

Creative Visegrad: City, Culture and Public Space



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I.

Executive summary

Although the deployment of culture and arts to enliven places socially and economically is no novelty, it was not until recently that the process of **creative placemaking** was officially embraced as a tool of **systematic community development**. The objective of this short collection is to conceptualize and exemplify creative placemaking processes in the Central European context.

The idea of economic growth and local development based on the arts and culture attracts more and more attention because it helps sustainably revitalize vacant and underutilized infrastructures, generate jobs and retain inhabitants. Evolving in western countries over the past several decades, this trend succeeds in connecting artists, local politicians, activists and business sectors. Since the 1990s, creative placemaking, along with cultural and creative industries (CCIs), have been entering various policies of the European Union, and in recent years they are seen more often as factors of sustainable development. Projects supported from the EU budget, such as the European Capital of Culture, changed their purpose from being merely a cultural event to serving economic and social growth of the host city. The perception of CCIs, which account for around 4 percent of the EU GDP and employ at least 7 million people¹, as a growth tool has also intensified on the hindsight of the economic crisis and technology-driven changes in economy.

With the increasing interest in culture and art's economic value, the efforts to measure it have intensified. Evaluation often begins with mapping existing projects, and as it unfolds, it helps to promote it by spreading the knowledge of good (and bad) practices, as Eva Žaková argues in her chapter. Besides the (not yet well-recorded) economic impact, creative placemaking has another collateral effect. The bottom-up character of most initiatives has been confronting the traditionally paternalistic approach of local governments. With it, the practice of local development changes as municipalities are being challenged to include more stakeholders in the creation of urban strategies, plans and programs. As shown by numerous examples in this collection, the most successful projects are almost entirely those inspired by local activists.

Revitalization of brownfields is one of the first triggers of creative placemaking, where Andy Warhol's Factory can serve as the iconic symbol of settling cultural activities in industrial buildings. Although reusing vacant spaces was often dictated by the underground character of a given cultural activity, commercially or publically driven sanitation projects are far from being rare. In fact, as Levente Polyák discusses below, *"in Central Europe, revitalization projects are more reliant on political and commercial support than in many parts of the Western world"*.

Whatever the revitalization circumstances, Central Europe is no exception to the global bottom-up movement of the re-appropriation of old industrial infrastructures. Their new

users are confronted with the memory of these places. As the contributors in this publication highlight, only those cultural projects that build on the existing social and historical narrative of the place and its surroundings prove successful in the long-term. Lia Ghilardi, a leading expert on creative placemaking, phrased it deftly:

“Each place has its own history, idiosyncratic way of working, its own cultural DNA and its distinctive qualities and cultural resources. This is why the smartest among policy makers are those that consistently choose to support and nurture local creative and cultural ecologies as the first step to the establishment of an environment in which fully fledged creative economies can thrive.”

In recent years, placemaking has gone beyond traditional artistic and cultural production and has employed digital technologies as well as the philosophy of open source and collaborative movements. It fuses with creative industries and the popular ethos of entrepreneurship, rendering what Tereza Chrástová calls in her chapter a “creative epidemic.” These creative clusters or centers, continues Chrástová, “have taken over or substituted the functions of traditional institutions that every “proper” city was supposed to have at the beginning of the last century, be it a theatre, a gallery, a culture house or a chamber of commerce.” This trend slowly but steadily takes root in Central Europe, where non-profit cultural and art initiatives often team up with municipalities, regional authorities and universities. They provide the necessary funding, which too seldom still comes from philanthropists, patronage or CSR programs. Yet, as Anna Wójcik analyses in her piece, the culture of private sponsorship and endowment is on the rise, also in the form of small-scale contributions collected from the crowd.

1 Due to divergent methodologies it is difficult to calculate the value of cultural and creative industries. According to the EU Commission's document *Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU (COM/2012/0537 (final))* CCIs make up for 3.3% of EU GDP and employ 6.7 million people employed, whereas *The economic contribution of the creative industries to EU GDP and employment -Evolution 2008-2011* study by TERA Consultants says the CCIs' share of GDP is 4.5% and that they employ 8.5 million people.

II.

The concept of creative placemaking in Visegrad countries

Creative placemaking is a **process** of deploying art and culture for the development of places. Ann Markusen and Anne Gadwa, in an eponymous paper written for The Mayors' Institute on City Design,¹ describe it in the following way: *"In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety (...) In turn, these creative locales foster entrepreneurs and cultural industries that generate jobs and income, spin off new products and services, and attract and retain unrelated businesses and skilled workers."*

Creative placemaking is a process that shares objectives with many official policies and public strategies, such as social and sustainable urbanism, cultural and arts policies, support for cultural and creative industries (CCIs) and clusters, public space engagement and revitalizations of brownfields. It is a process that dwells on the specific character of a place and addresses specific problems in its immediate surrounding. Therefore creative placemaking is not a policy, but it depends on others like the policies for cultural, spatial, social and infrastructural development.

That is why creative placemaking is examined through the existing art-and-culture aspects of various policies and strategies here. It is worthwhile to notice, though, how the underlying philosophy of creative placemaking enters national and European policies. This is both obvious in several of the below-mentioned policies in all Visegrad countries and the efforts to create a full-fledged European Urban Agenda. The EU regional policy, whose part is urban agenda, acknowledges that: *"the various dimensions of urban life – environmental, economic, social and cultural – are interwoven and success in urban development can only be achieved through an integrated approach. Measures concerning physical urban renewal must be combined with those promoting education, economic development, social inclusion and environmental protection. It also calls for strong partnerships between local citizens, civil society, industry and various levels of government."*²

Even though the concept of placemaking is relatively new in Central Europe, the process has already been taking place in many cities in a variety of models across the municipality business-community cooperation axis. Revitalization projects are thriving in Central European cities and localities which undergo de-industrialization, leaving many vacant spaces

1 Markusen, A. and Gadwa, A. (2010), Creative Placemaking. A White Paper for The Mayors' Institute on City Design, Markusen Economic Research Services and Metris Arts Consulting

2 European Commission, The EU Urban Agenda, Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/urban-development/agenda/

suitable for community and cultural undertakings. As discussed below, some governments in the Visegrad countries have already recognized that CCIs and the re-using of urban infrastructure can contribute to economic competitiveness, livability, and sustainability of a place. This introductory chapter is an endeavor to trace creative placemaking both at the strategic layer of policies, programs and initiatives and at the practical level of concrete projects, be it public or private. Examples presented in this section are not an exhaustive list of all fascinating ventures that are taking place in the region of the Visegrad Four.

Czech Republic

The relationship between culture and urban development has been traditionally perceived through the lens of tourism and the profit it generates for the national and regional budgets. Although the general understanding of culture in policy documents has not changed much, there are municipalities and cities where cultural policies have recently started reflecting the need of involving cultural institutions and artists into strategies of urban and economic development.

The most recent **Implementation Plan of the National Cultural Policy for 2015–2020** mentions two objectives inseparably related to creative placemaking. First, it acknowledges the importance of the use of cultural heritage and cultural activities, services and estates for the economic development and increasing competitiveness. The Ministry of Culture, in cooperation with the Ministry of Industry and Trade, plans to do this by preparing a strategy for the support of cultural and creative industries, which should be connected with a national strategy for supporting the arts. The Implementation Plan also foresees the establishment of incentive and support programs and projects to boost the art market and related business activities. Furthermore, as of 2017, a dedicated agency will be established in order to raise awareness about the CCIs and provide information about programs for their support. However, the verbal recognition of CCIs is not backed by a strong budget.

The second objective with placemaking relevance refers to a more effective use of cultural heritage for cultural services to the population. Here, the Ministry of Culture recognized the potential of infrastructure (immovable monuments) as a place, where cultural and education events could be organized to strengthen local population's ties with the region's history and culture. Such places could also "serve as a substitute for the lack of infrastructure for cultural services (concerts, exhibitions, lectures, etc.)." To implement that, the ministry intends to cooperate with local authorities and owners of cultural heritage. However praiseworthy is this ambition, the only funds available for this priority in the Im-

plementation Plan are for the analysis of the current state of the use of immovable monuments and heritage institutions and recommendations for improvement to be conducted in 2017.

Similarly, the **Policy for Spatial Development**, adopted in 2008 by the Ministry of Regional Development (and last amended in 2015), mentions as one of its core objectives the "creation of preconditions for multipurpose use of abandoned sites and space (i.e. the brownfields of industrial, agricultural, military and other origin) and the economical use of the built-up area (support for reconstruction and revitalization of redevelopment areas)." Revitalization projects have had their place in the 2007–2013 operational programs under the EU structural funds.³ For 2014–2020, the Integrated Regional Operational Program has community-led local development as one of its priorities, whereas URBACT III, another EU program, financially supports experience sharing among European cities, which aim at sustainable development.

- According to the estimates of the Czech Statistical Office and The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture (NIPOS), in 2013 the production worth in the cultural sector was CZK 203.3 billion (2.11% of the total national production) and the gross value added was CZK 82.8 billion (2.26% of total GVA generated in the economy). The GDP generated in cultural sector can be estimated at CZK 55.9 billion, which equals to 1.37% of total GDP.⁴
- A 2013 research commissioned by the Prague City Hall estimated that the sectors of cultural and creative industries contribute to more than 10% of GVA generated in Prague (3.8% for the cultural and 6.4% creative industries respectively), while the capital city accounts for 53.5% of the total Czech GVA generated in the cultural and creative industries. According to the study, there are around 125,000 persons working in the creative and cultural industries in Prague, which represents approximately 14% of Prague workforce.⁵

On the regional and local level there several examples of cities which made culture a means of their development strategies. In Prague, the interest in creative placemaking is on the rise since the establishment of the Prague Institute of Planning and Development,

3 In 2007–2013 programming framework these were the Operational Programme Enterprise and Innovation, Operational Programme Environment, Operational Programme Rural Development and the Regional Operational Programmes

4 The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture, Czech Statistical Office (2013), The Results of the Culture Account, p. 11

5 Němec, M. (2013), Význam kulturních a kreativních průmyslů v Evropské unii, České republice a HL. m. Praze

which gives the process a chance to be translated into official strategies. The Institute is one of the key influencers of the public debate on city-related policies and strategies. Its focus on culture-driven urban development was reinforced by the creation of the office for cultural and creative industries (*k r e p*) in 2015. The office was tasked to draft a new cultural strategy for the capital city, one that would rely not only on traditional forms of culture and art, but also on live culture, creative industries and their interaction with public spaces. The working version of the strategy, published in February 2016, envisages Prague as a creative metropolis, whose brand and strength will be informed by modern art, culture and arts in public spaces.⁶ The Prague Institute of Planning and Development also prepared a strategy for a Creative Cluster in the heart of the city as well as a Creative Quarter in one of its districts.

In Brno, the second biggest Czech city, the economic and social impact of culture was brought to the foreground with the advent of a new local government in 2014. This is in part due to the Deputy Mayor for Culture, Matěj Hollan. He was elected from a grass-roots political movement “Žít Brno” that perceives culture as a development tool. In line with that conviction, the Deputy Mayor raised the budget for culture, established a “cultural parliament” (a broad debate platform for stakeholders in arts and culture) and planned drafting a cultural strategy for the city. Furthermore, Brno introduced creative vouchers in order to strengthen the cooperation between local entrepreneurs and professionals from creative sectors, and it plans to open a creative center in a former prison building. Recent developments in Brno and other cities where art and culture have gained on importance (such as Pilsen, Ostrava, Zlín) are described in details in the chapter “Creative incubators, hubs and quarters” by Tereza Chrástová.

Across the Czech Republic, there is a significant number of institutions and activists that advocate and cultivate both local and national development by means of arts and culture. [The Art Institute – Theatre Institute](#) is a state-funded organization founded by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic. Among others, the Institute provides the exchange of information and experiences between artistic fields, information and advisory service, and pursues educational activities. One of its recent works includes a certified methodology for calculating the economic impact of cultural organizations and activities, described in detail in Chapter VI. There are several bottom-up initiatives and individual opinion-makers that actively promote the utilization of the CCLs in improving urban life.

Strong advocates of placemaking processes are Adam Gebrian, a popular Czech architect and theoretician who cultivates public debate on public space (e.g. via a video series [Ge-](#)

6 Prague Institute of Planning and Development (2016), Draft of the Strategic Plan for the Capital City of Prague

brian vs.) and Ondřej Kobza, an animator of art and culture in public space who successfully transferred the topic of culture and public spaces into broader public debate. There are several well-established international events, keeping track of and discussing recent trends in urban planning and the promotion of culture. They include [4+4 Days in Motion](#) (taking place in vacant building), the [reSITE](#) conference, neighborhood festivities such as [Zažit město jinak](#) (Different City Experience) during which locals claim back the streets, Open House Prague that makes various buildings open to the public for several days and the [Night of Literature](#) which endorses Prague UNESCO titles of City of Literature. Other initiatives are linked to a particular physical space in the city, such as [Klinika](#) – a de facto squat that functions as a cultural and commune center and which provokes national debate on the civic appropriation of abandoned and unused buildings.

Hungary

Creative placemaking in Hungary bears many similarities to developments in the Czech Republic, with most activities concentrated in the capital city. Hungarian policies also reflect the change of narrative toward the economy of culture, which often emanate from EU policies.

The culture and art-related policies are distributed among several actors coordinated by the Office of the Government: general cultural affairs are dealt with by the state secretary at the Ministry of Human Resources, film industry by the Ministry of Economic Development, heritage sites by the Prime Minister’s Office and regional governments. Funds distribution is mainly a responsibility of the National Cultural Fund, whereas the Hungarian Academy of Arts is playing an important role both in regard to agenda and financial resources. Moreover, local governments receive funds for the implementation of “cultural tasks” from the national budget via Ministry of Interior.⁷

Currently, there is no national strategy for culture, as the last one adopted for 2006–2020 was not sustained by the government elected in 2010. The development of culture, however, has been addressed in two development plans. The **New Hungary Development Plan** (the New Széchenyi Plan) for the period of 2007–2013 aimed at developing cultural infrastructure in the regions, stating its goal as to “*improve access to services and values, and consequently, social realignment and equal opportunities and non-discrimination.*” This objective, paired with EU structural funds, enabled the creation of more than a dozen complex community cultural centers (Agoras), and in some cases also in cooperation with

7 Inkei, P. and Ms. Vaspál, V. (2015), *Country Profile Hungary*

universities, thus creating a space of interdisciplinary interaction.⁸ The subsequent **National Development 2030 – National Development and Territorial Development Concept** refers to the potential of art and culture on several occasions. In regard to spatial planning, it recommends containing the uncontrolled spreading of cities so as to prevent establishment of mono-functional residential areas or peripheries. Furthermore, it encourages brownfield investments and designing new buildings that match existing townscapes. In terms of cultural and creative industries, the document offers an interesting formulation that: *“the national culture must be transformed into creative cultural servicing industry, the content of a cultural public employment programme should be designed and organized, and the part played by culture in the national economy must be repositioned.”*

The creative sector is also perceived as a launchpad for growth in other services (e.g. training and shopping tourism) and the industry as well as booster of general competitiveness of the economy. Acknowledging the concentration of CCIs around Budapest, the document envisages the creation of alternative hubs *“of intellectual life outside the capital,”* which would support cooperation across the research, business and culture line. This decentralization of social capital can be achieved thanks to relocation of national authorities from the capital city.

- In Hungary, creative industry sectors account for 4.4% of jobs and contribute 3.7% to GDP
- The CCI sector is growing at five times the rate of the overall economy
- The share of export within Hungarian creative industry rose from 14% in 2008 to 21% only four years later

All data from: Design Terminal (2014) Creative Industry as a Resource

The nomination and subsequent awarding of the 2010 ECoC title to Pécs triggered a wide public debate of creative placemaking and the economic value of cultural sector (just as it was in the case of Košice 2013, Plzeň 2015 and Wrocław 2016). Similarly to its Visegrad partners, Hungary struggled with the preparations but eventually managed to put to life projects that outlived the one-year cultural program.⁹ The Zsolnay Quarter, meant to initiate the development of creative industries in 2010, opened only after the ECoC project

8 ibidem

9 Ecorys UK Ltd (2011), *Ex-Post Evaluation of 2010 European Capitals of Culture Final report for the European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture August 2011*

ended. Nevertheless, it now constitutes a multifunctional art and cultural heritage site, offering both tourists attractions, CCIs workshops and event venues. Another positive example of public private partnerships can be found in Budapest. The Müpa Budapest and the adjacent new National Theatre are both part of municipal efforts to create a vivid cultural hub in the center of in Budapest.¹⁰ Budapest Music Centre is an even more daunting example of an independent initiative of an artist, financed from a number of public and private sources which are now energizing the Hungarian music scene with a focus on contemporary genres and jazz.

Hungarian capital city is home to a high number of creative business initiatives.¹¹ Many of them revolve around the design industry, which is one of the reasons Budapest was awarded the title of a **Creative City of Design**, a UNESCO network of cities established with the primary aim of peer learning and collaborative projects. The application was prepared by Design Terminal, a national center for creative industries. It is an exemplary¹² institution that successfully combines business incubation with a desire to improve urban planning, supporting the digital economy and promoting industrial design.

On the other side of the creative placemaking spectrum is the phenomenon of **ruin bars** in Budapest. The transformation of derelict buildings located in the Jewish quarter into sought-after bars began around the year 2000. Since then it has been a decisive factor of the quarter's economic revival and, thereby, its gentrification. These bars and cultural hubs exemplify the concept of **short-term** remaking of unused places, even though some of them have been operating for more than a decade and will probably undergo another transformation than a demolition. The conversion of vacant spaces is a topic addressed by another formative Hungarian institution – KÉK, an independent architectural cultural center. Besides public advocacy (e.g. Vacant City publication) and advisory services, KÉK also ventures into urban projects such as the Open! Festival, which aims to match real estate owners with initiatives looking for temporary space.

10 Inkei, P. and Ms. Vaspál, V. (2015), *Country Profile Hungary*

11 Some of them are listed here: <http://budapest.designterminal.hu/>

12 In recognition of its positive work Design Terminal received the European Enterprise Promotion Awards by the European Commission

Poland

Although Polish cities and regions are beginning to eagerly adopt the philosophy of economic and social development through culture, this often still does not translate into increased budgets for culture. In Poland, there are several strong culture hubs challenging the CCIs concentration in the Polish capital city.

The **Updated National Strategy for the Development of Culture** for 2004–2020 perceives culture as one of the preconditions for stable economic growth. The increase of culture-related GDP and the number of people employed in creative industries are listed among its objectives, as is the creation of ties between culture and education in order to boost social capital. Funds for the policy realization are earmarked in the operational programs of the EU funds and supplemented with grants from the Ministry of Culture. An assessment¹³ of the ministerial grants shows that there is a gap between the national strategy goals and their implementation in the annual budgeting of the Ministry of Culture. This comprehensive evaluation mentions several other major shortcomings, which can undermine efforts of creative placemaking and other cultural undertakings, all still heavily reliant on public funds. Among the deficiencies listed in the assessment are: (i) poor use of modern knowledge, (ii) insufficient cooperation across sectors, (iii) lack of socialization of cultural policies through cooperation with local government units and other ministries, (iv) the absence of a clearly formulated strategic objectives coupled with financial tools and (v) non-transparent selection procedure. These findings pertain to the implementation of cultural strategies by public authorities in the remaining three countries.

The **National Urban Policy 2023**, drafted by the Ministry of Regional Development and adopted in 2015, is the most relevant for creative placemaking among all other official documents. This policy can be understood as an attempt to create a **manual of good governance practices** and encourage cooperation among units of national and local governments along the vision outlined in the document. Despite the fact that the policy has no budget, it points to specific financial programs of other ministries and EU funds available, which should be deployed to fulfill the policy goals. The National Urban Policy is a bold horizontal document that tries to link existing strategies and policies with the underlying aim to harness uncoordinated urban development and embrace it as a tool of national advancement. It contains several objectives directly connected to creative placemaking, which read as follows:

- **Activation of downtown** areas through art, culture and usage of creative industries to construct local identity; network of local commercial spots enhanced with the usage of innovative technologies should mobilize residents
- **Creation of local identity** thanks to educational programs about local cultural resources and traditions and ways how to deploy them in economic activity
- **Urban cultural policy** which not only helps local economy but improves the quality of life of the inhabitants in the entire functional area
- **Brownfield over greenfield** priority, which requires the re-use of land and buildings instead of expansion into undeveloped areas. This rule is also inscribed in the conditions for investments from the EU funds in 2014–2020
- **Continual and consistent revitalization** as an important part of thinking about the city's development. Because revitalization is understood as a tool (not an end in itself) for the renewal of social, economic, cultural and spatial environment, it has to draw from the local potential of the place, its culture and cultural heritage
- **Participation** of local communities and entrepreneurs in the process of programming and implementation of regeneration projects.

The National Urban Policy echoes the current trends in spatial planning and urban development, and if its only effect was to inspire local governments, it could already be considered a success. Currently, the Polish government is reviewing and prioritizing objectives and activities proposed by the policy in order to draft a strategy.¹⁴ The role of culture in social and economic development of Poland also pops up in the **Strategy for the Development of Social Capital 2020** — drafted by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and adopted in 2013. One of its four priorities is to strengthen the role of culture in building social cohesion and socio-economic development. The instruments to attain it are supporting the civic participation, education and infrastructure as well as supporting cultural and creative industries.

13 Fatyga, B. and Bakulińska, A. (2015), *Projekt autoewaluacji i ewaluacji programów ministra kultury raport z badań. Propozycja metod i narzędzi*, Obserwatorium Żywej Kultury-Sieć Badawcza

14 Puls Biznesu (2016), Wiceminister rozwoju o Krajowej Polityce Miejskiej do 2023 r.

- In 2008 the share of cultural and creative industries in Poland's GDP was estimated at 1.58% and 2.47%, while they employed 1.86 % and 2.68 % of the working labor force, respectively. The value of production was PLN 17.6 billion for cultural sector and PLN 27.5 billion for creative industries.¹⁵
- The number of economic subjects doing business in cultural and creative industries in Poland is constantly increasing. From 2009 to 2013, the number rose from 4% to 4.9 % of all economic entities. Expressed in absolute number: in 2013 there were 173 thousand economic entities working in this sector.¹⁶

According to a study conducted by the Research Institute for Market Economy,¹⁷ cultural and creative industries are on the rise in Poland. The increase, however, is in the number of entrepreneurs (micro-enterprises) rather than in employment or sales revenues. CCl's are growing, especially in the southern regions and, unsurprisingly, around large cities such as Warsaw, Gdansk and Lodz. This clustering trend has been amplified by numerous public-private initiatives, which support regional specialization with focus on design (Śląski Klaster Dizajnu in Cieszyn, LabDesign in Kielce), fashion (Podlaski Klaster Bielizny), cooperation between art and business (BizArt in Elblag, Lokomotywa Kultury in Bielsko-Biała), multimedia (computer games industry Creativro in Wrocław) and the film industry (Krakowski Kluster Filmowy in Kraków).

A comprehensive analysis of culture and creative placemaking at the local level is shown in the 2015 report **Municipal Cultural Policies** published by Magazyn Miasta.¹⁸ Following their analysis, local governments remained the strongest financial stakeholders of local culture in Poland, financing 99.8% of cultural centers, 91.9% of libraries, 87.9% philharmonics and 80% of theatres and galleries. In 2013, there were 110 communes that spent less than 1% of their budget on cultural activities, whereas the biggest 100 cities in Poland covered by the report spent an average of 2.5% of their budget on current cultural expenses. This may be partially due to the traditional perception of cultural policies, which, according to the survey respondents, should serve educational purposes and the promotion of the city.

15 Lewandowski, P., Muć, J. and Skrok Ł. (2010), *Znaczenie gospodarcze sektora kultury. Wstęp do analizy problemu. Raport końcowy*

16 Krapieński, B., and Szultka, S. (2014), *Koncentracja działalności i ich rozmieszczenie*, in: *Kreatywny łańcuch – monitoring powiązań sektora kultury i kreatywnego w Polsce*, p. 54

17 Szultka, S. (2014), *Kreatywny łańcuch powiązania sektora kultury i kreatywnego w Polsce*

18 DNA Miasta, Miejskie Polityki Kulturalne 2015, Magazyn Miasta nr 4(12)/2015

The report highlights some positive aspects too, stating that between 2010 and 2015 the awareness of the role of culture in the process of local development has increased exponentially. Authors of the study named three synergic factors, which influenced the change in perception of art and culture, and read as follows:

- the European Capital of Culture competition
- the recovery of culture and art related environment (also coupled with the creation of various interactive museums or revitalization projects¹⁹)
- the maturing of public discussion on the economic role of culture, which is enabled and promoted by various experts and non-profit organizations such as the National Centre for Culture Poland with its Committee for Municipal Cultural Policies, Forum for Revitalization or www.mojapolis.pl, a repository of data on urban policies and politics.

Slovakia

Slovak cultural policy documents use progressive language in defining the role of cultural and creative industries. The Slovak **Strategy for the Development of Culture for 2014–2020** acknowledges that culture can contribute to solving social problems such as unemployment or slow economic growth. Akin to its Polish counterpart, the document also links culture with the advancement of social capital. One of the strategy's priorities explicitly mentions the deployment of culture and creativity for the economic growth of Slovakia. This should be accomplished, according to the document, by the creation of an economic model that uses the potential of creative industries through and raising awareness of the economic potential of creativity via educational programs. An action plan for 2015–2017 derived from the strategy tasks the government with the creation of a plan for creative industries and the inclusion of CCl's as a priority area in the Integrated Regional Operational Programme.

The **National Strategy for Regional Development**, updated in 2014, also adopts the creative narrative, conditioning the development of human resources (social capital) upon the change of focus from the exploitation of cheap labor towards "quality human resources for the growth of regional competitiveness, supporting the development of cultural and creative communities." The same strategy notices that creative industries are a relatively new concept at level of regional policies, and the instruments for its support are only being introduced following EU policies (e.g. the Strategy for Creative Industries and its action plan discussed below). Unfortunately, the "how to implement" part of cul-

19 Among others: Multimedialne Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich, Centrum Solidarności in Gdańsk), revitalization projects centred around art: Stary Browar in Poznań, huge revitalization complex in the center of Katowice including the Silesian Museum

tural and creative industries priorities is virtually missing in the official Methodology of the Creation of Programs for Economic and Social Development, based on this strategy.

The **Strategy for Creative Industries** was adopted in 2015 and singled out four priorities: (i) creating an effective system for development of creative industries, (ii) obtaining quality human resources, (iii) creating favorable market conditions and (iv) flanking instruments. From the creative placemaking point of view, it contains tasks such as the development of physical infrastructure (also vital for urban regeneration and regional development) and educational activities. The strategy also gave way to the drafting of the action plan for 2016–2017, which among others, envisages that county seats (*krajská mesta*) organize calls for the creation of infrastructure for CCI, experimental cultural activities and co-working schemes.²⁰ It also assigns public cultural entities (memory and fund institutions) to include creative activities into their standing programs. Realization of the program relies heavily on European structural and investment funds. Despite a bold list of 37 tasks, critics of the action plan say it is merely the collection of projects Slovak ministries and agencies are already implementing or plan to implement, while not really fulfilling the initial strategy.

- Entities operating in the field of creative industries (including software and IT) in Slovakia account for 6.2% of all economic entities
- In 2011, sales in the creative industries were about EUR 5.5 billion and represented almost 4% of all sales in the Slovak economy
- CCI sectors employ over 45,000 people, which accounts for about 4% of total employment. The number is higher because the official statistics do not include self-employment or liberal professions active in the creative industry.

All data come from Neulogy a.s. (2013) Správa o stave a potenciáli kreatívneho priemyslu na Slovensku²¹

Just as, and probably due to the fact that the cultural and creative industries concentrate in Bratislava and its region, the capital city also houses numerous creative placemaking projects. More than 40% of all CCI companies have their seat in Bratislava. In other regions the share of CCI is markedly lower, with slightly higher numbers like Trnava, Nitra

²⁰ Šimkovič, J. (2016) Kreatívny priemysel v Európe a na Slovensku

²¹ Jaurová, Z., Jenčíková, K., Geist, R., Lipnická P. and Salajová, S. (2013), *Správa o stave a potenciáli kreatívneho priemyslu na Slovensku*, Neulogy, a.s.

and the Košice region (around 9% of all CCI companies in each of them).²² Bratislava can boast several bottom-up projects. The Alliance Old Market Hall (Aliance Stará Tržnica) can serve as a prime example of creative placemaking. The revitalization project of the centrally located building of the Old Market was initiated by a civic association in 2012. The Alliance, composed of 11 Slovak professionals, including architects and cultural managers under the leadership of Gabor Bindics, approached the city hall with the idea to reinvigorate the old market. After negotiations, the authorities rented the building to the Alliance for a symbolic fee, with the condition of monthly investments of EUR 10.000 in its reconstruction and maintenance. Cvernovka was another non-profit revitalization project offering space and offices for CCI and cultural activities in the city center. It has operated for six years and is about to be closed, giving way to a housing development project.

The inclusion of public partners seems to be one of the main challenges in the development of creative placemaking projects. To address this issue, at the end of 2014 the Partnership for Creative Bratislava was created. It is a platform for connecting public and private stakeholders to initiate systematic change in the way culture is organized and financed in Bratislava. Another vital project, which contributes to debate on the quality of public spaces is Urban Interventions. The project's idea, born in 2008 in the Bratislava-based Vallo Sadovsky Architects studio, is to identify malfunctioning urban spots or processes and present a way to improve them. Revamped projects are designed by volunteers and exhibited, some making it to the implementation phase. Started as a local project, it has spilled over to 15 other towns in Slovakia and the Czech Republic. When speaking about actors nurturing the public debate, one cannot forget the Creative Industry Forum led by Zora Jaurová.

The first serious public debate about the role of culture and creative industries and their economic importance was triggered by the 2013 European Capital of Culture competition – won by the city of Košice. Not unlike in other Central European cities hosting the ECoC title, the preparation and, to some extent, the implementation of the program, exposed the unpreparedness of politicians and public administration to understand and seize cultural and creative potential. Yet, the ECoC had a positive impact on public-private cooperation, as is proven by the example of Tabačka Kulturfabrik. This old tobacco factory was transformed into a cultural center with the financial support of regional authorities, and is now operated by the non-profit oz Bona Fide, which helps the authorities implement their strategy of developing creative economy. The chapter on Slovak creative placemaking, however, would not be complete without mentioning one tremendous project that rose from a grassroots initiative to a pivotal cultural nod. Stanica Žilina-Záriečie is an out-

²² Balog M. et al (2014), *Možnosti rozvoja kreatívneho priemyslu na Slovensku*, Slovenská inovačná a energetická agentúra

standing example of organic placemaking, which weds cultural and creative activities to an operating railway station in the middle of a huge residential area in Žilina. One of its founders, Marek Adamov, is now running another DIY culture project in the city of 85,000 inhabitants. In an old synagogue designed by renowned German architect Peter Behrens, whose renovation he started thanks to crowdsourcing and crowdfunding, Adamov now creates a local kunsthalle by the name of Nova Synagoga.

Conclusions

- Most of the reviewed policies and strategies acknowledge the role of culture and creative sectors in the economic and social development of countries, regions and cities. These strategies, however, often repeat the language of the EU policies without trying to translate the objectives into concrete political steps.
- The implementation of revitalization and development policies is heavily reliant on the EU funds. Not being a negative approach in itself, more energy should be invested in mobilizing private investors and the restructuring of national and local budgets.
- There is a visible effort to bring back more human aspects to urban planning and development, especially in the larger cities.
- Culture and art-driven solutions have to come from within the communities and their needs. Cultural and creative industries should not be comprehended only in terms of their potential to boost country's GDP. Otherwise, the region will be overwhelmed with brownfields-turned-creative-incubators that do not fulfill their functions.

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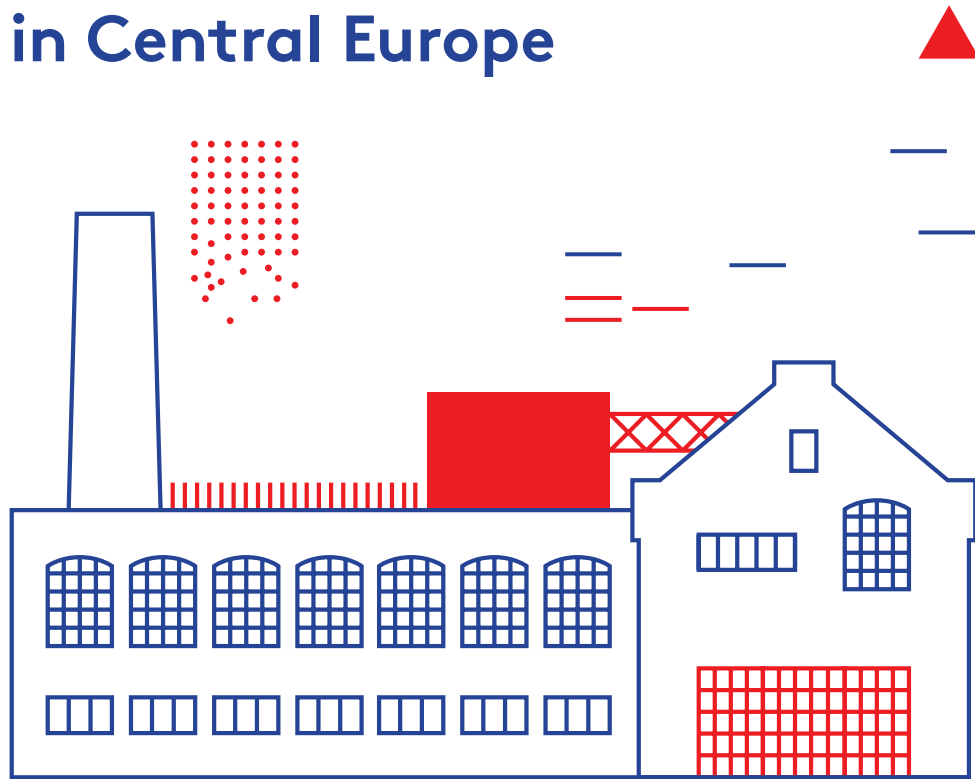
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III.



The Culture of brownfields: The Creative revitalization of industrial spaces in Central Europe



Levente Polyák

When searching for a new identity and seeking to create new jobs that can keep youth in town, many European cities look at their industrial areas for inspiration. In conjunction with obsolete waterfront docklands, the long-abandoned factories, manufacturing halls, transportation depots and warehouses of urban industrial belts have been at the epicenter of urban regeneration in recent decades. Non-standard spaces can accommodate non-standard activities. This is why – with their generous halls, large ceilings, and high windows, as well as their often impractical forms and dark angles, industrial complexes have been reinvented as spaces for art, culture and creativity.

However, cultural revitalization has unfolded in many different ways. In some cases, local communities invested in their disaffected neighborhood factory building; in others, ministries or municipal departments made decisions that turned unused assets into experimental spaces. Central Europe has witnessed countless industrial regeneration projects of various kinds. Recently, when I visited two former European Capitals of Culture, Hungary's Pécs and the Czech Republic's Plzen, I realized that it would be difficult to find two more different examples of revitalized brownfields.

Pécs, inspired by the building boom taking place in Hungary in the mid-2000s, a process generated partly by Hungary's entry to the European Union, placed its enormous ceramics factory complex into the heart of urban transformation. While the city's bid for the cultural capital season emphasized the importance of integrating new spaces and services into the context of existing activities, Pécs invested millions of euros into a new cultural quarter of first-class architecture that now lies at the edge of the town's center, disconnected from the city's other services and contributing to the municipality's near-bankruptcy in the early 2010s.

In sharp contrast, Plzen, a few years after the economic crisis, chose another path. Placing its headquarters (DEPO 2015) in a former tram depot at the industrial strip along the town's river, the city decided to gradually renovate the complex, investing only in those works they deemed necessary while testing new functions in various spaces of the depot area. Accommodating studios, but also a co-working and a makerspace, DEPO 2015 was conceived to become self-sustaining in less than five years, thus removing the burden of maintenance and continuous subsidies from the administration's shoulder.

The two cases represent two different paradigms: one is based on large investments and aims to create something spectacular, turning community efforts into a top-down development. The other looks into the economic and social sustainability of the program, gradually renovates the space and introduces new activities to the urban public. What happened between these two cases? Did we experience a paradigm shift, informed by the crisis and the ill fate of many large-scale development projects? Did administrations learn from bot-

tom-up urban development projects and their iterative methodologies? In this article I look into the changing forms of industrial revitalization, and explore them from the angles of industrial heritage, community participation and top-down development.

The attraction of the industrial and the use-value of industrial space

The changing relationship to industrial buildings has much to do with the search for a collective past and identity. Industrial museums, local history collections, national heritage institutes and documentary enterprises all work to satisfy the demands of a distinct interpretation of authenticity. Besides the symbolic re-appropriation of industrial buildings as images and stage sets, protagonists of contemporary culture turned towards industrial buildings in their search for spaces of artistic production and display. However, the experimental occupations and temporary investments of art and culture to colonize industrial and manufacturing spaces converged with the interests of real estate developers. As Sharon Zukin evocatively described in her 1982 book “Loft Living”, the myth of gentrification about pioneer artists unknowingly, unwittingly exploring and giving value to the uncharted territories of New York’s SoHo neighborhood is only partly true (Zukin, 1982). While the first artists did indeed move into SoHo’s manufacturing buildings because of their exceptional architectural features and opportunities (and low prices), Zukin demonstrates in detail how the first lofts converted into studio apartments were given attention (and help) from real estate developers — they observed, from up-close, the process in which the familiarity and popularity of lofts grew and helped it with the establishment of a new dwelling type through advertisement and standardization.

The process of “patrimonialization” contributed to the institutionalization of society’s relationship to industrial objects. While the first cultural activities settling in industrial buildings, like Andy Warhol’s Factory, were the manifestations of grassroots, underground initiatives, and required a lot of effort and official support to get stabilized, larger industrial buildings quickly became targets of large-scale, high-prestige investments of state and city governments. With the recognition of cultural industries as vital ingredients of urban development, the 1980s and 1990s saw the cultural re-use of a multitude of industrial buildings integrated into broader urban regeneration schemes (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993). In these schemes, cultural use began to diverge significantly from the bottom-up initiatives of the previous decades. Combined with commercial features and encouraging the development of luxury residences, the Musée d’Orsay in Paris and the Tate Modern in London have become synonymous with government-led efforts to join forces with private investors in revitalizing and gentrifying entire neighborhoods and cities.

Exploring the industrial in Central and Eastern Europe

Beyond concerns of aesthetics and the potential use of industrial spaces, the relationship to the industrial heritage is rather ambiguous in Central and Eastern Europe—buildings have an uncommon life in countries of the former Communist Block. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and the arrival of market capitalism, many of the social and political values commonly inscribed in buildings suddenly became obsolete, leaving behind anachronistic architectural structures, forgotten or bulldozed by contemporary forces: derelict office buildings containing toxic construction materials, abandoned headquarters of institutions standing for dissolving forms of social organization, or factories representing outmoded concepts of production and economy.

Post-socialist societies’ relationship with spheres of cultural heritage other than the civic monuments of the foundational periods is thus highly complicated. The expropriation of the working class culture by the communist parties of the region resulted in a strong backlash after the Fall of the Berlin Wall. Industry, while playing a central role in the socialist economy, had, from the second half of the 1980s, gradually lost its relevance, and weighed on employment policies as well as on the urban landscape as an unsustainable structure, a ghost without any reason of existence. Working class culture, in parallel, was condemned to oblivion, and to refurbish industrial sites to metaphorically emphasize the continuity of production was, for many in the early 1990s, an unappealing idea.

The disappearance of industrial production and the related working class culture was interpreted in a very eloquent art piece by Andreas Fogarasi at the 2007 Venice Art Biennial. In his Golden Lion-winner project *Kultur und Freizeit* for the 2007 Hungarian pavilion, Fogarasi depicted the post-socialist transformation of Hungarian culture and the gradual obsolescence of certain outmoded cultural institutions, such as the Houses of Culture in Hungary (Tímár 2007). Founded in the 1960s and 1970s, these cultural centers – originally built to educate “the people,” that is, the workers – were gradually deprived of their cultural mission as well as of their audience during the socio-political changes of the 1990s.

The concept of revitalizing industrial zones and buildings in the post-socialist Europe was thus lacking any of the socio-historical interests it often had in Western contexts. However, the interest in the cultural reuse of industrial buildings arrived to Central and Eastern Europe through the example of Western conversions. In the late 1990s, many Central and Eastern European cities rediscovered their forgotten industrial areas, not only in their official regeneration schemes, but also in conjunction with the popular imagination and growing interest of the local cultural scenes. The example of Nowa Huta in Krakow, Poland

or Ózd in Hungary shows that, bit-by-bit, municipal leaders have recognized the development potential of industrial heritage in the new economic context. In the past decades many cities launched their own art festivals aiming at reinterpreting the industrial environment of their cities, like the Kladno's Industriální stopy or Zagreb's Urban Festival.

In the meantime, in most urban regeneration processes in Central and Eastern Europe (due to the specificities of both the democratic transition and the privatization process) the art-driven phase of gentrification has often been skipped as a major player of the real estate market, knowing the fashion and trends along which Western inner cities have regained their appeal, cut short the "regular" cycles of urban development. It is therefore possible that in many Central and Eastern European cities, interest in the industrial building stock arose earlier from the side of institutional investors than from the side of independent, grassroots cultural and social initiatives: when the non-profit and cultural spheres discovered the potential of industrial areas, most of them had already been sold out.

In the gaps of mainstream development, the most interesting cultural productions of Central and Eastern Europe found their venues. Less central and economically less interesting industrial locations accommodated spontaneous processes of re-appropriation, similar to those decades ago in New York's SoHo. Metelkova in Ljubljana, for instance, was the first post-socialist organization to become member of Trans Europe Halles, an international network assembling independent cultural initiatives operating in industrial complexes.

Budapest and the importance of found infrastructures

Independent culture also played an important role in re-appropriating the industrial landscape of Budapest. During the last decade of communist rule, independent culture constituted a parallel sphere, with its infrastructure and public separated from the places and publics of officially supported culture. Sometimes remaining in the realm of the "tolerated" section of culture, but more often delegated in the "prohibited" section and hiding from the eyes of political censorship, independent productions often found refuge in semi-public, semi-invisible spaces at the periphery of the system's horizon, such as unused but structurally sound buildings.

One of the most important cultural venues of the Hungarian capital, Trafó, was the first institution to transform an unused industrial building into an art space in Budapest. The electric transformer building situated at the edge of the city's historical core, built in the style of the industrial art nouveau in 1909, had been abandoned for more than 40 years

when the French anarchist artist group Resonance discovered it in the early 1990s and transformed it into a squat, hosting a variety of cultural events, performances, concerts, presentations. After the squat was shut down, it served for years as a storage space for theatre and music groups. In the middle of the 1990s, using the money it didn't spend on the 1994 World Exhibition, the Municipality of Budapest bought the building to transform it into a well-equipped contemporary art center. The Trafó – House of Arts – opened its doors in 1998 and quickly became an important Central European center for contemporary theatre, dance and music.

Another spectacular conversion following a bottom-up initiative is the renovation of A38. A38 is the reincarnation of a Ukrainian stone-carrier ship. The mission of its private owner to convert the ship into a cultural venue was to bring life and cultural events to the banks of the Danube, which is still isolated from the city by highways running along the river. Building a concert hall and a bar in the ship was a challenge but this challenge was answered with architectural finesse. The resulting composition with a magnificent view over the Danube proved to be popular, as A38 was voted to be the best bar in the world by readers of Lonely Planet in 2011.

Other initiatives had shorter lives. In 2003, a group of young architects and cultural producers initiated Tűzraktár in an abandoned medical equipment factory, in the same street as Trafó. The group rented the 7000 square meter building from its owner for a year at a very low rent, promising the owner the valorization of the building by cultural events and thus an increasing visibility. Tűzraktár opened with minimal architectural interventions in June 2004, and it was an immediate success – thousands of people invaded the factory's empty spaces and courtyards on the first days. Tűzraktár's operation had to be suspended due to its popularity; the building and its temporary commercial spaces suddenly became very attractive and the cultural function gradually disappeared behind the commercial activities.

The expansion of commercial uses in industrial heritage

Beyond the question of whose heritage should be preserved, the gradual expansion of commercial uses at the expense of cultural functions is a regular incident in the case of cultural conversion of industrial complexes in Budapest. Millenáris, one of the largest public investments in the early 2000s, is a park and cultural center situated in the former Ganz industrial complex, the largest brown-field site at the time in the central districts of the city. The refurbishment, taking place between 2000 and 2002, received many awards for

its refined architectural solutions and innovative landscaping. The principle of the redevelopment of the Ganz site was to keep the valuable buildings of the complex and turn them into an inspiring environment for contemporary cultural events and exhibitions. The result was a high-quality park that quickly became a favorite among residents of the inner districts of Buda. With time, however, questions concerning restrictions of using the park have been raised. With its special policy, the public park filtered the visitors, not allowing undesired segments of its public (homeless people, for instance) to enter the park. Besides this, it also prohibited certain uses (like drinking alcohol) and thus raised doubts about the public nature of the institution. But it was even more alerting when users of the park suddenly noticed that parts of the park were separated and turned into a construction site. With the raising concern about the plans for the park, it turned out that the gradual transition of certain parts of the park into office buildings was part of the original plan, conceived to help the park's financing but without really informing the public. After this incident, Millenáris saw a significant part of its park replaced by new office complexes.

Another spectacular example of the commercial expansion in cultural buildings is CET Budapest. Originally a cultural center, CET is a spectacular refurbishment of a former warehouse at the bank of the Danube. The design by Dutch architect Kaas Oosterhuis aimed at keeping the two heritage buildings intact while linking and surrounding them with a large, amorphous steel and glass structure, an unusually fresh appearance in a city with very few significant contemporary buildings that was immediately baptized "The Whale" by Budapest citizens. The 23000 square meter complex was built in a complicated public-private partnership; the cooperation between the city, the developer and the architect did not play out perfectly well. The architect, after judging the developer's construction methods inappropriate for the complexity of the design, left the process and sued the developer. As a matter of fact, the developer failed to deliver the building in its requisite quality, and to comply with its obligations towards the city, namely to open the center in 2010. Years after its opening, CET is still half-abandoned, forcing the municipality to seek for new functions to animate the building.

Industrial heritage between politics and commerce

Former industrial sites are important experimental grounds not only in the way they confront narratives of the industrial past but also in the way these narratives can be further developed, or silenced, by the means of a public or private intervention.

As social sciences and cultural studies inform the architectural profession, architects also

acknowledge that unused industrial complexes are not only spaces of potentiality, often situated in very central locations, waiting to find new functions that can revitalize them; they're also anchors of the urban and historical imagination, sources of strong emotional bonds of affection or dismay. Architectural interventions may enhance, exploit or eliminate these bonds, thus creating spaces of very different natures and allowances. We might consider an industrial building, through the story of its former owner, a narrative of private entrepreneurship, or we may consider an edifice through the story of its workers, thus a narrative of the working class, collectivity, exploitation or emancipation, or through the story of the city or state that bought or nationalized the building, a narrative of employment policies, public functions, education or culture. The different ways to interpret an industrial site, often influenced by political and ideological associations, result in diverse arguments and concepts of revitalization.

If the public interest in preserving industrial sites as remnants of social memory is damaged, it is because the importance of those memories is not acknowledged by a broad consensus. The question of whose heritage, whose culture, and, ultimately, whose city is represented by a refurbished industrial site, is most often decided in political or commercial terms. While small, independent, often temporary, interventions in industrial spaces or investments realized in successive phases tend to have more sensibility to recognize particular cultures and legacies, larger interventions, in need of more funding and more constrained by their required profits, are more likely to apply the most of the available space for standard commercial use, to the expense of any reminder of or continuity with the building's original function.

In Central Europe, revitalization projects are more reliant on political and commercial support than in many parts of the Western world. The lack of variety in funding turns the cultural scene towards the re-appropriation of found industrial infrastructures, with minimal degrees of architectural intervention. In this respect, NGOs in Budapest, Katowice, Paris and New York are part of the same bottom-up movement — a desire to access spaces of potentiality while building on the existing social and historical proprieties of these spaces. As I attempted to demonstrate in this text, investments that generate long-term and inclusive structural change in the city are often developed by initiatives in this movement.

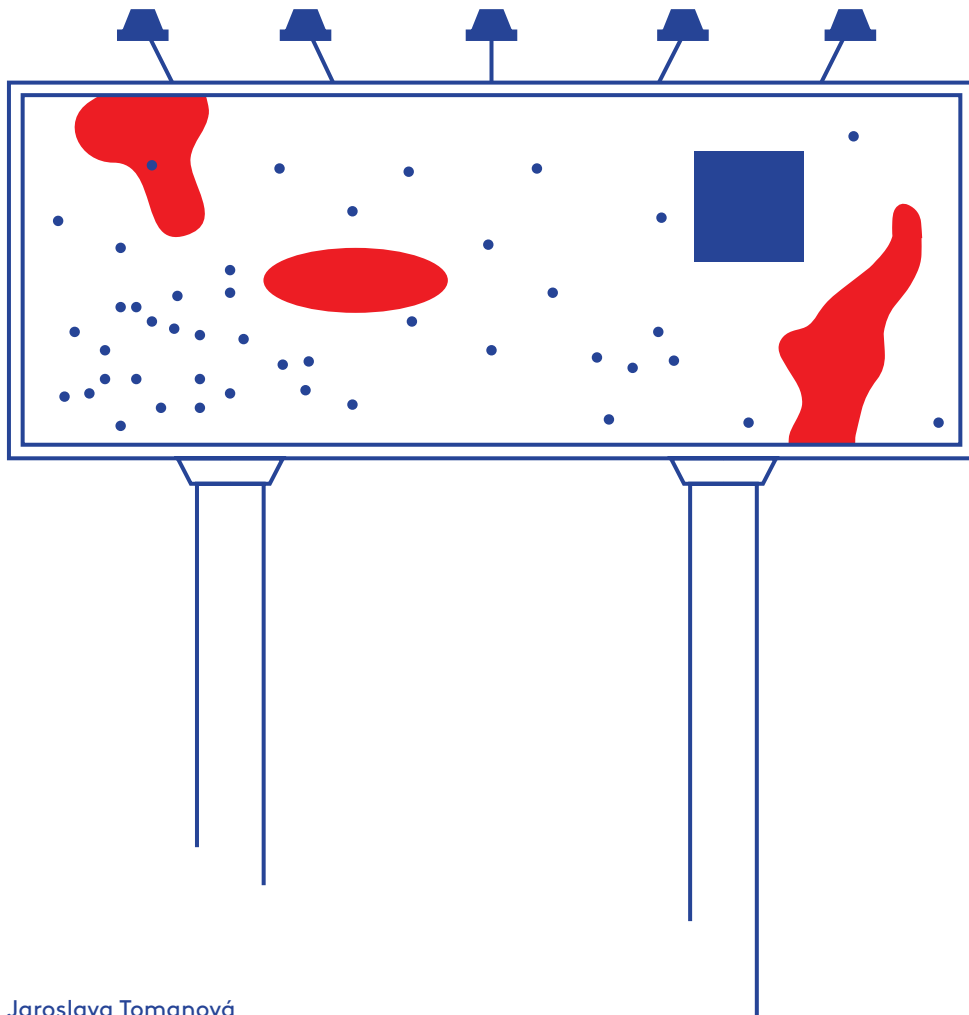
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IV.

Multi-stakeholder platforms for promoting culture



Jaroslava Tomanová

In democratic societies, representatives of different interests will negotiate about the value of culture and the arts, and they will discuss and decide on which forms and how much public support should be invested in selected sub-areas of the cultural field.

/Geir Vestheim/

This chapter will focus on multi-stakeholder platforms and will commence with a brief definition of the term. The first, rather technical definition says platform is “a raised level surface on which people or things can stand.”¹ It shows a symbolic characteristic of a platform. A second, more relevant meaning of the term, “the declared policy of a political party or group,” brings the expression closer to the interests of this review. In the public policy field, a platform on which policy makers can **discuss** various policy issues **while being seen by public** audience is a traditional model of democratic policy making. In the second definition, a platform as declared policy or other synonyms such as “programme, party line, manifesto, plan, plan of action, principles, tenets, objectives, aims”¹ are all relevant while focusing on the cultural sector and its governance.

The term ‘platform’ frequently appears in Czech cultural policy discourse. Here, the concept of a platform is understood in an active sense, where a platform is recognized as an agent of cultural policy playing an active role in policy making. The report from a conference *Střed zájmu 360*² articulates one of the most important needs of the Czech cultural and creative sector and is as follows:

„Platforms of collaboration and professional associations as essential tools of sharing experiences and advocating for relevant policy arrangements, improving quality of the practitioners’ education (e.g. reflecting on practical issues, improving business skills and widening the customers’ choice in particular fields, setting up an effective funding system and evaluating the public and non-profit non-governmental sector including the question of quantity and quality of the arts organizations).”

There are many other examples that demonstrate the need for a strong policy-making body, rather than a platform that provides space for discussion but has no ambitions to be a point of active policy change. Due to lack of space, the views of various cultural initiatives will not be analyzed further.

1 Oxford Dictionary 2016

2 Conference was organized by Arts Institute – Theatre Institute (IDU) in 2014, the report echoes findings of the multi-annual project Mapping Cultural and Creative Industries in the Czech Republic 2011–2015, which is available here <http://www.idu.cz/en/czech-cultural-and-creative-industries-mapping-201>. This mapping exercise is discussed in chapter 6

Formal or informal platform/agency

One of the key dilemmas of a multi-stakeholder platform is whether it should be formally established by a public policy-making body — a national or city government — (the question of spatial scope will be discussed in the next section) or whether it should be an independent, informal platform initiated by civil society, professionals, organizations or other entities within the sector. The latter option has the advantage of grassroots nature which is better established in the community of culture professionals and thus would require less effort in building trust (depending on reputation of involved organizations). However, the challenging part comes with ensuring that the collaboration with political and economic spheres of cultural policy is effective and democratic.

In the case of a multi-stakeholder platform with an extensive range of tasks and services for the cultural and creative sectors demanded by various cultural practitioners, a 'multi-stakeholder agency' would be perhaps a more accurate term. Oxford Dictionary defines the term 'agency' as „*a department or body providing a specific service for a government or other organization.*” Public agencies which are in charge of the strategic overview in the development of various areas of the public sector are numerous and fashionable in public policy making, increasingly in the last four decades, and particularly in the 'Western' part of the world. Basic characteristics of these types of agencies are: „*carrying out public tasks such as regulation, functioning at arm's length from the main hierarchical spines of ministries, public servants being core staff, financed in principle by the state budget or partially by charges (e.g., charging for a driving or television license), subject to at least some administrative law procedures (i.e., they are not wholly or predominantly private law bodies), being part of the state apparatus.*”³ The main reasons why agencies have started becoming a frequent public policy features of in the 'Western' countries are as follows⁴:

- Financial reasons: in the West since the 1970s, the need to economize the public sector has appeared widely, and, according to management theories, market oriented entities are more efficient than the public ones.
- Decline in citizen trust in government institutions.
- Rising citizen expectations with respect to the standards of public services.

3 Pollit et al. 2001, p. 275

4 ibidem

Moreover, according to research conducted by The Czech Academy of Sciences the problems that determine conditions in which Czech cultural institutions operate are as follows⁵:

- Political intervention in the management and operation of the contributory organizations.⁶
- The unresolved funding system.
- The lack of trust that cultural professionals have in politicians and decision-makers.

The listed problems show that, among others, lack of trust in public institutions and politicians and a need to economize and restructure public funding are complimentary reasons as to why governments around the world were frequently setting up public agencies to provide a strategic leadership for specific public issues. However, in case of government-established agencies, many challenges related to democratic functioning, securing sufficient funds and avoiding political influence are obvious. On the other hand, if such an organization was able to achieve great professionalization, reduction of political influence, a great deal of flexibility, efficiency and transparency, listen to its stakeholders and have access to the best IT technologies, it may be a perfect solution to cultural policy. The perfect scenario is, however, unlikely. Moreover, despite the well-promoted advantages of such agencies that can be seen as a sign of a government's progressive attitude and a modern thing to do, there is weak empirical evidence that simply setting up a relatively autonomous public agency to provide services to the cultural and creative sector will ensure such a positive result.

Both types — either a multi-stakeholder public agency or an informal multi-stakeholder platform for the culture and creative sector — have to obtain the trust of those individuals whose needs they serve. I believe that the first step in gaining trust is a democratic principle in an organization's functioning. Professor Geir Vestheim, an expert in cultural policy research who focuses on the “overlapping zone between culture, politics and money,” argues that in democratic societies, representatives of different interests within two different social fields (culture and arts on one side and politics, administration and economy on the other) „*will negotiate about the value of culture and the arts, and they will discuss and decide on which forms and how much public support should be invested in selected sub-areas of the cultural field.*”⁷ However, as the values of both social fields are different,

5 Vojtíšková and Lorencová 2015

6 Contributory organization (CO) = an organization established by a public body which is fully responsible for normative funding of the CO, providing it with property for its use, oversight of the CO's financial management, the appointment and dismissal of a CO's director and its dissolution (Vojtíšková and Lorencová 2015)

7 Geir Vestheim, 2012, p. 535

the overlapping zone may be tense, full of conflict and an area of power struggles. Therefore, „the overlapping zone cannot be identified to one single institution, it rather has the character of being a social sphere or a social ‘space’ where policy-making takes place. This implies that the overlapping zone is both formal and informal.“⁸ Equal balance of power and the minimization of a conflict can be achieved by mutual respect, role distribution, negotiations and the preference of common interests over individual ones. A key question that should be addressed while planning a new multi-stakeholder initiative is how to initiate and sustain the high ethical discipline described above.

Identifying the stakeholders in the overlapping zone is another fundamental part of a multi-stakeholder initiative. Following professor Vestheim, four groups of agents ensure the democratic legitimacy: (1) politicians elected by popular vote; (2) bureaucrats/civil servants working in public administration; (3) professionals working in cultural institutions or voluntary organizations of the cultural field; and (4) professional artists and their interest organizations. The inclusion of the business sector is in question, and it depends predominantly on the cultural policy market orientation widely known as ‘creative economy’.

The discussion about cultural policy orientation towards the concept of creative industries is not the subject of this chapter, however, this orientation would determine key activities and services that a multi-stakeholder initiative would carry out. Although the values and needs of artists and non-profit cultural organizations are mostly different from business-oriented entities, both categories are labelled as creative industries. If a multi-stakeholder initiative aimed its services to creative industries, it would have to strongly acknowledge and address differences between business and non-businesses entities to remain relevant for all.

Key activities and services

Defining key activities of a multi-stakeholder platform should be based on the needs of a particular locality and its particularities. I believe that it is crucial to get inspiration from elsewhere and learn from good examples, but also learn from the mistakes of others. The key task is to look at the Czech context, or potentially at examples from countries with similar political and economic development after the fall of communism, rather than adopting clearly neoliberal policy practices with efficiency as the predominant value. Professors from University of Zagreb, Milena Dragicevic-Sesic and Corina Suteu, emphasized that the use of ‘Western models’ of cultural policy in former Yugoslavia was caused by ‘immediate

8 ibidem

post-communist euphoria regarding these models’ and followed by ‘post awakening rejection’. In their view, both approaches are ‘wrong and superficial’. Moreover, they deemed that “inspiration for cultural policy and legislation can be reliable, but has to take the necessary time and allow reciprocal understanding and questioning”.⁹

Relevant literature mentions a range of activities and responsibilities, which usually the multi-stakeholder initiatives are in charge of. Strategic overview and the facilitation of the development of the cultural sector is the common mission of most reviewed examples. Specific activities can then be grouped in four major areas:

- **Policy making:** providing the overlapping zone for negotiations between culture, politics and money, guiding the implementation of policy plans, grant allocation, intervening in the property market to steer the development of the sector, promoting economic strategies for the sector, being official consultees taking part in the process of decision making, enabling development of the sector in places where it does not function ‘by itself’, and campaigning and lobbying for the sector.
- **Providing support and opportunities:** providing business and legal advice, creating links with education/training, facilitating interaction between existing enterprises and organizations, regularly bringing different stakeholders and professional organizations together, sending news digest and making sure the professionals are well informed.
- **Promoting and marketing** the sector or specific city areas/cultural clusters, drawing visitors’ and audiences’ attention towards specific sectors or areas and supporting community awareness through effective communication.
- **Monitoring and researching** the performance of the sector or specific city areas in all of their aspects, mapping the cultural and creative sector and needs assessment.

Spatial scope

Another critical issue is the area of action. There are examples of national agencies representing different aims and ways of functioning. In the Czech context, a politically autonomous, democratic, professional, multi-stakeholder agency or a platform focusing on creative industries or cultural policy with substantial policy-making power does not exist,

9 Dragicevic-Sesic and Suteu 2005, p. 96

although there are a number of professional organizations which represent the specific areas of the sector and are critically important. Among others, these are: CZECHDESIGN, Association of Professional Theatres (Asociace profesionálních divadel), Czech Fashion Council, Czech Chamber of Architects (Česká komora architektů), Audiovisual Producers' Association (Asociace producentů v audiovizí), Skutek Association (Spolek Skutek), Czech Music Council (Česká hudební rada) and Czech Association of Festivals (Česká asociace festivalů).

Yet in Vestheim's concept presented above, these organizations represent only the cultural and artistic fields in the cultural policy debate, whilst the other and equally important, political, administrative and economic fields are missing. Two ministerial agencies are in place in the Czech cultural policy context, The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture (NIPOS) and The Arts Institute – Theatre Institute (IDU). Both of them are contributory organizations established by the Ministry of Culture. They are working on the arm's length principle providing a range of services e.g., research, promotion of the Czech arts internationally (IDU), providing networking opportunities such as conferences and workshops, publishing relevant literature and library service, providing information about jobs and funding opportunities, etc. However, their power in the cultural policy decision-making process is fairly low. They work as consultants for the Ministry to a limited extent because their management is directly subordinated to the Ministry of Culture.

According to the last major strategic cultural policy document, the Implementation Plan of the National Cultural Policy for 2015–2020, Ministry of Culture is preparing its 'Project Agency', a new agency that will be coordinating and managing its projects and providing help to non-governmental organizations in the cultural sector to apply for EU funds. The document, however, does not give any details on what kind of projects this agency will coordinate. Moreover, it will be providing information about various opportunities for funding and will facilitate sharing experiences across the sector. The document also states that, thanks to this agency, *"effective use of public funds for reasonable projects will be ensured and the public spending will be coordinated so wasting public resources will be prevented"*. The document does not provide detailed information on this initiative, but the brief description shows major similarities in the mission of the new Project Agency, NIPOS and IDU while other critical factors such as stakeholders, scope and balance of power are not addressed.

Furthermore, according to this document, so called 'cooperative platforms' for carrying out pilot programs of matching funds will be established. These platforms will *"encourage collaboration of private and corporate funders with the public ones and public-private partnerships will be supported"*. According to the plan, this should be achieved by the year 2016, though no funds have been allocated for establishing this organization. Detailed

information is not provided. The ambiguous rhetoric and unrealistic plans of the Ministry are now evident.

On the city and regional level, a number of multi-stakeholder agencies exist in Europe (e.g., Oslo Culture Network, Norway; Kreativgesellschaft Hamburg, Germany; Departure agency Vienna, Austria). Here again, in the Czech Republic, a politically autonomous, democratic, professional, multi-stakeholder agency or a platform focusing on creative industries or cultural policy with substantial policy-making power has not been established. Prague has the highest concentration of creative industries and is the flagship cultural heritage destination. The governance structure is highly complicated as the city is divided into 22 urban quarters, each with their own local councils. Similar to other Central and Eastern European cities, Prague suffers from lack of coherent governance. Hungarian cultural policy expert Krisztina Keresztély accurately captured the situation in Budapest, which is similar to the situation in Prague: *"The Budapest City Council has limited power, and finds itself permanently opposed to local districts' decisions. (...) The number of examples of cooperation between councils in the capital is also very low. The intermediate historical zone is under the authority of four different councils. Although all of them are facing similar problems, they represent different political parties, different priorities and different conceptions of urban development. Political incoherence also explains why short-term political decisions prevail in this area instead of policies meeting the challenges of social and cultural integration."*¹⁰

At the time of writing, the City of Prague does not have a valid document, which would transparently articulate the citywide cultural or creative industries strategy. The previous one was valid till the end of 2015. Prague City Hall has not released official information or a statement on its cultural strategy for the upcoming years at the time of writing this review. Establishing a multi-stakeholder agency or a platform which would have a substantial voice on cultural policy in Prague City Hall could be a challenging, long-term task. On the other hand, if its establishment was successful it could be a way out of the frustrating situation where notorious short-term and ad-hoc political decisions are a norm.

Conclusion

To sum up, if there is an idea to set up a multi-stakeholder initiative, a sophisticated approach and a collective endeavor of cultural organizations could be an effective starting point. Once there is a solid base of professional organizations listed above (p. 5) and ministerial agencies (IDU and NIPOS already carrying out great deal of services for the cultural

¹⁰ Keresztély 2007, p. 105

sector) which have already started working together, there is no reason not to proceed further and build on numerous meetings, conferences and workshops. Before setting up brand new multi-stakeholder agencies or platforms, it is wiser to work with existing cultural policy bodies and empower a grassroots organization which is already active in the field of cultural policy. Perhaps merging a few organizations into one may be a way to proceed. Necessarily, collective demands for negotiation of balanced power of all stakeholders and other essential changes in their structures would have to be pushed forward towards the professional, transparent and democratic overlapping zone with a dedicated mission and clear justification for its existence. Last, but not least, Vestheim's (2012) democratic social 'space' for policy-making, which is both formal and informal, could be a good positive vision for such initiative.

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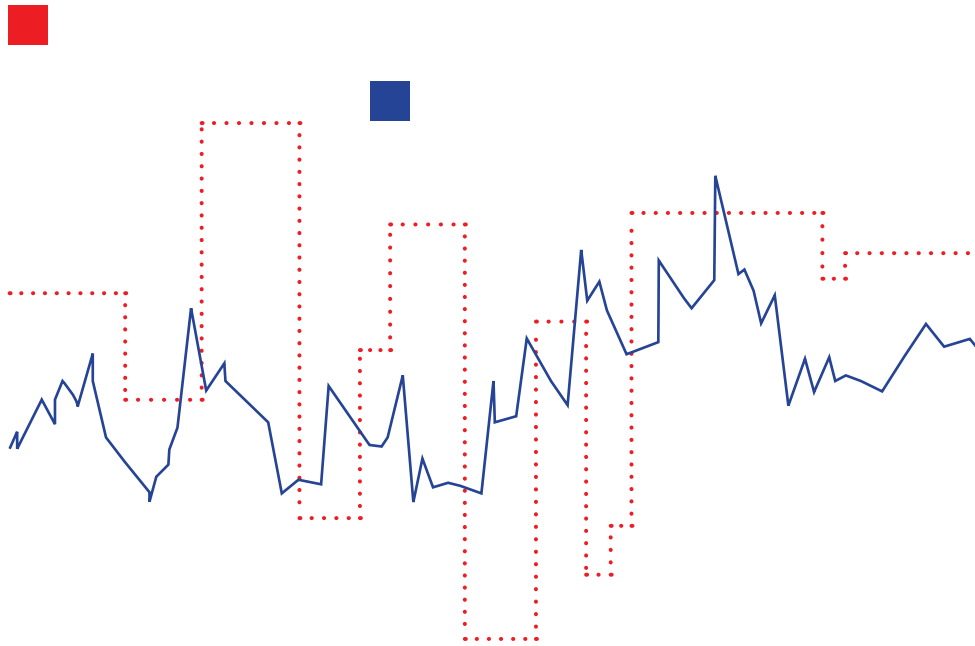
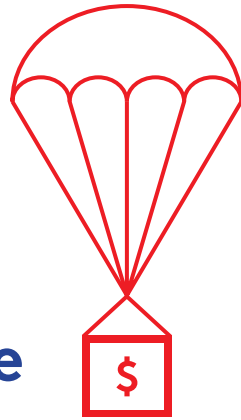
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V.

Patterns of survival: Multi-source financing of cultural and creative industries in Poland



Beware the ancient condition of art: to be slave to the powerful and be content in this predicament¹

/Artur Żmijewski, Polish contemporary artist, curator of the 7th Berlin Biennale/

Creative industries is a major industrial sector encompassing commercially viable fields from music, filmmaking, publishing, exposition making and the performing and visual arts to crafts and design, fashion, architecture and IT. This chapter presents examples of individuals and organizations introducing alternatives to established models of predominantly public funding and support in selected sectors of cultural production in Poland. The unit of analysis, which appears to be particularly suited for investigations on this topic, is Warsaw, a creative cluster developing into a *bona fide* cultural capital of East Central Europe.²

This discussion is timely in the current challenging climate of faltering economies and austerity policies advocated across the European Union. According to dominant cultural policy discourse, the future of culture and creative industries financing in EU lies in a more diversified set of funding prospects, enhanced private spending on arts and crafts through a variety of means and promotion of the ethos of entrepreneurialism among cultural producers, all in an effort to bring about more resilience, versatility and economic sustainability in cultural and creative industries.

Though highly diverse and operating in a broader ecology of practices, these neoliberal orientations, or strategies, hold a certain family resemblance: reduced government spending, promotion of decentralized public-private partnerships, focus on innovation and leveraging of new technologies, increased self-responsibility and productivity of cultural producers operating mostly, but not exclusively, in an urban context.³

On the other hand, strong state cultural policy does not equate to direct or indirect public subsidies alone. A state can act more proactively, putting creative industries at the core of a country's development strategy, creating a supportive ecosystem for cultural producers and private donors by means of tax incentives and advancing relationship brokering between big business and startup entrepreneurs.

1 Żmijewski, A., *Pomiędzy*, "Krytyka Polityczna" 9. 09. 2008, accessed 6. 02. 2016, <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/TekstypozaKP/ZmijewskiPomiedzy/menuid-76.html>

2 Wilder, Charly, *36 Hours in Warsaw*, Poland, "The New York Times" 23. 12. 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/12/22/travel/what-to-do-in-36-hours-in-warsaw-poland.html>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

3 Compare with: Kelly Moore, Daniel Lee Kleinman, David Hess and Scott Frickel. (2011). Science and Neoliberal Globalization: A Political Sociological Approach, *Theory and Society*, 40:505-532

Traditional models

The debate on the political economy of cultural production has been shaped by discordant narratives on the suitable condition of artists and prerequisites for creativity and innovation. The first binary is the figure of the “court painter,” the artist of the state, contrasted with the impoverished, yet independent genius. The second opposition is fueled by perennial discussion about whether new ideas and inventions are more likely to originate under pressure (survival of the fittest); or, conversely, in a more cushioned, privileged environment. Finally, what is the best incentive for innovation – state interventionist policies or the unregulated market? Informed by the latter theoretical distinction, we may distinguish the following ideal models of culture and creative industries financing:

- predominantly state funding (exemplified by the European welfare state model)
- state-private funding (PPP, public private partnership)
- private funding (represented by the US culture of philanthropy and legacy funding)

Aside from that, it is worth noting the not-so-new phenomenon of commercialization of artistic production, closely interlinked with the ethos of entrepreneurialism, and, on the other side of the ideological spectrum, an autarky of self-funded artistic communes or collectives. Of course, a substantial caveat is necessary: in practice these models usually mix and overlap.

In the case of 2010s Poland, the ‘traditional approach’ to culture financing emphasizes the relatively interventionist role of the state by means of direct or indirect subsidies to cultural producers, with a recognized need of additional, extramural funding. In addition to the national, regional, and local subsidies, as well as institutionalized art support by means of arts councils, funds, residencies, scholarships, and awards systems, alternative models of funding are diversifying the Polish culture industry support model. In this study, cultural entrepreneurialism, corporate social responsibility and culture patronage, as well as crowd funding, are discussed in more detail.

The portrait of artist as entrepreneur

Hitherto in Poland, pecuniary success in cultural industries has been perceived fairly negatively by the public opinion, with a particular mixture of envy and derision. In popular imagination, art producers are still expected to work primarily for the art’s sake or for the eternal glory. Consequently, artists who achieved commercial success, for example

sculptor Mirosław Bałka or top-selling painter Wilhelm Sasnal (his series *Smoking Girls* was auctioned for \$457,676 in 2001, the highest prize achieved for the work of a living Polish artist⁴), have preserved sophisticatedly understated personal aesthetics.

Cultural workers admitting financial struggles are sympathized with, while top grossing literary celebrities are derided for attempts to further commercialize their activities. To illustrate the latter, a writer, Kaja Malanowska, made headlines for receiving a mere 6,800 PLN (around 1,500 EUR) for copyrights of a book she had been writing for 16 months,⁵ whereas critically acclaimed and bestselling writer Szczepan Twardoch was ridiculed in social and traditional media for becoming the face of a luxury car brand.⁶

These examples showcase the polarization of social positions occupied by cultural producers, from precarious workers to heftily remunerated celebrities. The phenomenon has been extensively discussed in an ever-expanding body of academic literature,⁷ and has also been pronounced in political struggles, including efforts to unionize cultural producers and improve their economic standing in the framework of state welfare schemes.

At the same time, a much-discussed trend of neoliberal governance model in science and education has its counterpart in the sphere of cultural production, and is epitomized by the concept of cultural entrepreneurship.⁸

Startup culture

An urban legend states that Mateusz Morawiecki, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Development in the cabinet of Beata Szydło, remarked that “the best ideas happen over

4 Gliński, M., *10 Most Expensive Artworks From Poland*, “Culture.pl” 23. 10. 2015, <http://culture.pl/en/article/10-most-expensive-auctioned-artworks-from-poland>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

5 Kubryńska, S., *Jak zostać pisarzem i nie zarobić na tym ani grosza* (How to become a writer and don’t earn a penny), “Wysokie Obcasy” 13. 03. 2013, http://www.wysokieobcasy.pl/wysokie-obcasy/1,96856,15617023,Jak_zostac_pisarzem_i_nie_zarobic_na_tym_ani_grosza.html?disableRedirects=true, accessed 6. 02. 2016

6 Niemczyńska, M., *Twardoch ambasadorem Mercedesa* (Twardoch, the Mercedes Ambassador), “Gazeta Wyborcza” 11. 07. 2015, <http://wyborcza.pl/magazyn/1,146874,18340925,pisarz-nie-wiedzmin-zasad-miec-nie-musi.html>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

7 Chmielewska, K., Szreder, K., and Żukowski, T. (Eds.). (2009). *Czytanki dla robotników sztuki: kultura nie dla zysku*. Fundacja Bęc Zmiana., Sowa, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Wieczna radość: ekonomia polityczna społecznej kreatywności*, Fundacja Bęc Zmiana

8 Towse, R. (Ed.). (2011). *A handbook of cultural economics*. Edward Elgar Publishing, p.154

vodka" at the opening of Google Campus Warsaw in November 2015.⁹ The adage holds true not only because this startup hub is located in the former vodka factory in the gentrified Warsaw district of Praga, but also because of the sheer number and clout of bottom-up cultural initiatives springing in the private-owned nightlife staples of the Polish capital. The trend is nothing but new, as coffeehouse and bar culture has long fuelled Central Europe's creative thought.¹⁰ Undeniably, much of the most progressive artistic and social innovation in the 2000s started in establishment including bars Le Madame, Chłodna 25, Nowy Wspaniały Świat (Brave New World), BLOK Bar or in the vicinity of Plac Zbawiciela (Saviours Square). However, this traditional model of vodka-fuelled urban culture is now sharing a "cool factor" with a more and more pronounced startup approach to funding culture.

Models of accelerators and hubs appear unorthodox in the context of the arts. However, cultural producers have traditionally embraced mentoring, peer-to-peer learning, working with people with diverse skillsets and mindsets and networking in shared workspaces. Isn't "angel investor" a contemporary rendering of an old-and-tested arts patronage? Historically, the notion of artist as a solitary and impoverished prodigy coexisted with a model of skilled artisan, a business and marketing savvy professional. Tellingly, the workshops of Rembrandt or Caravaggio have contemporary equivalents in studios of Marina Abramović or Ai Weiwei. While the creatives of yesteryear gathered in guilds and associations, today they network in clusters, such as the Polish Śląski Klaster Dizajnu, Klaster Biz-Art and LAB-Desing in Kielce.¹¹

A novelty today is that culture producers are additionally encouraged to change attitudes towards risk-taking, while being more open to multinational collaboration and forming direct partnerships with industry, and being experienced in personal branding and PR activities across various digital platforms. The main risk for the quality of cultural production crafted in this framework is asymmetrical industry advantage and the pressure to produce potentially marketable and scalable art, but there are also considerable opportunities.

More and more cultural producers in Poland relinquish the old model of exclusive state subsidy. Between 2012 and 2015, Czosnek Studio led the way for a more entrepreneurial bunch

9 Sawicki, A., *Google campus is open, and a coffeehouse lies at its heart*, "Mam Start-up" 20. 11. 2015, <http://mamstartup.pl/wydarzenie/7729/google-campus-warsaw-juz-otwarty-jego-sercem-jest-kawiarnia>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

10 See Mencwel J., and Wiśniewski J., (2011) *Stolik zarezerwowany. Kontrkulturowe kawiarnie Warszawy 1825–1989* ["Table is reserved. Counter-culture coffeehouses of Warsaw from 1825 to 1989"], "Stocznia"

11 *Klasy w sektorach kreatywnych – motory rozwoju miast i regionów* [Clusters in creative sectors – the motors of development in cities and regions], ed. Stanisław Szutka, Polska Agencja Rozwoju Przedsiębiorczości, Warsaw 2012 <http://www.parp.gov.pl/files/74/81/545/14674.pdf>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts graduates. Its founders — artists Tymoteusz Borowski, Rafał Dominik and Katarzyna Przeważska — established a design studio aiming at popularizing art and profiting from a variety of commissions from private and public institutions, including the ING bank and the Polish Agency for Entrepreneurship (PARP). Czosnek Studio rejected the idea of art autonomy and modeled themselves on a legendary Artists Cooperative 'ŁAD' established in Warsaw in 1926,¹² which focused on applied arts and design. What distinguished them from other collectives of arts graduates in Poland was their proactive, market-friendly approach, and ability to venture out outside art or graphic design to provide versatile services for a niche market. For example, in collaboration with Zachęta National Gallery of Arts, they produced a series of infographics, visual tags, and animated videos explaining the logic of the contemporary art world to general audiences.

The School of Form, a private higher school of design established in 2011 in the city of Poznań exemplifies a new approach to art academy-industry relations. It offers BA degrees in Fashion, Industrial, Domestic, and Communication Design, catering to Polish and international students, especially from Russian-speaking countries of the EU Eastern Partnership. The establishment stresses the importance of marketing and business skills for young designers and boasts an impressive roster of industry collaborations, including the Swedish furniture giant IKEA, kitchen appliances producer Amica and car manufacturer Skoda.¹³

Another apt example of academia-market linkage is the Department of Fashion Design at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. Established in 2014, it immerses its students in the reality of fashion production and marketing. This strategy brings considerable success, as students' projects are regularly featured in fashion spreads in Polish magazines and aspiring designers land internships in ateliers of the global industry leaders, including the studios of Marc Jacobs and Alexander McQueen.¹⁴

Grażyna Kulczyk, the richest Polish female entrepreneur, art collector and promoter is the initiator and benefactor of the accelerator program Art & Fashion Forum, which celebrated its 8th edition in 2015.¹⁵ The event is promoted as an "education and inspiration program," offering free lectures and debates for the general public, as well as dedicated design and management workshops, including a startup workshop, and scholarship and internship schemes.

12 Świątkowska, B., *Zróbcie mi z tego rzeczywistość*, "Notes na 6. Tygodni" http://www.beczmania.pl/532,zrob-cie_mi_z_tego_rzeczywistosc.html, accessed 6. 02. 2016

13 <http://www.sof.edu.pl/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

14 Kaźmierczak, O., *Gdzie w Polsce studiować modę*, „Fashion Post” 12. 03. 2015, <http://fashionpost.pl/gdzie-w-polsce-studiowac-mode/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

15 <http://starybrowar5050.com/AFF/en/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

Farewell to a largely conceptual distinction between non-commercial arts and commercial crafts. In reality, artistic, social and commercial activities are blurred. This is epitomized by not-for-profit organization that supports artistic and cultural activities and publishing house Fundacja Nowej Kultury Bęc Zmiana (Foundation for New Culture Bęc Zmiana), which largely supports its *pro-bono* activities thanks to a successful retail practice. In its premises, located at Mokotowska Street in downtown Warsaw, the home of many local designer and luxury brands, Bęc Zmiana, offers radical manifestos with fancy covers, home ware, and gadgets designed by new Polish middle-class favorite illustrators.¹⁶

Corporate social responsibility and arts patronage

The interest of private companies in local cultural and creative industries promotion as part of Corporate Social Responsibility schemes is on the rise in Poland, showcasing the country is not immune to global trends in culture financing. Global financial institutions have devised art funding schemes since the 1970s, sponsoring arts from marketing budgets or community investment budgets. Ideally, private firms would contribute not exclusively to funding, but also expertise, such as leadership thinking and commercial skills.

Investment in culture is a token of prestige and nowadays seemingly no political and economic conference in Poland can do without a panel on culture-business cooperation.¹⁷ Among the most generous arts sponsors, there are public and private companies from mining and energy industries (KGHM Polska Miedź, Fundacja Tauron, Fundacja PGNiG), petrol retailers (Orlen), construction services (Fundacja Cemex) and trade (Fundacja TESCO). For example, National Theatre and Opera is supported by a diversified group of corporate benefactors including the local investment fund, a German car manufacturer, a Japanese luxury cosmetics brand, a medical care center and a major Polish petrol retailer.¹⁸

In 2013, Jeronimo Martins Polska, the owner of the biggest discount chain in Poland, in cooperation with Open Arts Project Foundation, opened an "Art Area" ("Dział ze sztuką"¹⁹) in its market in Otwock, a 50,000 inhabitant town 23 km southeast of Warsaw.²⁰ The town

is also a hometown of Mirosław Bałka, an internationally renowned contemporary Polish sculptor and video artist and professor of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, who had previously collaborated with the company. The project was supported by the National Library and Zachęta Gallery of Modern Arts in Warsaw, among others, and focused on educational aspect of arts. For two weeks, artists, curators, art historians and city activists, together with residents of Otwock, pondered if and how contemporary art resonated with those challenges faced by clients of the chain. The initiative has not been continued. While located outside of the capital and other major art centers, "Art Area" was a result of cooperation between established players in cultural and business fields. However, it succeeds at also including local NGOs. Overall, it was an example of how business ventures out to educational activities and activities promoting social cohesion in communities. So far, it is regarded as a precedent rather than a new standard in Polish CSR.

It has become commonplace for financial institutions to channel funds into contemporary art support schemes. ING Bank boasts an impressive collection of contemporary art established in 2000,²¹ Deutsche Bank sponsors Spojrzzenia Art Prize for emerging artists in collaboration with Zachęta National Gallery of Art²² and Bank Pekao sponsors Project Room in the Center of Contemporary Arts in Warsaw,²³ to showcase a few initiatives. This is overall not surprising, given an increased pressure on companies to engage with the communities and the shattered image of the financial sector due to the 2008 crisis and the Swiss franc mortgages crisis, which hit Polish homeowners in 2015. To compare, car manufacturer Hyundai has paid 5 million pounds for 11-years sponsorship of London's Tate Modern's Turbine Hall.²⁴ Again, this is a quite traditional form of arts support, a practice long-established in Western Europe, which flourished in Poland only in the last decades and in this regard may be perceived as 'novel' or 'alternative' in the context of East Central Europe.

The legacy funding culture is also developing, albeit on a slower pace. As of 2016, the biggest private donation in Poland was of the late entrepreneur Jan Kulczyk, frequently named "the richest men in Poland," who donated 20 million PLN (around 4,6 million EUR) to POLIN The Museum of The History of Polish Jews in 2012.²⁵

16 Michalska, D., *Widma awangardy*, "Szum" 23. 07. 2014, <http://magazynszum.pl/krytyka/widma-awangardy>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

17 Hausner, J. (2013). *Kultura jako stymulator kreatywności i innowacyjności w regionie (podsumowanie panelu dyskusyjnego na XXII Forum Ekonomicznym w Krynicy-Zdroju, 2012)*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury

18 <http://teatr Wielki.pl/dzialalnosc/partnerzy-i-sponsorzy/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

19 The documentation of the project is available at <https://www.facebook.com/dzial.ze.sztuka>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

20 <http://raportcsr.pl/dzial-ze-sztuka-w-biedronce/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

21 <http://ingart.pl/pl>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

22 <http://zacheta.art.pl/pl/spojrzzenia/spojrzzenia-2015>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

23 http://www.pekao.com.pl/o_banku/odpowiedzialnosc/zaangazowanie/PROJECT_ROOM, accessed 6. 02. 2016

24 Rustin, S., and Arnett, G.: *The sponsorship files: who funds our biggest arts institutions*, "The Guardian" 2. 03. 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/culture/2015/mar/02/arts-corporate-sponsorship-tate-british-museum>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

25 <http://www.polin.pl/en/news/2015/07/29/dr-jan-kulczyk-a-distinguished-donor-and-friend-of-polin-museum>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

Crowdfunding,²⁶ or with a little help from my friends

The digital revolution impacts the content, production, promotion and consumption of cultural goods and practices. Many cultural producers are unabashedly embracing recent technological developments. Considerable resources are flowing into art and cultural projects in Poland thanks to peer-to-peer (p2p) platforms and other online marketplaces help to escape traditional middlemen and give new tools for fundraising. Crowdfunding is growing into one of the most popular alternative vehicles for financing cultural projects. Global platforms Kickstarter and Indiegogo share the market with local ones established since 2011 – Polakpotrafi.pl (*Pole can do it*), Wspieramkulture.pl (*I support culture*), Wspieramto.pl (*"I support this"*) and Megatotal.pl²⁷, to name just a few.²⁸

According to their website, from 2012 to 2016 Polakpotrafi.pl gathered 10,892,452 PLN (2,449,712 EUR) for 2,095 projects.²⁹ Among the highest funded projects in the history of crowdfunding in Poland are an anti-hate speech social campaign Hejtoholik, which amassed spectacular 600 000 PLN (134,820 EUR)³⁰ and a public collection for the eldest soccer clubs in Poland, Wisła Kraków, 823,129 PLN (185,286 EUR).³¹

However, as an alternative financing model, crowdfunding is also a promising tool for both breakthrough artists and established performers wishing to bypass traditional middlemen in cultural industry and access their audiences and prospective customers more directly.

In November 2014, Wspieramkulture.pl organized the first Crowd Festival, a one-day event celebrating cultural crowdfunding, which combined workshops with entertainment.³² One of the presenters was Karolina Czarnecka, a breakthrough pop sensation, whose interpretation of the Tiger Lillies' song "Heroin and Cocaine" during Art Song Festival in Opole was viewed more than 19 million times on YouTube.³³ Subsequently, Czarnecka raised 36 000 PLN (around 8,100 EUR) on Polakpotrafi.pl for a professional music video for the song.³⁴

26 For more on crowdfunding in Central Europe see: Staszkievicz M., Zubicek M., eds. (2014). *Crowdfunding Visegrad*, Aspen Institute Prague

27 Galuszka, P., and Bystrov, V. (2014). Crowdfunding: A case study of a new model of financing music production. *Journal of Internet Commerce*, 13(3–4), 233–252

28 <http://legalnakultura.pl/pl/legalne-zrodla/crowdfunding?page=2>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

29 <https://polakpotrafi.pl/>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

30 <https://wspieram.to/hejtoholik>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

31 <https://www.fans4club.com/project-nasza-historia>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

32 http://wspieramkulture.pl/aktualnosci/119-Zapraszamy_na_pierwszy_w_polsce_Festival_Crowdfundingu_CROWD_FESTIVAL

33 Czarnecka K., Hera koka hasz LSD (35 PPA), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iSHG_B4GhFg, accessed 6. 02. 2016

34 <https://polakpotrafi.pl/profil/karola-czarnecka/projekty>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

Successful fundraising campaigns for specific events or products abound in Poland – from videoclips, through art magazines³⁵, artbooks³⁶, music festivals³⁷ to exhibitions. "Even the smallest donation will make you feel a part of the arts patronage,"³⁸ encouraged organizers of one of the cultural crowdfunding campaigns, and this tagline seems to resonate quite well with local donors.

Interestingly, examples of politically engaged cultural production supported by the peer-to-peer model are not uncommon in Poland. Quite symbolically, on the 8th of March 2013, Women's Day in Poland, directors Marta Dzido and Piotr Śliwiński successfully gathered 33,000 PLN (7,441 EUR) for a documentary movie about forgotten heroines of the 1980s "Solidarity" movement in Poland.³⁹ Przemysław Wojcieszek's documentary "Knives Out," which draws on the recent parliamentary victory of Law and Justice party in Poland and the rise of anti-immigration sentiments, is expected to collect funds for distribution on a crowdfunding platform in 2016.⁴⁰ A sociologist and author Joanna Jurkiewicz, whose non-fiction book on the shenanigans in the popular chain store Żabka was rejected by the publisher; it gathered 16,152 PLN (3,643 EUR) for print of a much anticipated "Dekada Ajentów" ("The Agent's Decade").⁴¹

Crowdfunding is still a niche. Wspieramkulture.pl gathered in a year as much as an influential artist gets from one visit to the Ministry of Culture, commented media scholar prof. Mirosław Filiciak in 2013. However, he also underlined an educational gravitas of this alternative method of culture financing: "In the time of economic crisis cultural producers can contribute to establishing a new system of values, which is based more than before on social responsibility. I wish voluntary support for valuable projects became a sort of positive snobbery, or even an ethical commitment. Crowdfunding paves the way for it and also detaches collective donations from martyrology. And if someone links this model to vilified People's Republic of Poland practice of forced 'social actions,' I recommend an alternative set of associations, for example with public fundraisers of the inter-war Poland and a flourishing cooperative spirit of that era."⁴²

35 <https://polakpotrafi.pl/projekt/magnetofonowa>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

36 <http://wspieramkulture.pl/projekt/341-Artbook-Poli-Dwurnik-GIRL-ON-CANVAS-DZIEWCZYNA-NA-PLOTNIE>

37 <http://www.musicprivata.pl/>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

38 <http://www.centrumarchitektury.org/projekty/wystawa-domow-jednorodzinnych>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

39 <http://wspieramkulture.pl/projekt/45-Solidarnosc-wedlug-kobiet-pelnometrazowy-film-dokumentalny>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

40 T. Felis, P.T., *Polskie kino w roku 2016: śmiać się i bać się*. "Gazeta Wyborcza" 3. 02. 2016, <http://wyborcza.pl/1,75475,19573451,polskie-kino-w-2016-r-smiac-sie-i-bac-sie.html>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

41 <https://wspieram.to/projekt/4890-ciemna-strona-sieci-zabka>, data retrieved 6. 02. 2016

42 *2013/2014 Nowe Otwarcie*, „Dwutygodnik” nr 1 (124) 2014, <http://www.dwutygodnik.com/arttykul/4994-20132014-nowe-otwarcie.html>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

In addition to financial backing, crowdfunding brings a plethora of non-monetary benefits to cultural producers and their audiences. For example, this model blends production, marketing, sales and networking processes into a continuum, which helps to sustain long-term interest in novel, often experimental projects. It also contributes to overturning the established hierarchy of “active” artists and “passive” spectators and listeners. Project supporters not only constitute a natural public of promotional events and a specifically targeted group of potential customers; they may also be willing to volunteer in future artistic endeavors, contributing not only money, but also their time and niche or scarce skills. Crowdfunding should be also regarded as a form of crowdsourcing, promoting the culture of feedback via surveys and open-ended responses, which are promising tools for building collectives or new movements. Cultural and creative projects can be founded long-term by audience engagement, which includes workshops or trainings. Aside from fairly traditional illustration, film or photography workshops, Polish creatives market their unique skills by organizing trainings in typography, woodwork, or food design, and this list is by no means exhaustive.

What’s next?

Alternative forms of financing – cultural entrepreneurialism, culture-business cooperation, and crowdfunding – buttress culture and creative industries in Poland, as more and more individual and organizations are adopting mixed funding models. These new strategies to some extent allow for reducing the influence of traditional gatekeepers, including institutions and art dealers, and give more agency and clout to cultural producers. On the flipside, dependency on the state subsidies is being replaced with the dependency on the market.

While we are probably going to see a continuing growth and spread of those trends in the coming years, along come others. The British National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (Nesta) predicts the rise of the crowdfunding consultant⁴³. Consulting organizations empower artists and art organizations helping them to be more effective as businesses and successful in securing funding. Cultural industries’ growing needs for viable strategies and business plans may result in creating many new jobs in management, fundraising and marketing. There is also room for leveraging new technologies for arts and crafts, namely development of new software, including mobile apps to improve work organization and sales management. These also constitute new opportunities for cultural industries in Poland and the rest of Central Europe.

43 *The Rise of the Crowdfunding Consultant*, Nesta 16. 07. 2015, <http://www.nesta.org.uk/blog/rise-crowdfunding-consultant>, accessed 6. 02. 2016

APPENDIX

Selected successful cultural crowdfunding campaigns from Poland

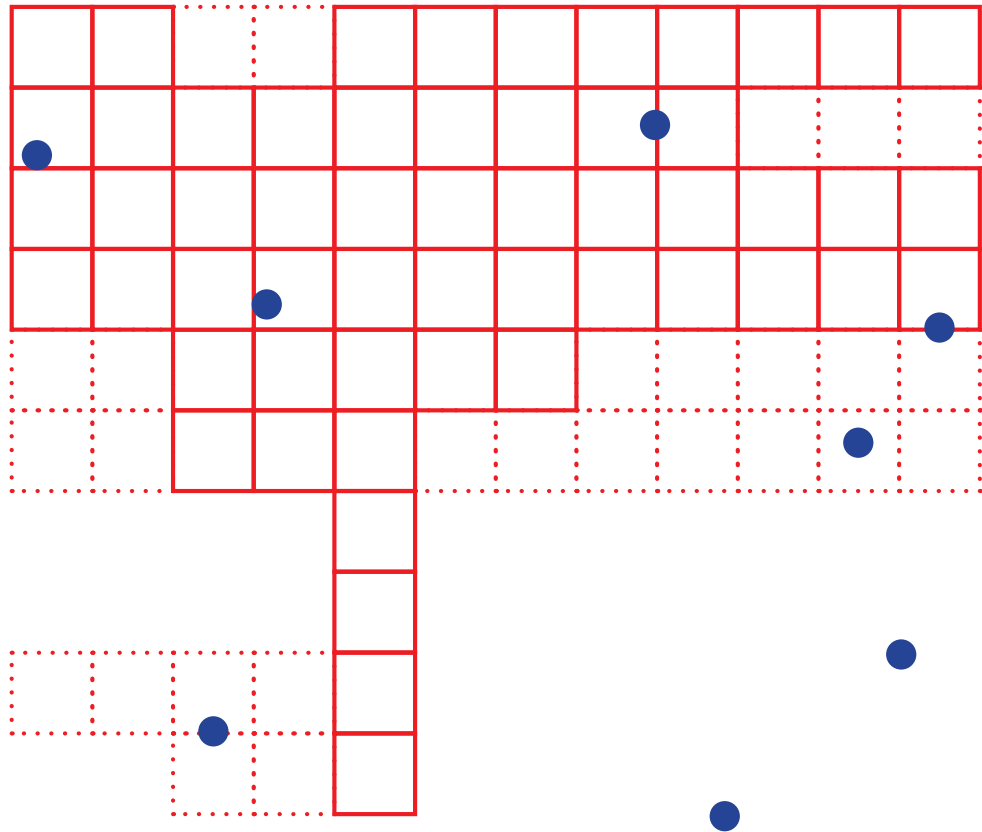
| Project | Funds raised | Platform | Year |
|--|--------------|--------------------|------|
| Cohabitat Gathering Festival | 97,877 PLN | Polakpotrafi.pl | 2012 |
| Card game “By Fire & Swords” | \$82,384 | Kickstarter | 2013 |
| Documentary movie “Solidarity according to Women” | 33,345 PLN | Wspieramkulture.pl | 2013 |
| Karolina Czarnecka “Koka, hera, hasz, LSD” music video | 36,911 PLN | Polakpotrafi.pl | 2014 |
| Music recording with Viola Organista sound | \$10,000 | Kickstarter | 2015 |

Source: presentation of the data available on the platform sites (as of 6 February 2016).

VI.



Mapping cultural and creative industries on local and regional levels



“Each place has its own history, idiosyncratic way of working, its own cultural DNA and its distinctive qualities and cultural resources. This is why the smartest among policy makers are those that consistently choose to support and nurture local creative and cultural ecologies as the first step to the establishment of an environment in which fully fledged creative economies can thrive.”¹

/Lia Ghilardi/

The Arts and Theater Institute (ATI) recently concluded the research project “Mapping the Cultural and Creative Industries in the Czech Republic (2011–2015).” Mapping Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) on local and regional levels was one of the main axes of the project. Pilot mapping projects have been implemented in six Czech cities, and the methodology of the mapping procedure has been established. The main objective was to motivate and persuade policy makers to create effective support strategies while unlocking the potential of CCI stakeholders.

Successful policies and strategies for developing CCIs on the local level are based on clear identification and understanding of the specific characteristics of the industries in the city or region — their strengths, weaknesses, key enablers (leading organizations and dynamic individuals who are potential partners in development projects and possible structures for co-ordinating action) and overall development trends. National statistical datasets are not robust, and fail to provide comprehensive insight into all cultural and creative sectors. Therefore, the first step towards developing an appropriate strategy for supporting CCIs is a mapping exercise. The aim of CCI mapping is to acquire an overview of the sector in terms of volumes, specialization patterns, locations, trends, needs, etc. Mapping CCIs has proven to be more successful than purely statistical analysis, as it is comprised of quantitative as well as qualitative analysis. The mapping process is a tool for awareness-raising both for the CCIs taking part in the exercise and the institutions as recipients of the result, as well as the general public; it helps create networks of cultural and creative institutions, organizations and companies being involved in the mapping studies and it is a basis for support strategies. The main task of mapping exercises should be to perform qualitative surveys in order to better understand the dynamics of CCIs, and further implementation of smart specialization strategies.

CCIs are viewed primarily as being part of an economy that contributes to growth, while strategies aimed at their development are targeted to support the development of enterprise and innovation in sectors with high growth potential, such as design, the audiovisual sector and industry with a digital content. However, the definition of CCIs that the Euro-

1 Ghilardi, Lia: Zlín, A Creative and Proactive Region, Noema Culture and Place Mapping, Arts and Theater Institute, 2014. On-line: <http://www.idu.cz/media/document/zlin-final-report-feb2.pdf>

pean Commission (EC) uses includes in it all activities of all sectors regardless of whether they are run by public, non-profit or private entities. This affects the complexity and interdependence of systems in which the cultural and creative activities take place. Therefore, the Czech research project in its mapping consistently followed this EC definition which we consider crucial, given the state of cultural policy in Central Europe. The countries of our region do not have as advanced cultural policies as Western European states, which boast much more sophisticated systems of supporting non-profit cultural activities and services provided by publicly subsidized institutions. Therefore, in mapping and supporting CCl's one needs to proceed carefully – the emphasis on economic growth should not threaten subsidy programs for public and non-profit artistic activities as they form the core of CCl's. On the other hand, in our Central European region it is necessary to overcome the separation of private and public/non-profit activities and the lack of policy agenda cohesion. Therefore, in mapping it is necessary to systematically analyze all segments forming the CCl's ecosystem: private businesses, self-employed persons, artists, non-profit and publicly subsidized organizations, institutions of formal and informal education, research institutions, among others.

The outcomes of pilot mapping projects in the Czech cities²

The impact of CCl mapping, in terms of specific projects to develop CCl's, is most evident in three Czech towns: Zlín, Brno and Plzeň.

Zlín

The first pilot project in the Czech Republic covered the city of Zlín and the Zlín Region and took place in 2013. It was initiated by the Arts Institute and implemented in collaboration with the city of Zlín, the Zlín Region, the Regional Chamber of Commerce of the Zlín Region and Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín (Faculty of Management and Economics, Faculty of Multimedia Communications), as well as Noema Culture and Place Mapping under the direction of Lia Ghilardi, a leading expert on cultural planning, mapping and developing strategies. It followed up on the 'CreaClust' project – a cross-border cluster initiative for the development of creative industries,³ carried out by the Faculty of Management and

2 The outcomes of mapping projects (final reports) are available at <http://www.idu.cz/cs/mapovani-na-lokalni-a-regionalni-urovni-mesta-kraj> (the report on the mapping project in Zlín is available in English)

3 <http://www.nca.cz/cs/creaclust>.

Economics of Tomáš Baťa University. This project identified the audiovisual and design sectors as the areas with the greatest growth potential in the given region. As a result, these sectors received the most attention in the consecutive project.

Based on the Ghilardi's mapping recommendations⁴ the city of Zlín founded an independent platform in 2014. It consists of representatives from public (city of Zlín, Zlín Region), private e.g., mmcté, Tescoma, Regional Chamber of Commerce), non-profit (www.kreativnizlin.cz) and educational domains (two Faculties of the Zlín University) of the creative and related sectors. The platform has outlined a vision for the development of CCl's, and in October 2015 registered itself as the Zlín Creative Cluster, obtaining a promise of financial support by the Zlín Region. Another specific outcome is the intention to establish the Center of Creative Industries, focusing primarily on the audiovisual and design sectors. In the short term (2–3 years), the Centre should occupy spaces at the Faculty of Multimedia Studies, while later on it should move to a new building designed by the outstanding Czech architect Eva Jiřičná. The Faculty of Multimedia Studies expects to get support for the construction of the new building from the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), Operational Program Enterprise and Innovations for Competitiveness.

Brno

In 2014, the mapping project began in collaboration with the South Moravian Innovation Center (JIC). It was commissioned by the Brno City Hall and aimed at evaluating the feasibility of establishing a Brno Creative Center in the former penitentiary at Cejl, owned by the city. The feasibility study included a mapping of CCl's in Brno. The project created a quantitative and qualitative analysis⁵ of creative industries, profiles of individual areas and a comprehensive SWOT analysis.

The mapping proposed that the center focus on supporting creative professions and include private workspaces, such as incubators, studios, ateliers as well as premises accessible to the general public, including a library, multifunctional hall, multiple workshops, rehearsal rooms, a garden, café, space for NGO activities and retail shops. The underlying objective is to retain creative talents in Brno, support employment by establishing small and medium-sized enterprises and attract investors to the city district/area. The city counts on the revitalization of a major brownfield, that is entirely owned by the city and the socially excluded locality called "Bronx." As early as 2013, cultural activities began in the area (exhibitions, theater); in 2014, a feasibility study was prepared; and in 2015 a steering

4 Ghilardi, Lia: Zlín, A Creative and Proactive Region, Noema Culture and Place Mapping, Arts and Theater Institute, 2014. On-line: <http://www.idu.cz/media/document/zlin-final-report-feb2.pdf>

5 www.kreativnibrno.cz/kreativni-odvetvi-brno/

group of the project was established (Mayor and their four deputies). Redevelopment of the building is planned for 2016; in the years 2017–2018, architectural competition; and in the years 2018–2020, construction. For this purpose, subsidies are expected from the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF).

The establishment of a creative center is part of the city's cultural policy and new urban strategy. In addition to the creative center, the city finances a voucher program that, since 2016, has been implemented by the South Moravian Innovation Center (JIC). The city also plans to build a creative gallery and a regional film office to support participation in specialized trade fairs, and to establish a system of leasing non-residential premises. In the future the city counts on collaboration with, and involvement of, creative people, companies and schools (innovation ecosystem) in addressing the needs of the city. The city plans to build a platform (Brno Cultural Parliament) for the meeting of actors from the cultural and creative scenes and to create advocacy groups by sectors that should map measures that the city might implement. In 2017, a new medium-term cultural policy of the city should be adopted that will take into account the outcomes of mapping and the cultural Parliament, and focus on stabilizing the established institutions and supporting bottom-up activities.

Plzeň (Pilsen)

In Pilsen, the mapping was conducted in relation to the "European Capital City of Culture – Pilsen 2015", following a memorandum among ATI, statutory city of Pilsen and Plzeň 2015, o.p.s. The findings of the pilot mapping project helped to adjust strategic conditions for the development of CCI innovation and enterprise, and specifically to establish a creative incubator.

One of the mapping outcomes highlighted the lack of a space in Pilsen, where creative people could meet, collaborate, and showcase their work.⁶ Hence, in 2015 a creative zone, DEPO2015, was established on the unused premises of a depot owned by the city. Its core is the Center for Creative Enterprise, connecting culture with business and creative industries, promoting operation of both startups and established companies. It also functions as an incubator with mentoring programs. Being open to all creative professions, the incubator primarily assists designers, game developers, graphic artists, craftsmen and architects. Furthermore, DEPO2015 offers a co-working space and an open workshop – makerspace – equipped with basic hand tools (screwdrivers, hammers, pliers, saws, wrenches, etc.) as well as power tools (drills, sanders, cordless screwdrivers, jack planes, saws, compressors, etc.). DEPO2015 is also the seat of the OPEN A.i.R. residency program, which gives Czech

6 <http://www.idu.cz/media/document/plzen-final3.pdf>

artists and creative people the possibility to travel abroad while inviting representatives from foreign cultural scenes to Pilsen. DEPO2015 is thus an open cultural space vital for the development of new ideas, increasing the attractiveness of the city as it hosts exhibitions, performances, concerts and matchmaking events.

Other Cities

The mapping was implemented in other cities, too:

- Pardubice: done in 2014 upon the initiative of the city, mapping concluded with recommendations for incorporating the needs of CCIs into the concept of cultural development.
- Uherské Hradiště: again upon the initiative of the city motivated by the intention to apply for the title UNESCO Creative City, the mapping conducted in 2015 concentrated mainly on arts and crafts. The output of the mapping was a number of recommendations for strategic support of the field of arts and crafts, which are the strongest local industry, as confirmed by the initial quantitative analysis of the mapping project.
- Olomouc: initiated in 2015 by the Palacký University in Olomouc, mapping was carried out in cooperation with the city. The project aims to create a framework for developing a strategy for the city and searches for ways to incorporate Palacký University in CCIs.

CCIs mapping methodology

Pilot mapping projects helped to draft the methodology, which has been certificated by the Ministry of Culture and can be used by other cities and regions in the Czech Republic. Mapping in the context of this methodology means the analysis of phenomena in a given territory, in particular identifying the current state and needs of individual sectors in a given location. The target groups of these mapping studies are all entities regardless of their type of activity (public, non-profit, commercial, research or educational).

The significance of the proposed methodology of CCI mapping lies in its focus on all cultural and creative stakeholders, their consistency and relation to broader local and regional strategies. Outputs of mapping carried out according to the proposed methodology can

strongly contribute to the creation of smart specialization strategies, which are a prerequisite for drawing funds from the European Structural and Investment Funds.

The methodology describes in detail the process of quantitative and qualitative mapping and the procedure consists of three basic parts:

- Quantitative analysis of data from the Czech Statistical Office according to the classification of economic activities⁷ (desk research)
- Verifying the gathered data, based on whether it is possible to obtain more accurate (net) quantitative data about the number of entities and their economic performance in the monitored area (due diligence)
- Qualitative research, i.e., identifying the condition and needs of the CCLs in this territory. Parts 2 and 3 of the mapping procedure partly overlap, especially regarding the procedure for verification of quantitative data.

Key aspects of the methodology

The quantitative phase of mapping allows one to obtain data on the performance of CCLs (number of entities, turnover, employment) locally. Use of the methodology across multiple locations allows for comparison of “performance” of CCLs in Czech towns, and repetition of the mapping process in the same town, which allows for the performance of CCLs at one location to be compared over time (e.g., every 5 years).

The qualitative phase of mapping applies a participatory approach while promoting collaboration, partnership and networking among CCLs actors. The emphasis is on proportional representation of CCLs stakeholders from all sectors (private, public, non-profit, educational and research).

The methodology is open and flexible. It can be set and implemented according to various targets and requirements of contracting authorities. The pilot mapping projects indicate that contracting authorities (cities, universities and other entities) are motivated by different intentions. In the case of mapping Zlín and the region, it was continuity and the use of

⁷ The methodology proposes 4 modules of four-digit codes of activities, CCLs definition according to economic activities can be seen in: Žáková, E., Bednář. P: *Mapování kulturních a kreativních průmyslů v ČR, kvantitativní mapování a strategické dokumenty*, svazek I., Institut umění, 2015, p. 275. Available on-line from http://www.idu.cz/media/document/mapovani_final2.pdfStr. 275

the outputs of the cross-border cooperation project “CreaClust.” In the case of Pardubice, it was continuity and interconnection of the outputs with the newly created cultural strategy. Whereas in Brno, the aim of mapping was to find out the city’s needs while focusing on laying the foundations for a creative center. In Pilsen, the aim of mapping was to find out the city’s need while focusing on developing the creative incubator, and in the case of Uherské Hradiště, the main motivation was to get the title “UNESCO Creative City.”

The methodology was influenced by foreign studies that related to the concept and theory of creative cities. The methodology also lists the possible broader indicators important for the development of creativity, which affect not only the cultural infrastructure, cultural offer and attendance in events, but also other dimensions of the urban ecosystem such as openness and tolerance, enterprise, research and innovation, strategic city management, connectivity, availability, etc. The well-known foreign methods⁸, consisting mostly of producing indexes of creativity, have a much broader scope and are, in general, directed at a wider audience, especially in such areas as public administration, research and innovation, education among others. Yet they do not focus on the detailed mapping of CCLs locally, and do not deal with a detailed methodology of quantitative analysis.

Conclusion

The outcomes of the mapping exercises and experiences of the implementers of the CCL strategic projects are the basis of the following recommendations.

Raising awareness about CCLs

Mapping on the local level is usually the first activity that draws public attention to CCLs and highlights its importance for the local economy, which is usually bigger than it seems at first glance. Talking about CCLs raises awareness among policy makers who are responsible for developing and implementing strategic measures and also creates ties among representatives of various CCLs professions, which may lead to creation of job platforms or specific bottom-up activities. Representatives of mapping projects and specified plans agree that it is necessary to explain this topic more clearly not only to policy makers, but also to the wider community and to the very CCLs representatives, who are usually unaware that the CCLs concept applies to them.

⁸ For example: Florida’s Creative Cities Index, Euro-Creativity Index, Sharpie’s Creativity Index, European Creativity Index, Landry’s Creative City Index

Identifying the potential and dynamics of CClIs

One of the main reasons for mapping CClIs is to determine their structure and dynamics in a given location. It is evident that in each place certain sectors are more significant than other ones, and that the dynamics in each location varies. Mapping can reveal these patterns in time (it was confirmed that the larger the city, the stronger the CClIs). For example, the number of entities, turnover and employment per 10,000 inhabitants in Brno, the second largest city in the Czech Republic, is about 4 times higher than in Pilsen and Pardubice.

Planning of the development of CClIs

Knowing the initial state is crucial for devising a meaningful development strategy for CClIs in a given location. CCI entities and stakeholders are often faced with many problems, such as the unavailability of suitable premises for their activities, ignorance of marketing tools or poor access to capital. The mapping can help to understand the needs of individual CClIs and propose measures aimed at solving them. The specific measures in cities with mapped CClIs include plans to build creative centers, which will subsequently provide services to both business and non-profit activities. However, building new physical infrastructure brings about a number of problems, in particular a long implementation time and sustainability. Many support measures (projects) can be implemented without a new or perfect physical infrastructure. Therefore, a greater emphasis should be put on supporting those projects, which aim at promoting skills and capacity building of stakeholders and existing successfully functioning projects which have been already verified in practice (often bottom-up). The existing infrastructure of science and technology parks and centers, whose portfolio might also be expanded to include CClIs, should not be forgotten. As for the financing the projects, many could be supported by the ESIF, but there is a possibility of involving the private sector and the public-private partnership principle, which in the Central European region is rather underdeveloped.

Role of universities

Universities can play a vital role in unlocking the CClIs potential and promote strategic goals, as evidenced by the cases of Zlín and Olomouc.

Role of the state

The implementers of local strategic projects agree that the state should play a greater role in supporting CClIs. The Czech Republic still lacks a national platform and centralized agenda, e.g., in the form of state agencies in support of CClIs.

Role of brokers

In implementing local or regional strategic projects, it may be desirable to involve brokers. As the example of the “European Capital City of Culture – 2015 Pilsen” proves, brokers are able to bring a number of innovative projects to the city. Similarly, the South Moravian Innovation Center (JIC) played an important role in the mapping and implementation of projects (program of creative vouchers) in Brno. Also, when mapping a certain location, it is often desirable to engage someone who is not connected with that city, as they can bring a higher degree of objectivity and impartiality, and because a view from the outside is often better accepted.

Horizontal dimension of cultural policy

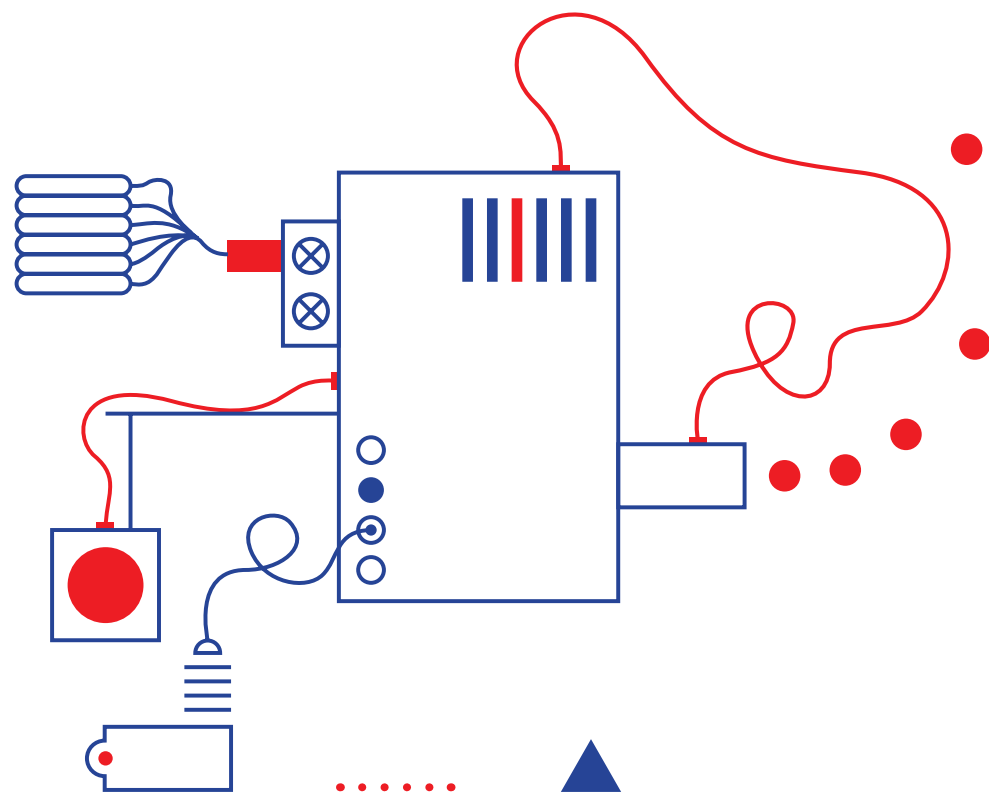
The mapping and implementation of strategic projects requires the interconnection and collaboration of various actors, e.g., departments of municipal or regional authorities. The example of Brno is a success story of how various departments at a city hall can collaborate in support of CClIs – namely the Department in Support of Culture and the Department of Promotion of Business and Investment. Creative centers, which are at the same time modern cultural institutions, combine public cultural services with the support of business, and therefore it is necessary to engage more actors in growing CClIs.

Interconnecting support of CClIs with the related economic and political goals

Mapping may arouse interest in CClIs understood as a means of realizing wider economic or political goals such as urban revitalization, rural development, tourism and social inclusion. By explaining the importance and CClIs’ development potential, it is possible to employ them within the framework of broader economic and social initiatives.

VII.

Creative incubators, hubs and quarters



One may easily get lost in the definitions of creative cluster, creative centre and creative quarter. Every year there are studies written about them, and in every city there are interesting spaces that, for some time, have failed to fulfil their original purpose. These sites are, in many cases, revived by creative businesses or the activities of cultural centres, which are lured to these places by their unusual atmosphere. Well known and popular creative spaces that often combine cultural activities with support for entrepreneurs in creative businesses are: Depot in Krakow and Fabryka Sztuki in Lodz, Poland; Cable Factory in Helsinki; Custard Factory in Birmingham, Stanica Zilina Culturenode or Tabacka; and Kasarne Kulturpark in Košice, Slovakia among others.

If creative businesses with similar focuses unite, creative clusters arise – often specifically oriented. This, theoretically, gives them a better chance to garner financial support and lobby at the local or national level; they can even act as a visible point (hub) for investors and institutions working with creative people. Generally speaking, clustering as the utilitarian linking of companies is not new – it began in the 19th century. Connecting companies with similar focuses is beneficial not only for themselves, but also for other members of the clusters (non-profit organizations, cities, universities and regions). Clustered entities have better access to finances, shared services and marketing, while they can lobby “as one man” for their interests. Additionally, thanks to their placement in one area, they are better visible for other companies and potential cooperation, and moderate competition motivates them to higher performance.

In another sense, creative clusters can take the form of individual creative centres, groups of buildings or entire quarters. Also, there is not a uniform opinion on what cultural and creative clusters ideally look like and how they work. They are often similar to each other in terms of their orientation, as actors tend to “copy” from well-functioning examples.

Which projects are more successful? Those created bottom-up, organically – when people, attracted by “genius loci” or cheap rent, move into rundown buildings or neighbourhoods, establishing their businesses or cultural projects there? Or should we purposefully build creative centres or quarters with active contribution from cities or government programs (like in Britain, France or the Netherlands), expecting them to boost the local economy? On the following pages we will see that both of these approaches can be effective, even sustainable, depending on the context, place and country. To prove successful, both models must follow one rule: clustered organizations have to cooperate for the sake of forming social ties and address the characteristics of local ecosystem.

Developing a creative centre in Brno

A discussion to develop a creative cluster in Brno arose six years ago, with the working title Creative Centre Brno. This initiative was proposed by the city, specifically the City Strategy Office, to help to renovate the city brownfield and to provide working space to talented people, at a time when excellent private projects, such as Impact Hub, Industra, Malá Amerika (“The Little America”) and Bikeazyl were not yet running. These projects have since brought life into industrial buildings and railway facilities with their cultural activities, markets of all kinds and promotion of social entrepreneurship, making parts of the city significantly more attractive.

The Creative Centre was grounded in the Regional Innovation Strategy and other documents of the city, which certainly aided its initial manifestation. Visits from experts who participated in the development of creative centres and quarters in the Netherlands (in Breda, Rotterdam and the NDSM area of Amsterdam) and in the UK, as well as the international conference entitled Creative Brno that highlighted the impact of creativity on the city’s development and the necessity to provide background for talents. In this way, City Strategy Office planned to support the innovation eco-system (schools, R & D centres, technological companies) and create conditions for the development of cultural and creative industries, but also to inspire public interest in cultural events held tentatively in the brownfield of a former prison. The City Strategy Office thus convinced city councillors to stop the sale of this municipal property and dedicate it to the development of a creative centre.

The resulting project envisaged the creation of private workspaces in a former prison facility, as well as spaces accessible to the general public, such as an incubator to support entrepreneurship in the CCI, studios, halls, workshops, rehearsal rooms, a film office, a library, creative residences and an interactive exhibition about the history of the space. The Creative Centre would render the 8.000 sqm late-Baroque building and the surrounding neighbourhood more lively and attractive. An interesting house, which unfortunately carries with it a history of political imprisonment (and later served as a regional archive in the latter part of the 20th century), is situated in the heart of the socially excluded area, unflatteringly nicknamed “The Brno Bronx.” However, the area is already popular with the individuals of the younger generation who are lured here by cultural diversity and the relatively low flat prices. The centre would help improve the attractiveness of the location, offering spaces and support programs for business and culture, but also to complement what the surrounding area is still missing – public greens and shops.

To find out what condition this urban brownfield was in, how much its repairs would eventually cost, whether and how the project could be made sustainable and what its content

could be, a feasibility study was conducted. A part of the [Feasibility study](#) of a centre in a former prison facility (JIC, 2014) also involved a mapping of cultural and creative industries. This mapping brought about positive results, showing that almost 20,000 people work in the CCI in Brno, generating an annual turnover of CZK 24 billion. Strong sectors, measured by the number of employees, are architecture, design and advertising; successful companies dealing in the development of video games (such as Amanita Design, which, with its games like Machinarium, Botanicula and Samorost, has yielded success in the US market) are growing throughout the city.

Since the beginning, we have informed the public about the project in the media and communicated the project to those who wanted to carry out their activities in the former prison (representatives of creative industries, universities and high schools, non-profit organizations, historians and residents of the surrounding neighbourhood). One meeting with a group of historians resulted in their filing an application for listing the building as a heritage sight. Hence, the project, unfortunately, became a political issue, in spite of the fact that this building stood for many years without garnering the interest of numerous people who were now making themselves “visible” on it. Opponents of the project, despite assurances that the city would approach the building in a sensitive way during its reconstruction and that the city intended to revive the building while paying respect to its cultural values, (a number of Brno’s important personalities went through that prison – poets, writers and resistance fighters), some historians preferred to convert it into an archive or a museum of the crimes committed during communism. Notwithstanding the fact that the building has a varied history of more than two centuries and taking no interest in how their intents will contribute to the enlivening and attractiveness of the area, in early 2016, the Ministry of Culture began the process of listing the building as a heritage sight.

It ought to be mentioned that subsidies for the repairs of heritage sights have been rather poor. The listing of a building as a heritage sight can make its repair works remarkably more expensive. For the time being, the reconstruction of this building (not yet as a heritage sight) has been estimated to cost about CZK 400 million (EUR 15 million). A historical survey will be conducted to account for what is valuable on the building, providing us with important data for an architectural auction. The city has finally started some minor repair work on the building, which should prevent its deterioration, while still allowing it to host events (festivals such as the increasingly popular Ghettofest, theatre performances, exhibitions and lectures). The programming and management of these preliminary events will be entrusted to an interest association or a non-profit organization. It should not be entrusted to the city that, in many ways, is still inflexible, and must laboriously approve all events held in the facility. In order to be able, as soon as possible, to apply for European grants for the conversion of the building into a business support centre that also includes a cultural focus, following up on the feasibility study from 2014, an architectural design will

be drawn up on the basis of a public competition, evaluating the interests of all stakeholders in the project – the city, city quarter, private investors, representatives of the CCI and schools.

The whole process of developing the Creative Centre may seem lengthy. It is, in fact, a large ordeal, as it was invoked by the need to verify the necessity of supporting CCI in the city. The original intention of the brownfield revitalization project addressed the importance of municipal support for the CCI (not only financial) and became an incentive for the creation of a Facebook and web platform called Kreativní Brno, (“Creative Brno”) as well as for the development of a city plan to support cultural and creative industries.

Such a plan should suggest further supportive tools to keep talented people in the city, encourage the establishment of small and medium-sized enterprises, the connection of these within the city’s innovation eco-system and perhaps attract new investors to Brno using the potential of local creative people. A topical project, which is being prepared by the city in collaboration with the South Moravian Innovation Centre, is the so-called creative voucher, which aims to connect creative people with technological companies. The results of the CCI mapping are verified by a Cultural Parliament composed of CCI representatives, and will also serve as the development of a Cultural Strategy that the city has yet to produce. The project has the potential to enable the city to get involved in several international networks (such as EUROCITIES: Cities and Regions of Culture).

Despite all the previous obstructions and prolongations, nowadays it appears that the project has made a significant step towards its implementation. A cooperative structure of project partners has yet to be formalized, but if all runs according to plan, the Cultural Centre might stand on its feet in four years. Already, there are some collateral effects of discussing and “researching” the Creative Centre project. An independent non-profit **INDUSTRA** creative hub arose from the conversion of an industrial hall (former refrigeration storage facility), which is now a place for theatre, workshops, a fine art gallery and a café. **IMPACT HUB**, an international franchise of inspirational space focused on business development, collaboration and social innovation, moved to another part of the city a year ago. **Bajkazył Brno** is a welfare project built inside of a railway bridge, employing clients of the non-profit organization Ratolest; it features a bicycle repair shop, a café and rooms for cultural activities.

Inspiration

The Creative Centre Brno was inspired by many interesting projects, some of which lie outside Central Europe. Conversions of abandoned property or deprived neighbourhoods and their revival were performed excellently in the UK, the Netherlands and Germany with the support of cities and even as part of government programs. At the launch of the project in 2010, we could not find much inspiration concerning similar projects initiated and financed by a city or a region in the Czech Republic. Nowadays, the situation seems to be much more colourful.

Ostrava

Ostrava not being selected as the European Capital of Culture in 2010 halted its ambitious plan to build a cultural district in its Černá louka (“Black Meadow”) zone. An international architectural competition was then won via an interesting study for the development of a “cultural meadow” drawn up by the Dutch studio Maxwan. Despite the fact the big plan never came true, an independent cultural site called **COOLtour** has since been established on the former exhibition grounds adjacent to the city centre. The energy surrounding the city’s candidacy for the European Capital of Culture also spread into the area of Dolní Vítkovice, which is located a considerable distance from the city centre. There, private investors, or more specifically an association of legal entities titled Dolní oblast Vítkovice (“Lower Vítkovice Area”), using their own finances as well as European funds, have gradually implemented a spectacular conversion of a compound, which is listed as a national heritage sight, and where production of pig iron was discontinued after 170 years in 1998. This locality was extended to the neighbouring Hlubina coal mine, which has now been transformed into a cultural centre and CINEport, called **Provoz Hlubina** by a group of cultural promoters, professionals and enthusiasts. Concerts and exhibitions are held in the former gas storage facility Gong. **Dolní oblast Vítkovice**, where visitors can take a tour of blast furnaces, also features an exhibition of the world of technology and has been popular recently has a venue for the Colours of Ostrava – a multi-genre music festival.

Pilsen

The city of Plzen obtained the title of the European Capital of Culture, and it accelerated the rise of the cultural centre called **DEPO2015**. The space also features a program to support startups, a co-working office, a café and makerspace workshops. Following the end of the European Capital of Culture year, the Depo2015 is now facing a major challenge concerning its sustainability, however the city municipality has promised support.

Prague

The capital city holds a large number of acupuncture projects, which arose “from the bottom”:

MeetFactory was founded in 2001, and is located in a railway facility Smíchov, which is in an unusual location between a motorway and a railway line. It is a non-profit international centre of contemporary art, whose program is shaped by dramaturgical lines, music, theatre, a contemporary art gallery and the largest Czech studio residency program for foreign artists. **Plechárna** is a local community, leisure and cultural centre with amenities for a wide range of sporting activities. The project includes leisure-time halls, a music rehearsal room, a clubroom, a café and a community garden. It is a place for hangouts that help the overall revival of the Černý Most housing estate at the outskirts of Prague. **Krymská** Street in Prague –Vršovice, despite its small size, is a concentration of creative studios, cafés and bistros.

In the very centre of the city, in several historic buildings in the Old Town Square, **Kreativní klastr Praha** (“Creative Cluster Prague”), is being developed with the support of the city and Charles University. The intention is to promote the image of Prague as a creativity centre in the Czech Republic through a revival and remaking of the city centre, which currently bears a label of a tourist Disneyland.

A real creative quarter should arise from the **Prague 7** city district, which already houses traditional galleries, progressive theatres, co-working centres, restaurants, bistros and markets. Time will show whether something similar to Shoreditch in East London might be built in the Czech Republic.

Zlín

Following Zlín’s DNA as an important traditional centre of entrepreneurship (the BATA shoe factory), design, multimedia and architecture, **Zlínský kreativní klastr** (“Zlín Creative Cluster”) is being established. The initiator of the project is the Faculty of Multimedia Communications at Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín. Other members come from companies operating in the audio-visual and design industries, representatives of advertising and marketing agencies, cultural institutions, civic associations and the city itself. In this case, the clustering is used for networking, garnering better funding of projects from European grants, financing startups, educational programs for schools, the internationalization of CCI companies seated in Zlín and, most significantly, to support and retain the creative people who graduated from the university in Zlín.

Slovakia

A relatively high number of interesting projects can be found in Slovakia, which is more progressive in supporting CCI compared to the Czech Republic. Interestingly enough, the more visible projects are situated outside the capital city of Bratislava.

Stanica Žilina-Culturenode, an independent cultural and educational space and the first of its kind in Slovakia, has been in operation since 2003 at the Žilina-Záriečie railway station. Stanica is run by a civil association named Truc sphérique. Progressive cultural projects, as well as educational and social events, attract Stanica people from both the local community and the surrounding areas. Stanica organizes over 200 events each year, such as creative workshops, theatre and film shows, exhibitions and an international residency program. Stanica’s projects are set up to support the intersectionality of art and economic development.

The original railway station building from 1940’s was extended with an adjacent theatre hall. The compound also features a café, studios, offices, residential spaces and a garden, and the association maintains a piece of the adjacent park, which has since been converted to an official graffiti wall. The building is still available as a waiting room for the local trains.

The executives of Stanica form its main management, which deals with finances, networking, projects and fundraising. At the second management level there are those who are responsible for program content, as well as technicians and international volunteers. Stanica is an excellent example of a sustainable initiative developed from the bottom-up by active creative people. Creativity and innovation are backed by a coherent business plan and stable partnerships with local firms, schools, the city and the region. Around 300 volunteers who contributed not only with technical skills but also with material supplies aided in the renovation of the building. The Stanica project is now self-financed, thanks to renting of premises for conferences, and social events. Additional income is generated from the sale of original theatrical productions, provision of educational programs for schools, from the bar and from ticket sales for the performances. Stanica was created at a time when structural funds were not available for its establishment and cultural content, and its potential positive impact on the neighbourhood had not yet been understood and appreciated. In the course of time, the Stanica concept won much deserved attention and had a positive impact on cohesion and community development (it boasts some 20,000 visitors each year). As a result, Stanica has successfully obtained European subsidies, as well as municipal and state grants (such as the International Visegrad Fund and subsidies from the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic).

In addition to Stanica, the association Truc sphérique, which performs an ongoing search for additional possibilities of inspiration and development, has dedicated itself since 2011 to the reconstruction and running of the Žilina's New Synagogue, Kunsthalle, in the style of Bauhaus.

For the sake of experience, Stanica is involved in many international collaboration platforms. For example, it is part of a network of independent and non-profit cultural institutions, Trans Europe Halles. Nowadays, it is comprised of around 60 projects, and was established based on civic activities converting abandoned industrial facilities and other property into premises hosting contemporary art and socio-cultural activities.

Košice, the biggest city in eastern Slovakia, is home to the project **Tabačka-Kulturfabrik**, a cultural centre developed by the civic association Bona Fide long before the city's successful candidacy for the European Capital of Culture. Tabačka will soon, with the contribution of the region, turn from a cultural centre into a creative entrepreneurship support centre – a creative incubator. Thanks to winning the ECOC competition, the city was able to implement another CCI support project: a large-scale redevelopment of the former army barracks into **Kasarně-Kulturpark**. Both centres in Košice hence provide a wide range of supporting activities for their tenants and visitors – studios, exhibition rooms, rental space at reasonable prices, co-working offices, specialized workshops and consultancy in the creative entrepreneurship.

Poland

From the example of the Łódź in central Poland it can be seen how important it is to have specific projects as a part of the strategic considerations of a city or region. The post-industrial city of Łódź established its development strategy on the use of local cultural wealth for social inclusion and revitalization of the area. One facet of the development documents of the city is the support for culture: not only for institutions (galleries, theatres, museums), but for the creation of a knowledge-based economy. A Culture Development Program was created in cooperation with local stakeholders. The city's marketing strategy sees Łódź as the Polish capital of creative industries and regeneration on industrial heritage (mainly textile) through culture and entrepreneurship is an important issue. Internationally well-perceived **Fabryka Sztuki** in Łódź is a city business and culture institution located in the premises of the 19th century factory complex. The organization was jointly founded by the Łódź city, Łódź Art Center Foundation and the Chorea Theatre Association. The regeneration of more than 7000 sq meters was financed by European funds and the city. The art incubator provides space and practical support to starting entrepreneurs, and the site also serves as a place for wide range of culture and private business events.

Hungary

In the Hungarian town of Pécs, **The Cultural Creative Industry Cluster** was created as part of the candidacy for the European Capital of Culture in 2007, with the aim to support the ecosystem long after the ECOC program. The creative cluster hence acts as an umbrella for many cultural and creative organizations throughout the region. Struck by the closure of coal mines, the city of Pécs decided to deal actively with the deteriorating economic situation, including culture and creative industries as an important pillar of development. The cultural and creative cluster endeavours to promote craftsmanship and to provide necessary qualifications for the creative, while involving local stakeholders in international networks and projects. Thanks to its systematic support for CCI and varied cultural offer, the town has become attractive again for young people who remain in the city after graduation, and many of them establish creative businesses there. The sustainable cluster project is funded through membership fees and activities for its members. Pécs made use of its funding from the ECoC with many other projects, which have required, in contrast to the formation of the cluster, a massive city co-financing of almost EUR 100 million.

Conclusion

In the last few years, a large number of cultural and creative centres and clusters – individual buildings or compounds of quarters – have grown in Central Europe. Entire creative neighbourhoods profile themselves with a high concentration of cultural and creative activities. It almost seems that Europe has been affected by a “creative” epidemic. In some places, the clusters – centres, often bringing new chances for deserted buildings, have taken over or substituted the functions of traditional institutions that every “proper” city was supposed to have at the beginning of the last century, be it a theatre, a gallery, a culture house or a chamber of commerce. While at the beginning of the 21st century similar projects were created mainly from the “bottom-up,” either as non-profit projects, entrepreneurial or philanthropic projects of private investors, nowadays there is a visible trend of an active (not only financial) role of the municipalities, regions and universities, in some cities triggered by the candidacy for the European Capital of Culture.

It is interesting to observe how some management and content models are repeated and how individual projects “copy” one another. It is essential, however, that these spaces respond to the specific nature of the place, the local DNA. Because only this way, especially if similar projects multiply, can they properly serve the community. This means to motivate talented and creative people and innovators to continue their creative activities in those places, contributing to the local development and quality of life.

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