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The Role of Artistic Processes in Peace-Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Abstract

Throughout the world, community arts-based processes have become an essential component of peacebuilding work in societies experiencing severe conflicts. Both during a conflict and in post-conflict peacebuilding efforts, community based arts processes can be an especially effective tool to bring together identity groups through sharing common cultural experiences, raising awareness about past suffering, and engaging communities in creative projects. In this research project, the author spent fourteen months in Bosnia-Herzegovina researching the use of community arts-based peacebuilding efforts both during the war and in the post-conflict stage. This paper provides an overview of the research and offers several conclusions on the role of arts in peacebuilding within Bosnia-Herzegovina with the hope that these findings have relevance for other regions and the field in general.

Keywords: *Bosnia-Herzegovina, community arts-based peacebuilding, identity groups, social relationships*

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THE ROLE OF ARTISTIC PROCESSES IN PEACEBUILDING IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Craig Zelizer

Abstract

Throughout the world, community arts-based processes have become an essential component of peacebuilding work in societies experiencing severe conflicts. Both during a conflict and in post-conflict peacebuilding efforts, community based arts processes can be an especially effective tool to bring together identity groups through sharing common cultural experiences, raising awareness about past suffering, and engaging communities in creative projects. In this research project, the author spent fourteen months in Bosnia-Herzegovina researching the use of community arts-based peacebuilding efforts both during the war and in the post-conflict stage. This paper provides an overview of the research and offers several conclusions on the role of arts in peacebuilding within Bosnia-Herzegovina with the hope that these findings have relevance for other regions and the field in general.

Introduction

During the past decade throughout Southeastern Europe violent conflicts have erupted resulting in significant destruction in both social and economic terms. The causes of each conflict involves a complex series of interconnected factors including the severe economic crises affecting the entire region, lack of moderate political leadership, and the increasing emphasis on ethnicity as a central component of identity (see Byrne and Carter, 1996). Prior to the outbreak of conflict in each location, an increasingly nationalist discourse developed which has defined “other” ethnic groups as the enemy who threaten the existence of one’s own group.

In contrast to the extreme nationalistic discourse that has helped fuel the recent conflicts in the Balkans, the region also has a long tradition of co-existence, with different ethnic and religious groups living together in relative peace for decades. Both during and after the most recent wars, civil society initiatives have played an essential role in speaking out against war, helping to foster reconciliation between parties, building community across ethnic lines and encouraging the peaceful resolution of conflicts. One area within civil society based peacebuilding efforts, which has not received a significant amount of scholarly focus is the role of arts-based activities in peacebuilding efforts. In particular, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, international and local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and artists are well known for their efforts during the war, in which they protested against the violence, conducted creative therapy projects and organized hundreds of theater and music performances, both at the elite and grassroots levels. Moreover since the end of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina these efforts have continued with numerous international and local NGOs and artists using community based arts activities to help facilitate reconciliation between ethnic groups.

Despite the widespread use of arts-based processes in peacebuilding work in the conflict resolution field, to date there has only been minimal research on arts and peacebuilding. Given this lack of research, relevant theory, and descriptive writings about the use of the arts in conflict situations, I believe this is a significant gap in the field. In order to begin addressing this gap, I spent fourteen months, from September 2000 to December 2001 living in Bosnia-Herzegovina researching the use of community based performing arts in post-war peacebuilding efforts and an exploration of the intersection of arts and peacebuilding during the war. This paper will provide an overview of the framework that guided my research, a brief summary of methodology and offer several conclusions on the role of arts in peacebuilding within Bosnia-Herzegovina with the hopes that these findings have relevance for other regions and the field in general.

Goals of Research

There are several reasons for conducting research on the nexus of arts and conflict resolution. First, I believe the arts hold significant potential for improving relations between identity groups in conflict and are an area that has received scant attention within the conflict resolution and peacebuilding fields. Despite conflict resolution's innovative approach to mitigating conflicts at different levels, there is a strong emphasis on more cognitive and traditional types of problem solving often at the exclusion of more creative and affective approaches (Cohen, 1997; Lumsden, 1999; Senehi, 2002; Zelizer, 1997). Many traditional conflict resolution processes are centered on more linear, rational forms of communication that often do not allow space for more creative or alternative ways of interacting, or expressing emotions and thoughts (Senehi, 2000, 2002; Zelizer, 1997). Because of the arts extensive use of non-linear and creative methods of expression, I believe they can often provide an avenue for facilitating increased understanding and positive interaction between groups in conflict in appropriate settings.

In contrast to the underlying motivations for the research outlined above, by no means do I want to give the impression that the arts are inherently orientated toward generating peace. Throughout history and more recently in Southeastern Europe many artists and arts based processes have also served to reinforce nationalist ideologies, foster divisions and provide justification for barbarous acts (Wilmer, 2002; Kelly, 2000). Thus, this research endeavor acknowledges that the arts can be used in a variety of capacities, but focuses on those processes that are orientated to building peace and reconciliation.

General Theoretical Background

Given the limited writing on the topic, this research design and inquiry are exploratory in nature. However, in an effort to locate the research within existing scholarship in the conflict resolution field, several fields of literature were reviewed which are described below.

Civil Society and Peacebuilding

Arts-based peacebuilding efforts can be situated within the larger framework of civil society based initiatives for peacebuilding. Such activities might range from joint economic projects, to grassroots mediation and dialogue programs. Several analytical frameworks have been developed to elucidate the theory and practice of civil society based peacebuilding

processes. One of the most helpful models that several scholars have developed is the distinction between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding (Boutros-Ghali, 1992; Diamond and McDonald, 1996; Galtung, 1995; Lederach, 1997; Sandole, 1998). According to this model, there are different processes and approaches that can be used for conflict resolution work, which depend on the particular stage of the conflict.

Within the two categories of peacemaking (addressing a specific conflict) and peacebuilding (transforming relationships and institutions), significant emphasis has been placed on the importance of civil society based initiatives (Diamond and McDonald, 1996; Fisher, 1993, 1997; Lederach, 1997). Several scholars and practitioners have researched the nature of activities, which can be conducted at the community level during the peacemaking and peacebuilding stages (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997). These activities can be divided into two main types: those that focus on the structural issues of a conflict, such as governmental and economic policy, and reforming institutions; and those that are concerned with improving relations between groups. The majority of activities within the relational approach focus on dialogue approaches to increase understanding and trust between groups in conflict, and to facilitate interaction through community projects.

The underlying basis for this approach is that an essential component of reconciliation and trust building involves the reconstruction or reconfiguration of relationships between parties in conflict (Broome, 1993; Kelman, 1997; Rothman, 1997; Sandole, 1998). In addition to peacebuilding, education and economic development projects, several scholars (Epskamp, 1999; Galtung, 1995; Lederach, 1997; Liebmann, 1996; Lumsden, 1999; Senehi, 2002) list the arts as a potential process to foster peacebuilding efforts at the community level in conflict-ridden societies however most do not explore this in much depth.

Lumsden's (1999) three zones of social reconstruction is another model that is helpful in exploring the role of arts. He outlines three areas, which need to be addressed in post-conflict reconstruction, including the outer social world; the inner psychological world and a transitional zone between the two (Lumsden, 1999). The arts have an important role to play in this transitional area, as Lumsden indicates they can help with healing, exploring ideas and helping to integrate the inner and outer worlds.

Overall the importance of civil society based activities in helping to prevent and also help parties reconcile from conflict is essential. The arts are one additional process that can support peacebuilding work. Moreover, given the overly rational focus of many Western forms of peacebuilding, and the irrational nature of most conflicts, arts-based approaches to peacebuilding offer an important avenue to assist with peacebuilding efforts.

Arts/Peacebuilding

To date several initial works have appeared linking conflict resolution and art. The most significant work to address the connection is the book, *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, edited by Marian Liebmann (1996), which consists of essays by art therapists using arts techniques with a variety of populations. Although the work presents a number of interesting cases, there is little development of theory or of the application of the arts-based approaches beyond the interpersonal level. Another collection of essays on the arts and conflict are in the book *People Building Peace 35 Inspiring Stories from Around the World*, in particular writings by Kees Epskamp (1999) who has conducted extensive research on the role of arts in development.

Lumsden (1999) suggests that the arts and artists have a critical role to play in post-conflict reconstruction in that they can help foster a creative process for rebuilding social relationships. Within Bosnia-Herzegovina, some examples of arts-based peacebuilding that have been used to rebuild social relationships include: the Pavarotti Music center in the divided city of Mostar, which facilitates interaction between Croats and Muslims through musical exchanges; and the work of the Open Society Institute, which supports a network of Balkan artists across geographical space to explore issues of reconciliation.

Apart from efforts in the Balkans, in conflict regions throughout the world, the arts have often had a significant impact on bringing together divided communities. Examples include community theater productions and mural projects in Northern Ireland, Africa, and the Middle East; peace concerts on the dividing line in Cyprus and Angola; and bi-communal orchestras and poetry groups in the Middle East. Local community groups, artists, and NGOs conducting peacebuilding work have organized the majority of these efforts.

In conflicts on the verge of violence, the arts can also help raise awareness of the dangers of impending conflict and speak out in favor of peace. Throughout the world, arts-based forms of expressions have been an essential component of anti-war demonstrations and protests for social justice and equality. Moreover, theater and other arts based activities have long been used as a tool for educating and uniting communities to work towards collective action or to facilitate community problem solving within the field of development (Mada, 1993). Moreover during the war in Bosnia the arts also played a vital role in the struggle of the citizens of Sarajevo to survive the years of siege. Through underground concerts, plays, and performances, the city was able to keep hope alive, provide entertainment to people, and keep the creative spirit alive (Sarajevski, 1996).

There are several possible approaches for community-based arts peacebuilding work. First, arts-based peacebuilding activities can be carried out for the community as a form of performance enacted by professionals in a traditional scripted drama or a concert. In this case, the audience interprets the medium being presented by the performers which may have an impact on the community or audience consciousness. Another approach to arts-based activities is when the activity emerges from the community itself (more process orientated) such as participatory theater, community arts festival or other forums. In this case the impact of the art may be on several levels. First, the participants in the project will come together to create a product and through this process of creation and interaction their attitudes and behavior can be affected. Second, given the public performance of a product, this can also have an impact on the community or audience witnessing the performance directly (McConachie, 1998).

One of the central questions regarding the role of arts in conflict resolution is to what purpose is the activity being carried out? Is the work being done by artists for the purposes of artistic expression or is it being conducted as a more explicit conflict resolution or peacebuilding process? The distinction between these two approaches may be somewhat artificial, but serves as a useful analytical tool to distinguish between art activities that are primarily focused on the product and those that are focused more on the process (Epskamp, 1999).

There are several inherent challenges in addressing the connection between arts and peacebuilding. First, the arts are only one of a number of peacebuilding processes that can have an impact on both the conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding efforts. A second challenge, is distinguishing the purpose of art and its possible impact. Not all art is geared towards positive or destructive purpose; a great deal of art is created simply for expressive purposes without a

larger goal of promoting any specific outcome. However in order to narrow down the research I do focus on processes that have an implicit or explicit connection to peacebuilding (Senehi, 2002, Epskamp, 1999). Finally, in this research project, I focused primarily on community based interactive arts processes in the performing arts, as I believe they have a greater potential to affect change than the visual arts due to their more participatory and interactive nature.

The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Much has been written about the course of events that led to the tragedy of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Over the course of the almost five year war, over 200,000 individuals (mostly civilians) were killed, nearly 2 million people became displaced and hundreds of thousands of people were wounded (Glenny, 1994; Sudetic, 1998). One of the central arenas of the war was the siege of Sarajevo, which was the longest siege in modern history, lasting over 1000 days. Bosnian Serb forces encircled the city, with constant shelling, sometimes thousands per day, cutting off electricity, gas, phone lines and access to the outside world. Despite the harsh conditions inside of Sarajevo a unique cultural life sprang up during the war, with hundreds of theater performances, concerts, exhibitions and even film festivals and cultural events. In addition to the work of artists, the small civil society sector composed of locals and internationals conducted numerous creative therapy and arts and peacebuilding projects.

During the war the overwhelming focus of the arts life in Bosnia was based in Sarajevo, in one theater alone, the Kamerni Theater, there were over 800 performances of theater, music, prayers for peace and more (FAMA, 2000). In addition, there were countless performances among in orphanages and shelters throughout the city, exhibitions of artwork composed of material from the war, several concerts with leading international composers, and visits from international artists (Sarajevski, 1996). In addition to Sarajevo, several other regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina also had an active arts life under the extreme circumstances, especially in the cities of Mostar and Tuzla.

After the war the cultural life in Sarajevo and the rest of Bosnia-Herzegovina continued to operate under very difficult conditions consisting of the lack of funding and personnel, a destroyed infrastructure and constant economic and political instability. Despite these challenges, a number of artists and peacebuilders developed arts-based projects to help bridge the severe divide in Bosnian society. Such projects ranged from an inter-faith choir, community based drama work, drumming for peace circles, and art therapy projects.

Based on the analysis of my research it is clear that the role of arts based activities had different functions during the war and in the post-war setting. Prior to the field research a preliminary framework for categorizing the types of arts-based approaches (specific to Bosnia-Herzegovina) was developed.

Types of Arts-Based Approaches to Peacebuilding in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Category	Description	Example
Training Tool	As a training tool in conflict resolution. Arts can help participants develop skills, experientially explore conflicts, increase creativity and increase trust between participants (<i>Pipkin & Dimenna, 1989; Yaffe, 1990</i>)	Education and Youth Peacebuilding Project in Bosnia; local trainings that incorporate theater based techniques.
Product Based	When the product itself is the primary goal. The art may have an impact on the community or a conflict, but the process of creating the product is not emphasized (<i>Epskamp, 1999</i>)	Plays produced in Sarajevo during the war. Much of contemporary, traditional art in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Process Based	As a process-orientated approach where identity groups in conflict come together and work on reconciliation issues through creating shared work, which may also have an impact on larger the community. The process of creating the product is one of the main foci of the work (<i>Epskamp, 1999</i>)	An example in Bosnia is, an interreligious, inter-ethnic choir in Sarajevo.
Social Protest	As a form of speaking out against conflict, protesting against injustice and raising awareness. This can take place at various stages of a conflict, but often occurs at highly escalated stages or when there is a significant power imbalance (<i>Bartelt, 1997, Freire, 1997, Lederach, 1995</i>).	Examples include the famous violin concert by Vedran Smaljovic in Sarajevo during the war and the production of musical Hair during the war.

These arts-based approaches are by no means exclusionary and in many ways overlap. Arts processes that fit within the social protest framework may also be somewhat product or process focused.

The Research Process

Based on the review literature in several fields, and the specific situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, several guiding propositions helped frame the study which include:

- 1) *There is a significant degree of overlap between the work of artists and peacebuilding and this link needs to be explored to further expand the knowledge of relevant theory and practice in the conflict resolution field.*
- 2) *Arts-based activities can be an effective tool to help improve the relational component of identity conflicts.*

- 3) *Conflicts can often be highly irrational and their consequences, thus processes that work with the non-rational aspects of people are an important component of peacebuilding.*

Given the very limited literature and research on the intersection of arts and peacebuilding in general and specific to Bosnia-Herzegovina I choose to conduct a single exploratory case study based on qualitative methods of data collection (Robson, 1993). The research is based on an inductive grounded theory approach to data analysis and theory building, using qualitative methods of analysis (Brause, 2000; Straus & Corbin, 1990).

The primary source of data for the research is based on primary interviews with 64 individuals working with arts and peacebuilding in the field. Gathering evaluation reports, project proposals, and other forms of documentation concerning arts-based conflict resolution projects supplemented the interviews. Additional data was gathered through a systematic review of two weekly magazines and a daily newspaper, for relevant articles on peacebuilding and arts. A fourth area of data method consisted of informal participant observation of a small number of activities.

The interviews have been transcribed in their entirety and coding and analysis was conducted using an inductive approach in which the codes and categories emerge from the data under study (Brause, 2000). The other sources of data are being used as supplementary material and select portions are being translated and analyzed. In order to do more rapid and effective coding, the qualitative analysis program Atlas.ti was used to assist in coding and pattern searching.

Findings

The findings to date can be divided into two main areas; the first is the role of arts based processes during the war, while the second is arts-based processes and peacebuilding in the post-war phase.

Art and Social Resistance, War-time Sarajevo

During the war in Bosnia, the site of cultural resistance in Bosnia was focused in the capital of Sarajevo. After the initial shock of the onset and brutality of war, artists from all ethnic groups who remained in Sarajevo began a series of cultural actions that would continue throughout the war. A significant number of people in Sarajevo risked their lives by attending and organizing these events. Many interviewees explained that these activities gave people a chance to escape the harsh reality, if only for a few hours, and be safe (even if shelling continued). As Safet Plakalo, the writer of one of the first plays performed during the explains,

As the creators of this play, we were presented with an ethical dilemma that we had to solve: is it ethically appropriate, and if so, to what degree is it appropriate to do theater in moments when all around us people are suffering and dying. Of course this dilemma lasted only a short time. Until we realized that show, as well as the enormous theater production that was initiated by that show, did an exceptional amount of good for Sarajevans, both as some sort of therapy, and as an affirmation of our struggle and resistance in Sarajevo (cited in FAMA, 2000, p.236).

One of the most famous war-time arts-based activities was the International Theater and Film Festival in 1993. During the 10 day festival, over 140 movies were with about 20,000 visitors (Sarajevski, 1996). To many in the outside world, the idea of organizing a film festival in the middle of a war, might appear absurd, given the extreme conditions that the populace of Sarajevo was facing. But as Haris Pasovic (2001), one of the main organizers of the festival explained, "there are many things you can live without, food, etc, but you need film or arts for the magic. In the war it was particularly powerful to be watching films and be able to be transported to another world and also release emotions through the film (as many kept them bottled up during the war)."

There are many other actions that took place in Sarajevo during the war within the cultural sphere. These range from the famous Witness of Existence series of exhibitions in which several famous artists created temporary exhibits out of material from the war, to youth centered creative therapy projects to help young people cope, to Rock Under Siege, a live concert to celebrate music during the war.

Based on an analysis of the data, several main reasons lie behind the flowering of cultural life during the siege of Sarajevo. The first is that the war was so barbaric and uncultured that responding with culture was a way to resist and affirm the multi-ethnic nature of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover a significant aspect of the war consisted of the destruction of the culture of the opposing sides, and in Sarajevo many people choose culture as a means of opposing this. As one of the leading cultural figures in Sarajevo said, "I mean every field,

I mean from theater to visual arts, that was kind of response to kind of, kind of civil resistance to what happened with them here." An equally important reason cited by many interviewees, was the need to do something, instead of sitting idly by and witnessing the destruction take place. Within the larger concept of peacebuilding and civil society, my findings indicate that the significant amount of activity in Sarajevo and to some degree in smaller cities, had more to do with a means of surviving, of resisting the war, of trying to function with some degree of normalcy within an insane environment, than with a conscious choice of peacebuilding, although there were also some activities orientated to peacebuilding such as the weekly prayer for peace at the Kamerni Theater that was held throughout the war.

Given the highly escalated nature of the conflict with severe violence and force dominating the conflict, it is unlikely that other forms of more direct peacebuilding based in the arts or other forms of civil society could have taken place; as according to Fisher and Keashley's (1991) contingency model the conflict was at the most destructive phase. However, based on events in Sarajevo, it is clear that arts-based approaches can play an essential role in social protest, helping the citizens survive and maintain their humanity, and raising the awareness of the wider world community. Moreover, arts-based activities during the war can be considered precursors of the peacebuilding and art events that took place in the aftermath of the conflict.

Post-War

With the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the signing of the Dayton accords in 1995, life returned to some degree of normality. However, the social fabric, political life and economy were highly divided, along with a great deal of trauma and suffering amongst the populace. Within the sphere of arts and peacebuilding activities that took place in the post-war setting, there are several main areas. The first is the proliferation of youth and arts based programs throughout the country.

Most of these programs are based at the many local and international sponsored youth centers located in the country and in most cases the arts would not be classified as a peacebuilding process and instead more as a creative activity to entertain and help youth. However, in several instances the focus of these activities is not only on teaching youth a specific arts process but using the process to bring together youth in highly divided regions. In these cases, whether it is a drumming circle with youth from divided sides of Mostar or a theater group with youth from different regions of Bosnia, through arts-based processes the youth have been able to interact with one another and positively affect their community.

A second significant activity that developed in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the war and especially in the post-war period is the use of creative arts therapies. The majority of these activities have focused on young people and children with the primary goal of helping them cope with traumatic situations and heal emotionally and mentally. Although these programs are not directly focused on peacebuilding, they have resulted in a positive change for the youth who participated, with a reduction in levels of trauma, feelings of anxiety and increased ability of youth to interact socially in society and thus has some relevance for peacebuilding work.

A third type of activity in the post-war situation, are arts-based activities that have a high component of peacebuilding. Such processes include a multi-ethnic, inter-faith choir based in Sarajevo, which has performed over 100 concerts within the country and abroad. A second is a theater and drama in education program that works with teachers and students throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina to use theater as a tool for peacebuilding. Each of these programs is an example of the potential of arts-based processes to bring people together and positively impact the larger community. Many of the interviewees indicated arts based processes are especially useful because they help create a safe space to bring people together and explore emotions, ideas and work on cooperative projects. As one member of the choir explained about the having music as the focus in their work,

In the times that were really difficult and challenging, we had to focus on the music. So that sort of as our superordinate goal, was perfect. That's why it works, that's why this whole thing functions. If it were just some group of people getting together to talk about their experiences, it would have folded three years ago. But the fact that we do have the music to focus on and we all agree on that. What I think is amazing about the choir is that we learn to sing each other's songs.

Finally there are also a number of higher profile one time, more elite events, that took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the primary focus was on the particular performance, but which did have a peacebuilding component. One example is the U2 concert in Sarajevo in 1997, which brought together over 45,000 people from throughout the region to attend the concert, including over 1,000 from Republika Srpska (Sacirbegovic, 1997). While the concert was only for one night, Bono (the lead singer of U2) stated that they made particular effort to get tickets to people in all different parts of the country and the neighboring states (cited in Sacirbegovic, 1997).

The chart below offers an outline of the types of arts based activities in post-war Bosnia.

Types of Arts-Based Peacebuilding Activities in Post-War Bosnia

Type of Activity	Purpose	Level of Focus
1. Youth Programs	Throughout Bosnia, many youth programs and youth houses use the creative performing arts as part of their activities. Often these are not so much peacebuilding activities, more entertainment for youth, however some programs are designed more as peacebuilding processes to bring groups together.	Individual/Community
2. Art and creative therapy programs	Several programs were setup at the end of war to use arts-based and creative therapies as tools to work with more traumatized populations, primarily with refugees and Internally Displaced Peoples.	Mostly Individual
3. Arts for Peacebuilding	Several projects were established in post-war period. Balance between product and process of bringing people together.	Individual/Community
4. Training Tool within conflict resolution	Many training programs and workshops use arts based component as a tool or component of process.	Individual/Community.
5. Short-term program	Bring together people from around the country to attend arts activity.	Community/Society.
6. Elite Arts	In more traditional arts some plays, music, movies dealt with the war from various perspectives. Also many continued to feature actors from diverse backgrounds, particularly in Sarajevo.	Individual/Community/ Society

Conclusions

As with any exploratory research endeavor, the ability to generalize from the research findings is a difficult task. The goal of this research is to begin to document the connection between arts and peacebuilding in one particular case, to develop a theoretical framework that could then be used and tested in other situations. One of the primary challenges that the researcher experienced in this process is that the intended focus of the research, when arts are used to specifically intervene and help resolve conflict, was not the dominant form of arts based processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Instead the majority of cases under study were more focused on training processes and fostering improved relations between groups, in which the arts were used to help develop understanding and products rather than intervene in a particular conflict. What is clear, in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the arts are a powerful process for bringing groups together through a creative process, to help rebuild social relationships and at times engaging the community.

Several conclusions can be made at this point related to Bosnia-Herzegovina that has implications for the field in general. First, in conflicts on the verge of violence, the arts can also help raise awareness of the dangers of impending conflict and speak out in favor of peace. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, arts-based processes assisted people within the country keep their humanity, and also helped keep the war on the world's conscience.

Moreover, arts-based peacebuilding processes can play an important role in helping to foster interaction in divided societies and help facilitate reconciliation.

While the arts may not have been used to intervene in specific community conflicts at least in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the international community should further examine and help support arts-based processes as a process for peacebuilding. In many regions of the world, international and local NGOs and artists are conducting arts-based peacebuilding processes, whether it is organizing community theater in war-torn regions of Africa, an inter-ethnic Mid-East Symphony, or the grassroots work of Augusto Boal (1985) type of theater in local communities worldwide. While more research is needed to further refine the concepts explored in this research, a central argument that needs to be emphasized is in post-conflict reconstruction efforts that more creative artistic processes need to be included. Through support of such activities this can assist individuals and groups in healing from the horrors of war and serve as a bridge to facilitating increased intergroup-interaction and healing.

A third area that needs further examination is the difficulty of drawing generalizable conclusions from a single case study. The findings from this exploratory case study from Bosnia need to be compared with other regions of the world where arts-based activities are playing a role in peacebuilding work, including the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Burundi and Cyprus among others.

Endnotes

¹This article is based on a paper presented at a panel on "the International Politics of Art: The Role of Arts in Conflict Management and Post Conflict Peacebuilding at the 44 International Study Association Conference, Portland, Oregon, February 28, 1993. My field research in Bosnia-Herzegovina was funded through a National Security Education Program Graduate Fellowship.

²Interview # 27. Drama Professor/Community Theater Practitioner. Philadelphia, US. Interviewed by Craig Zelizer, September 16, 2001.

³Interview # 41. Cultural Organizer. Interviewed by Craig Zelizer. November 2001.

⁴Interview # 17. Founder of Creative Therapy Program for Youth. Interviewed by Graig Zelizer, Sarajevo, July 17, 2001.

⁵Interview # 26. International Member of Choir. Interviewed by Craig Zelizer, Washington, DC, September 6, 2001.

⁶The concept of level of focus of artistic processes was adapted in part from Epscamp (1999).

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