_practice.htm](http://www.infed.org/biblio/communities_of_practice.htm)

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2005-10-11

