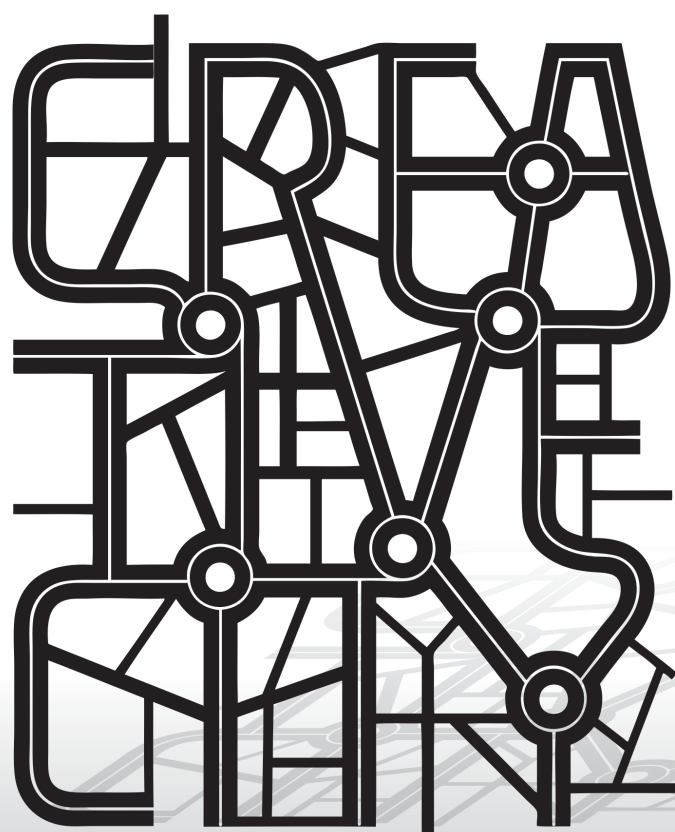


| Proceedings |

THE IDEA OF CREATIVE CITY



The urban policy
debate Cracow
17 - 18 October

2013

PROCEEDINGS

THE IDEA OF CREATIVE CITY

The urban policy debate | Cracow 17 - 18 October 2013

Edited by

Dobrosława Wiktor-Mach and Piotr Radwański

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PROCEEDINGS

THE IDEA OF CREATIVE CITY

The urban policy debate | Cracow 17 - 18 October 2013

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CLASHING THEORY WITH PRACTICE: INTRODUCTION

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The Idea of Creative City and the Urban Policy Debate Conference, held in Krakow, 17-18 October, 2013, offered a glance at diversity of interests ranging from policy making, social theory, geography and art. The idea for organizing such an event, where people from all over the world are brought together, was conceived during especially turbulent times for Polish cities. As a nation we had been for most of our history, predominantly a rural country, without a significant metropolitan network. From 1989, it has started rapidly changing, along demographic trends that characterize post-Soviet block. In short, many people change their lifestyle according to western fashions, and what is the most striking, vivid and interesting to observe is growing of importance of the cities and city life.

From the conference organizers standpoint the major goal was to clash theory with practice. Idea of Creative City was chosen as an attractive title, the label that we are critical of, rather than something we strongly support. In fact, we were curious who would respond to such an invitation and soon were amazed by the number of participants and range of subjects. Few months after the conference took place a new textbook, titled Culture and Development appeared (edited in 2013 by Jerzy Hausner, Anna Karwińska and Jacek Purchla, published by Narodowe Centrum Kultury; interestingly – in an electronic form for free and for everyone). Written by some of the most prominent Polish scholars and a group of young researchers it proves that the topic we chose, namely, meeting point of humanism and economy demands long, insightful debate in nowadays Poland.

First of all, the meeting point of culture and economy, creativity and development, ideas and profit, debate and policy is taking place in the modern city landscape. It is clearly visible from most of the presentations we had discussed at the conference. City is crucial for the ideas to appear, to be put into practice, it is special testing area and arena of critique. Good example of this is Daria Akimenko's presentation, that considers yet another dimension of human coexistence, namely role of sustainable design practices. Ethics and public theatre space is another component that puts human everyday activities into perspective that is both comprehensive and meticulous. Petra Zist discusses fascinating case of street theatres, which is very good, thought provoking metaphor of radical urbanization of life itself.

Second of all, there is huge gap (not to say chasm) between ideologies of Richard Florida and Charles Landry, to name the few most spectacular names, and regional context, for example the context of Central Europe. The ideology of Creative Class as well as Creative City concept have become export products and their authors celebrities on never-ending world tour. Professor Michael Hutter, the keynote speaker, opened the conference with discussing controversies revolving around the concepts of creative cities, creative industries policies, and creative class. In the rush for being fashionable and competitive, cities that follow the creativity agenda often neglect the culture itself. Many actors gain from the creativity policies, but the cultural sector, paradoxically, is not always among winners. Fred Schnook, who was a mayor of USA city of Ashland, a city which developed and implemented a creativity strategy, shared with us his professional experience and reflection, as well as sharp critique, of Florida's Three T based gospel. There are a number of notions, such as importance of working class tradition of USA that do not fit with all too narrow-minded approach of

Florida and his followers. The same can be said of Charles Landry and his creative city, that simply doesn't match the needs and realities of Krakow for example.

Krakow through its history, from a proud capital city and Renaissance cultural hub through becoming neglected from the 17th century on and serving as a provincial spot on a map of Austrian Empire had entered 20th century with fresh energy and great leadership. All that spirit wasn't to last long, it ended with the German occupation and later with Soviet exercise in power and dependency on Moscow's policies. 100 years later, 100 years after dreams of creating New Krakow appeared it isn't the city that you can talk of creativity as freely as in the case of many German cities that went through transformation from industrial to cultural and high-tech centres. Landry and his team have surely great expertise, but Krakow is changing in the Polish context, that is so unique, only an insider can grasp. We would like to express my gratitude to our great guest and a keynote speaker Dennis Rodwell who made an explicit statement on the role of cultural heritage in changing the city (any city) we live in for a better place. Without deeper look at heritage we are at mercy of ready-made schemes that don't necessarily work for the best, a conclusion one gets from research on Polish cities by Katarzyna Wojnar.

It is not the economy that is the solely driving force. Let's not forget about culture. Culture is the source of human activity in the city. Cultural heritage is a great resource that can be studied, observed but most of all it can benefit the future generations. It can (and should?) be reinterpreted, so that any human community doesn't encapsulate itself in the illusion of never changing values and codes. As Dennis Rodwell said, we must look at cultural heritage as a living notion, look to the future, through the present and past times. Exploring connections is the key factor in policy making.

RECONCEPTUALIZING CREATIVE CITY

While the texts included in this volume offer a wide array of topics, motives, problems to explore and reflect upon, it is possible to identify core questions, which were motivating and inspiring the authors.

The first question asks *what are the problems with the creative class and Richard Florida's theory*. The contributors to this book acknowledge the popularity of this concept but are far from praising it. They point to the specific context of Western metropolises as a setting for the theory and the scarcity of relevant research outside the West. At least three aspects of Florida's model raise doubts. One of them is the relationship between the presence of creative class and economic development. For Florida it is a corner stone of his theory. Creative class, he claims, is a necessary requirement for growth for (post-)modern and postindustrial cities, as it encapsulates the latest urban economic trends. However, as Wojnar shows, the correlation is certainly not universal and, for instance, in Poland this class is not driving the major cities development. The case of Milwaukee, analyzed by Schnook, shows that establishing lively bohemian neighborhood does not necessarily lead to economic growth, or at least it's hard to assess. Besides, in spite of investment in amenities specifically for creative class, neither in Ashland nor in Milwaukee a rise in population or jobs occurred. Secondly, there are conceptual and methodological problems: who belongs to the creative class? What is a creative job? Is there a boundary separating those whose work is creative from routine workers? How to classify people to get the creative group as a separate entity? Here, there is a lively debate. For some researchers Florida's definition is too wide. For instance, Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz raise the issue of internal heterogeneity of this "class". Their own research on Krakow's core of creative class indicates that the space preferences and migration strategies among young artists vary to a large degree. For other, the definition is too exclusive. Rodwell remarks that Florida's concept leaves many outstanding artists from

the past outside the creativity community. Third issue relates to location choices of the representatives of creative class. According to Florida, they are tempted by those cities that offer “amenities” and diverse and inspirational setting. Krakow’s artists, as Działek and Murzyn-Kupisz argue, like the city for its atmosphere and identity as a cultural center of Poland, but what they want is a well-paid job which also offers possibilities of artistic development. Soft factors are not priorities in their case. Also in Wojnar’s research there was no significant correlation between even the super creatives and any element of the ‘3T’ model. American theory does not seem to explain the Central European context.

The second problem is a practical one: *What are the impacts of the creative city concept on urban policy programmes and strategies?* Does the ‘creative city’ concept work in practice? Which strategies are effective? And, more generally, can indeed policy tools stimulate creativity in cities? A positive example is New York, presented by Jopek. Creative sectors are flourishing and constitute a crucial economic asset. City governors are active and successful in fostering conditions favorable to creative activities. These questions are also posed in northern Italy which has been experimenting with establishing networks of creative industries. Researchers from the Milan Polytechnic present their research in two papers: “From Creative Cities to Creative Territories: Lombardy’s cultural district program” (Gugu et al.) and “Conceiving a (new) Definition of Hub for the Development of a Transnational Network for Creative Companies” (Sedini et al.). The creativity urban strategies are being developed and implemented, but it’s too early to assess their effectiveness. In the paper on a Colombian metropolitan city – Medellin – Marino and Barar pose the question in other way: “Is there a formula or every city produces their own responses?” In their view, there are certain pros of urban cultural policy, but the long term consequences of merging culture and economy or urban regeneration are not known. That’s why reflection is so vital in the world that looks for easy solutions and templates. Rodwell raises an issue of a bottom-up versus top-down approach. Fostering creativity by urban policy makers is a contradiction and can have opposite effects to initial intentions. An example of a top-down approach to developing creative branches is Fung’s text on China. There, the mantra of creative and cultural industries have been well received among urban planners, but modified at the same time. Politicians chose those sectors that can best serve nationalist ideology of the state and steer their development. In the Russian context, paradoxes of adapting global creativity thinking are analyzed by Vandyshev, Veselkova and Pryamikova. They present a situation of “creativity under control” and limited instances of creative “anti-system” activities”.

On the other hand, Schnook’s own awards-winning experiments with governing the city of Ashland and the Colombian case of Medellin indicate the benefits of democratizing the process of governance. On the European level, the change in thinking of the role of culture in development is shown by Sanetra-Szeliga in her paper on the European Capital of Culture project. She analyzes how the discourse on creativity has been gradually embedded in this programme. A lot of cities that compete for being granted the title of ECC undergo revolutionary changes in the mentality of policy makers who all of a sudden start to appreciate culture and creativity.

Third, recurring question deals with the issue: how is the creative city agenda linked with urban governance? Professor Hutter calls for “self-understanding of policy-making as a creative practice”. Kędzierski and Dulak see the creative city theory as ‘apactical’. This approach was quite common among the conference participants, even if not always stressed. They consider the complexity theory to be more relevant to the challenges faced by cities around the globe. Cities shall be seen as complex objects, in which creativity is only one of issues to tackle by city administration. What is needed to govern a city is not a fashionable idea and its practical realization, but an “adaptive public administration” that reacts to the rapidly changing and unpredictable circumstances. Existing models of urban managements styles were also criticized by Kudłacz, who opts for wide and inclusive definition of

creativity. He proposes to see a creative metropolis as an open and flexible city, utilizing its cultural and social resources and nurturing its own talents.

There was also a lot of debate on sustainability as a challenge for contemporary cities, a topic underestimated if not neglected in the mainstream creativity discourse. There are grave problems that require creativity, such as climate change, demographic changes, energy management, growing inequalities in the world cities, to name a few. As Rodwell remarks, “the notion that a prescribed elite *creative class* can respond to them is sublimely unrealistic.” In Thailand’s capital the fight with pollution initiated a cooperation between various actors both from public and private sector. Researchers from Bangkok - Nilnoppakun and Boonlue – see participation as an appropriate tool towards sustainable development. Complex urban problems require collective wisdom and this can be enhanced by more inclusive decision-making process.

Shall the creative class and creative city concepts be then abandoned? Shall they be put in archives for historians in the future researching the turbulent debut of the 21st century? Or maybe, as Dennis Rodwell suggests, “the Idea of Creative City should [not] be scrapped, but that to be of relevance in the Urban Policy Debate it needs to be re-formulated as a truly inclusive rather than exclusive concept – both of people and of places”. And we must remember that a truly creative milieu, as history shows, is not a place easy to live. As Michael Hutter interestingly states, “Keeping creative cultures in motion” is innately connected with controversies. The clash of ideas, visions, new initiatives require not a simple model but a constant search and openness to unknown, not only conventional thinking.

Last but not least, it is rather discussion and facing the critics that is, in the end, fruitful. Idea of Creative City is a good starting point for discussion on our cities and their complex paths of development. We can try to grasp the creative city, reflect upon those cities that became the world centers of the clash of ideas and the flourishing of culture, but we cannot make a real city creative by solely political means. Creative city is rather an ideal, an inspiration for brave changes and reforms. We would like to point to cultural heritage, culture and creativity, critique and policy making as the main areas for exploration. A discussion starts where the playground is outlined and defined. We believe that the conference went far in creating good space for discussion and critique.

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CONTROVERSIES ABOUT AND IN CREATIVE CITIES

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Abstract

In a first section, the paper discusses major versions of the Creative Cities concept - creative cities policies, creative industries policies, creative class – and the controversies about them. The second section outlines types of controversies that are symptomatic of creative cities: controversies around urban policy, around commercial interests, around neighborhood conflicts and around differing spheres of value. The last type is then discussed in a series of four examples.

Keywords: Creative Cities, creative industries, creative class

Introduction

The concept of the Creative City has motivated two decades of public discussion and activities in cities around the globe. The discussion takes place on two levels: on an academic level, because any theoretical attempt to explain unusual agglomerations of creativity in urban areas meets with a barrage of counter-arguments, and on a practical level, because policies targeted at increased creativity have been launched in many cities, with varying degrees of success. I first look more closely at issues of controversy about the notion of the Creative City, then I focus on the variety of controversies involving creativity in cities, and will argue that such controversies are essential to creative processes in urban spaces.¹

Controversies about concepts

As Pratt (2010:14) writes: "Within the field of urban policy the notion of a creative city has spread like wildfire, but unlike a wildfire, it appears that everyone wants to have a creative city." As is the case with wildfires, they spread along particular canyons. Such streams of debate can be quickly identified. A first one relies on the notion of the creative city itself, and turns it into a primary policy goal (Landry, 2000, 2006). The approach is in immediate intellectual vicinity to the construction and valorization of the so-called "creative industries." This set of branches was formed throughout the 1990s, and became a core component of New Labor's cultural policy in Britain (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Pratt, 2013). Creativity is here defined through the novelty-generation in cultural genres as well as in entertainment and advertising markets. Through a deliberately wide interpretation of creative acts, a statistical artifact with unusually high growth rates could be constructed. The combined interests of actors in the artistic genres and those in other novelty-producing fields succeeded in finding the attention of economic policy-makers. The term "creative" was chosen to avoid association with old culture and old labor, and to counter Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal agenda at the same time. It started with support of youth oriented activities in Cultural Quarters, it became institutionalized in the sector definition of the Department for Culture, Media and Sports (DCMS), and it has been imitated by many countries worldwide. At the same time, the concept was embroiled in controversy since its beginnings. It was seen as a sell-out of artistic positions to commercial interests, and as a legitimization of precarious labor conditions (Peck,

¹ Research support by Janet Merkel is gratefully acknowledged.

2011). In urban policy, creative city strategies were fused with creative industries arguments in order to promote real estate development (Evans, 2009).

Whereas the discussion just mentioned dominated the British and, in the 2000s, a widening European debate, the discussion in the U.S. followed a different attractor. By 2002, Richard Florida had established his notion of a "creative class" as the driving force for future urban growth (Florida, 2002). His definition identifies individual actors through three properties—talent, technology and tolerance. Florida suggests ways to quantify these properties and transform them into a single index. Individuals with the right age, skills and attitudes like to move to cities with outstanding public services or "amenities." Following Florida's advice, city agencies can improve a city's chances for economic development through strategies that attract such individuals. The creative class approach has been a bestseller product for city consultancy, but has met with cool reception among urban experts. Urban sociologists maintain that cities function in a network of global production, with local networks surrounded by local labor markets. Creativity must be organically developed, otherwise it remains restricted to enclaves within the city (Scott & Power, 2004; see also Schnook, in this volume). Moreover, empirical surveys have shown that the mobility of individuals with creative class characteristics is much more limited than assumed (Wojnar, in this volume, Stachowiak's conference presentation).

In sum, we observe the full range of judgments about the creative city wildfire. On the negative side, the concept and the connected strategies are interpreted as an extension of existing political and commercial agendas, without gain for the cultural sector. The measures are superficial marketing campaigns, or they channel funds into signature buildings and hope for a "Bilbao effect." On the positive side, the catchword has been established on the city development agenda. Urban policy today is almost inevitably urban cultural policy (Grodach & Silver, 2013). It has led to a literature on best-practice examples (Landry, 2006), and to a realization that the enabling of creative processes in urban spaces is a complex and by necessity contested process.

Controversies in creative cities

This "contested process" is the subject of the second part. I will take a brief look at controversies in cities that have some claim to being called creative. That way, I hope to find out something new about the dynamics of creativity in cities. The controversies are expressions of the shifting tensions in cities that provide the "grit in the oyster that produces the pearl" (Pratt, 2010:19).

Controversies should be distinguished from conflicts. Conflicts are situations in which the interests of actors are not compatible. Controversies, in contrast, are situations in which decisions and judgments are unclear—usually, because the problem discussed has arisen for the first time and needs to be settled.² The distinction between the two kinds of situations, however, is only analytical. In reality, all the controversies are fought out against the background of conflicts between political, economic, family-centered and artistic interests in a city. I will sketch the observable controversies against the background of these four conflict fields.

We begin with the policy-field. The power to make decisions about the urban collectivity is a fundamental source of conflict. It is in the self-interest of a city administration, to operate with rules that apply to everyone, and to suppress any violation. Building codes are an example for the kind of controversy that erupts when creative workers try to reduce their rental cost to a minimum. The controversy takes the form of civil disobedience and of local social movements. The forms of resistance can be material, but they are mostly symbolic, and they increasingly work with aesthetic means. These new forms constitute "repertoires of

² The notion of "situations" attempts to capture the combination of spatial specificity and social tension. See Muniesa (2012), Suchman (2007).

contention" (Novy & Colomb, 2013), and they become interventions into the public process. The interventions can take place on the streets, or in formal projects. An outstanding example is the 2010 Stockholm Regional Development Plan, which deliberately includes spaces for interventions that bring policy-makers, planners and architects together (Borén & Young, 2013). Another instructive case is the transition of political power in Berlin. During the 1990s, as the two city governments were amalgamated into one, the vacuum of political power, as the old one was gone and the new one had not yet arrived, led to occupations of buildings, to new forms of tolerated occupancy and to short-term leases (Jakob, 2013).

The conflicts in the economic sphere seem evident. The margin of profit for the entrepreneur increases when costs, particularly labor costs are lowered. Economic competition favors cheaper, homogenized products, it destroys experimentation and singularities, and it replaces them with brands. In consequence, there is a constant struggle over spaces that have gained in value through their employment in unique aesthetic projects, which makes them attractive to buyers who make their living in higher-wage occupations outside the creative sector. There is also the argument that entrepreneurs exploit the self-motivation of those involved in their projects. In reality, however, it is hard to distinguish between commercially-minded and aesthetic-quality-minded entrepreneurs. Art gallerists, for instance, often pay minimal salaries because they operate at below-profit level. They offer, to gallerist and employees, an entry into a world of artistic discourse from which they would otherwise be barred. Clearly commercial strategies also support a degree of cultural autonomy: "... capital ... must support a form of differentiation and allow of divergent and to some degree uncontrollable local cultural developments that can be antagonistic to its own smooth functioning" (Harvey, 2001:409).

The third field of conflict is less about public and private resources, and more about the incompatibilities of everyday life. As families and single people live in the spatial proximity of a neighborhood, their different life-styles become sources of controversy. Some sources are the traditional one, like noise, smell, and other forms of pollution. Another source is the shift in services and commodities that goes along with gentrification. The fringes of creative quarters are highly valued by persons who hold regular jobs, but engage in amateur creative practice. Often, these fringes overlap with multicultural neighborhoods, where the dimensions of culture vary: ethnicity, religion, profession, stylization are the obvious candidates. The tensions remain because such neighborhoods are an "ambiguous place, situated between mainstream cultural institutions, local regeneration and new cultural practice—but fitting none of these comfortably" (Evans, 2009:28).

We now come to the field where the most interesting contestations take place. It is a field between the fields—where values are not clearly indicated, as in the case of power, or profit or even neighborhood status. Here, new meaning is constantly contested within and between the various spheres of value. These are the controversies that drive the creative process, they pose new challenges and they find new solutions. They constitute new growth because new value is added. What is the nature of these controversies, how do they feel? Little documentation is available. I propose four examples to demonstrate the qualities that I find relevant.

The first example refers to a controversy between the artistic value of periphery and center. I find it essential that the difference of opinion refers to artistic value. Artistic/musical/literary value is unique because of its high degree of creativity, or newness (Hutter & Stark, 2014), and therefore it is an indispensable ingredient of urban development.

Samuel Shaw (2013:243) cites an informant who lives in Portland, Oregon, and had an exchange with a former curator of the Whitney Biennial exhibition in New York:

... and he was trying to say things, and I was like, "No your head's up your ass, you don't know what you're talking about." And I was like, "Look, you're Custer and I'm Crazy Horse."

That's actually how I started it off. I said, "Look, I'm sure you're a fine general and you know what you're doing, but look, I know the territory and I've got more Indians than you do..." He was trying to say that "Portland's a bunch of DIY kids in basements drinking Pabst." And I was like, "No you don't understand, there are people here with degrees from Columbia ...They're not just a bunch of kids celebrating their own amateurity. There are consummate professionals here who you are belittling by not seeing this as a more multi-layered, multivalent scene."

The quote mirrors the rough language, as part of a rough argument, which, implausibly, closes with a sophisticated phrase. This is the kind of discourse that takes place in countless bars, in studios, during panel discussions and on other occasions.

The second example takes place on the borderline of art and kitsch: Tracey Potts studies how aesthetic standards on what is considered tasteful and tasteless change. Her boundary objects are garden gnomes. One of her examples is Friar Park, a Gothic revival mansion with a park that contains, among other oddities, an underground gnome grotto and a Matterhorn replica with a tin goat. The place is now restored and the residence of George Harrison's widow. The debate about wit and eccentricity of its owners has been going on since its installation in 1896. Potts observes: "Aesthetic land-grab is the name of the game and what was once not cool contains the capacity, in the right hands, to be the epitome of cool. Kitsch, and gnomes as archetypal kitsch, thus offers perfect ground for smart aesthetes and witty designers able to play with the information that constitutes the ideology of the aesthetic" (Potts, 2010:166).

The third kind of contestation concerns the difference between the vernacular and the global. Creative practice is local and global at the same time since it is communicated through networks, particularly in the case of the visual arts. The global part follows established procedures of critique and response, and it involves regular fairs and festivals that turn a global scene into a local scene for a few weeks. Cities benefit from being the location for these events in fashion, design or visual art. On the other end of the spectrum, creative practice takes place among amateurs and youths in local, mostly everyday settings (Evans, 2010). To a degree, the two settings are connected in trajectories of local beginnings and regional or global success. They compete for attention and for financial support (Markusen, 2010).

It seems that there is a fourth kind of distinction also at play. The distinction need not be part of the internal relations of a particular sphere of creative practice, and yet it can serve as a source of controversies. One example is bilingual cities, like Montreal. The language difference sensitizes for differences in form, and the connection to larger life-styles generates support, funding, and attention. Another example is Berlin: the difference between two economic systems is still experienced, and it feeds an ongoing discussion about the relation of creative practice to political and economic practice. These differences have a long history and they are strongly habituated, they cannot simply be invented. On the other hand, the history of most urban spaces is long and complex enough to discover differences that can spark controversies.³

Conclusions

Two lessons seem to emerge from these observations and debates: First, a self-understanding of policy-making as a creative practice, one that constantly searches for new solutions. Second, an understanding for the value of controversies as a means of keeping creative cultures in motion. In consequence, policy-makers should shift resources from mainstream cultural institutions to fringe organizations and ensembles that initiate and instigate

³ See, for instance, the complex urban history of Cracow in Murzyn-Kupisz (2006).

decentralized controversies on contested novelties in performances, festivals, exhibitions and other formats.

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HERITAGE AS A DRIVER FOR CREATIVE CITIES

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Abstract

The exponential increase in knowledge across all fields in modern times from the Renaissance through the Age of Enlightenment onwards, intensified by dissemination and accessibility in today's digital age, has seen the demise of the polymath and the rise of the specialist. Concepts have become separated and compartmentalised, essential inter-connections forgotten, and previous continuities re-interpreted as opposed. Today's interpretation of *heritage*, as something from the past to be protected and conserved, is perceived as divorced from *creativity*; words such as *culture* and *contemporary* have assumed limited meanings often in support of sectoral interests. Taking the discourse between *heritage* and *creative cities* as its prompt, this article seeks to disentangle perceived contradictions and reassemble the components into a coherent whole, in which *heritage* and *creativity* are treated as inseparable partners in responding to key challenges in this twenty first century.

Keywords: city, culture, creativity, heritage, contemporary

Introduction

On my flight into Krakow to attend this conference I was accompanied by a group of students whose T-shirts bore the legend "questions outlive answers". This article does not pretend to answer the countless questions that surround the Creative City concept. Rather, to contribute to the debate. My starting point is the examination of key words and concepts.

Urbanisation and the City

In appraising the concept of Creative City it is important to establish what one means by *city*. This, not in terms of physical traits such size, urban form and architecture, but as the human space in which creativity has been, is and may be expected to be nurtured in the future.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the world population at 1 billion, barely 3 per cent lived in cities; by the beginning of the twentieth century and with the world's population at 1.65 billion, this approached 15 per cent. In 2008, with the worldwide population advancing towards 7 billion, the threshold of 50 per cent was reached, a proportion that has been predicted to increase to over 60 per cent by 2030 and at least 70 per cent by 2050, by which time the global total is projected to have reached between 9 and 10 billion. The proportionate as well as overall increases will be most dramatic in the poorest and least-urbanised continents, Africa and Asia, and least significant in the most developed continents, North America and Europe, where current levels may stabilise.

Statistics, however, can be misleading, whether at global, regional or local level. There is no common universal definition of rural and urban areas or of the relative populations of each. Definitions vary according to administrative criteria, population size or density, economic characteristics, the availability of urban infrastructure; and in certain countries no distinction is made (Markandey, 2006).

For the United Kingdom, the first country to industrialise, a cycle may be discerned. In 1801, 20 per cent of the population lived in cities; in 1901, 80 per cent; and today it is around 90 per cent. Of this latter, though, barely 10 per cent inhabit dense urban quarters; the rest, suburban or peripheral areas and small towns. Further, the notional rural population enjoys direct or indirect access to the full range of facilities available to their urban counterparts.

In the context of Creative Cities, the term *city* may be interpreted to refer to physical locations where populations choose or require to be concentrated to satisfy everyday needs such as employment, education, interchange and exchange, recreation and direct access to multifarious services. This concentration may be physically compact, or dispersed but well-connected by transport infrastructure. Whereas the configuration may be variable, the determining factor is the need for multiple contacts and relationships – the assumption that has underpinned the majority discourse on cities to date.

Indicative of the traditional role of cities is the following: “Certainly the city is a place of trade and manufacture, residence and recreation, education and welfare. But the quintessential and most elevated purpose of the city is as the crucible in which culture, creativity and consciousness continually evolve” (Buchanan, 2013: 83-93).

This is not to suggest that cities are the only physical places in which knowledge has been acquired, discoveries made, and ideas nourished. Rather, that cities have hitherto served as the focal points through which they have been channelled and amplified, promoted and disseminated. This has been a characteristic of cities since earliest times (Jacobs, 1969; Hall, 1998). Notable historical eras include Ancient Greece, Imperial China, and the Italian Renaissance.

The Creative City and the ‘urban century’?

With the proportionate threshold of the global population having now surpassed 50 per cent, the twenty-first century has been styled the ‘urban century’. Articulation of the Creative City, however, is conventionally dated from the late 1980s. Questions which immediately arise include:

- Is Creative City a phenomenon that is specific to its time and place?
- How will the digital age impact on the above encapsulation of the role of the city, and will human space remain dependent on physical place, especially in the context of creativity?

Sustainable Development and Cultural Diversity

Sustainable development is the overarching agenda of our time, and the concept is in a continuous state of debate and elucidation. The 1987 *Brundtland Report (World Commission...)*, which universalised the term, focused on concerns within three broad areas, environment, economy and society, and sustainable development came to be encapsulated under the three headings of *environmental protection*, *economic development (or growth)*, and *social equity* (Drexhage and Murphy, 2010). Since 2000, this has been strengthened through the United Nations system to embrace an understanding of *cultural diversity* as the fourth ‘pillar’ and driver for sustainable development (Hawkes 2001; Nurse, 2006, 2007; UNESCO, 2010; United Nations Resolution 65/166), culture being seen as the unifying factor that can energise a coherent and holistic approach to *sustainability*.⁴

Society, Culture and Creativity

In the context of *sustainable development*, the distinction between *society* and *culture* is significant.

Society is comprehended in its primary meaning of where people live and belong socially, bounded by communal and functional interdependence and subject to everyday relationships, social organisation and institutional structures. At the scale of a nation, society may be

⁴ The word *sustainability* has become so over- and misused in recent time that it is at risk of losing its essential meaning. It is perhaps best understood through its definition in ecology as the capacity of systems to endure and remain diverse and productive over time.

composed of single or multiple ethnic, religious or social groups, each of which has its own cultural identity and social habits, but which is subject to the same political and legal authority and generally dominant cultural expectations.

The cultural component of sustainable development, *cultural diversity*, refers to the non-biological behavioural patterns that distinguish one society from another, condition attitudes and values, and determine the dynamics of their resilience, adaptability or resistance to changing conditions and external influences.

Culture, described as “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (Williams, 1988: 87-93; Williams, 1981; Eagleton, 2000), may be defined here as the distinguishing characteristics of what any given society *has* (material possessions and objects), *thinks* (ideas, traditions and beliefs), *does* (behavioural patterns including recreations), and how it relates to and interacts with its natural and manmade environment.

In this context *culture*, in the sense of *cultivation* (as a process) rather than the restricted notion of *civilisation* (selective refinement), is primordially dynamic rather than static. It is an inclusive rather than exclusive concept: one that does not interpose notions of superiority between different manifestations and expressions, forms of *creativity*, or between different ethnic, faith or socio-economic groups. It does not distinguish between the arts, literature and beliefs (for example), and scientific processes be they agricultural improvement (early usage of *culture*), biological research, or any other.

From this generic understanding, I do not start by formulating an incontrovertible linguistic connection between *culture* and *creativity* that would restrict it to the arts at the expense of the sciences, preclude professions, skills and sectors of the population that some may depreciate as *uncreative*, or brand *popular culture* an oxymoron. Further, I recognise the synergy between an unconstrained interpretation and one of the familiar catchphrases of *sustainability*, ‘top-down meeting bottom-up’, wherein local knowledge is placed on an equivalent footing to received theories from outside (A fuller exposé of the catchphrases of sustainability may be found at Rodwell 2007: 183-197 & 203).

European Capitals of Culture

In support of this dialectic, the programmes that have been implemented by successive European Capitals of Culture in recent years disclose an expansive attribution to the concept of *culture*.

Liverpool (United Kingdom), for example, adopted ‘The World in One City’ as the slogan for its year as European Capital of Culture in 2008. The year celebrated a spectrum of the city's traditions and associations, both inward and outward looking, including its standing in literature, comedy, the performing and visual arts; its role at the forefront of the popular music scene in the 1960s; and the sporting prowess of its rival football clubs, Everton and Liverpool. The perception of *culture* embraced the architecture of the city, its modern and fine art collections, the city's industrial, maritime and mercantile traditions, and the Beatles as well as classical music. Liverpool's cultural diversity was acclaimed through the city's long-established Chinese community (reputedly the oldest in Europe; Liverpool is twinned with Shanghai) and its East African and Jewish communities.

Turku (Finland), European Capital of Culture in 2011 and one of the most successful to date, went several steps further, celebrating the *culture of work* – including the city's renowned ship-building traditions – and using the city's public spaces and streets to maximise engagement and active participation by citizens of all age groups and visitors alike. Jane Jacobs is quoted: “streets are the vital organs of the creative city” (Cited in Hospers and van Dalm 2005).

Inconsistency within the United Nations system

At the same time, the tendency to limit the scope and relevance of *culture* is marked. As Keith Nurse (2006) has written: “The area of culture is often narrowly defined and thus made irrelevant to the wider development debate”. He also cites Jon Hawkes: “The tacit acceptance of the arts and heritage version of culture ‘has marginalised the concept of culture and denied theorists and practitioners an extremely effective tool’”.⁵

UNESCO is one of numerous international and national governmental organisations that have a predisposition for delimiting a *culture sector* (which includes the problematic category of *cultural tourism*) which they then exalt in financial terms. That “the culture sector represents 2-6 per cent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product] in many OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] member countries and in developing countries” (UNESCO 2010b), impresses me more for its inconsequence than its significance, one that it would be wiser not to monetise lest it be dismissed as irrelevant and dispensable.

Heritage

Just as *culture* has inspired a strong tendency to a limited comprehension, so has *heritage*.

At the conference *The Limits of Heritage* held in Krakow in June 2013, I presented a paper entitled ‘The Limits of Heritage: What Limits?’ This argued that the *heritage construct* is a linguistically unconvincing abstraction (Rodwell 2007: 7). Through its preoccupation with protecting the past, ignorance of the past-present-future timeline, and the attribution of extrinsically devised and often highly selective systems of cultural values, it disassociates physical objects (tangible heritage) as well as knowledge, skills and expressions (intangible heritage), both from the complexity of the societies that created them and those who are their beneficiaries and custodians today (who may or may not be their descendants or cultural successors).

This is especially contentious in historic cities where *heritage* is commodified as raw material for the *heritage industry* (Hewison, 1987), that can be traded for transient economic, social, professional or political purposes, and policies are in place to evict their established communities and substitute ones that are deemed socio-economically more suitable (Rodwell 2010; Toxey 2011; Feighery 2011; Rodwell 2012a).

Intrinsic values – such as functional, material and societal resource – are disregarded in this paradigm, and *heritage* that is not recognised by academics and their peers is ignored and considered disposable (Rodwell 2012b). The social importance of tangible heritage of the type that is, generally, unrecognised officially, was compellingly expressed in 2007: “The unlisted buildings enshrine the human stories, the memories of the community. They are the real heritage. It is they that determine the sense of identity, of place, and of belonging. These are the places where the historic environment is at the heart of sustainable communities”.⁶

Of far greater interest, both for the Heritage City and the Creative City, is the *anthropological vision*: a dynamic approach to heritage that is focused on processes that safeguard geo-cultural identity and secure its creative continuity in harmony with the evolving aspirations of peoples and communities (Rodwell 2007, 2011a). It focuses on people as both the custodians and creative vectors of cultural diversity and identity. Instead of *heritage* and *contemporary* being in conflict, *heritage* and *creative industries* are held to be in harmony as part of a cultural continuum, as two sides of the same coin.

Placing *heritage* in a box marked *history*, selectively identified and appropriated by outside interests, distances it from places and people today. Critics of the selective approach to listing (UNESCO has been described as having a “fetishism for making lists” (Askew 2010: 32)),

⁵ The Jon Hawkes quote may be found at <http://www.fourthpillar.biz/about/fourth-pillar/>, accessed 30 November 2013.

⁶ Felicity Goodey, chair of Central Salford Urban Regeneration Company, speaking at the Institute of Historic Building Conservation Summer School, Liverpool 2007.

represent that we should not, in this twenty-first century of global environmental concerns, talk of *heritage* management; rather, of *resource* management – of which heritage coupled with cultural continuity is a primordial component (King 2010).

Contemporary

The word *contemporary* has proved especially contentious in the fields of architecture and urban planning in recent decades, but is far from exclusive to them. In this conspicuous urban domain, the tensions can be dated to the genesis of the conservation movement in architecture at the end of the nineteenth century, the emergence of the Modern Movement in the beginning of the twentieth, and traced through the interweaving battles, truces and statements of position that have characterised a century of opposing philosophies and practices (Glendinning 2013).

That this is a modern and not historical controversy is manifest with reference to the Italian Renaissance. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), the influential Renaissance architect, antiquarian and humanist polymath, was an early proponent of the intrinsic value of historic buildings as a cultural as well as material resource, both as the starting point for their protection and as inspiration for fresh creation (Figure 1) (Jokilehto 2004; Hewison 1987). The past and the future were perceived as one creative continuum, not placed into separate compartments that presaged hostility. The eighteenth through nineteenth century neo-Classical, neo-Gothic and Romantic periods reiterated this avowal of the past-present-future timeline.



Figure 1 The Ducal Palace, Urbino, Italy (built c.1470–75). The Italian Renaissance was inspired by classical antiquity, which it saw both as a source and creative inspiration. (© Dennis Rodwell)

Significantly, but selectively ignored, *contemporary* has disparate dictionary meanings. Notably, in the present context: occurring at the present (or any given) time; and conforming to modern ideas in style and fashion. These should not be confused.

As if to highlight the perception that *heritage* and *creative industries* are separate phenomena with nothing in common, the 2005 UNESCO Vienna Memorandum contained the following much-contested passage: “urban planning, contemporary architecture and preservation of the historic urban landscape should avoid all forms of pseudo-historical

design, as they constitute a denial of both the historical and the contemporary alike” (UNESCO 2005; Hardy 2009; Adam 2010).

This constitutes a hi-jacking of the word *contemporary* to a single meaning – conforming to modern ideas in style and fashion – in support of sectoral interests, and is as unhelpful in connection with the Heritage City as it is with the Creative City.

The Idea of Creative City

As we have seen, the concept that cities are the focal points through which creativity is channelled and disseminated is as old as cities themselves.

The literature on the Creative City, since the late-1980s and especially since 2000, is as extensive as the debate surrounding the idea (Landry 2008; Howkins 2007; Florida 2005, 2007, 2012). The genesis is to be found in a reductionist endeavour to articulate an ongoing role for cities in Western societies, especially Europe and North America, in post-industrial, post-imperial and post-socialist societies, and in a post-modern, consumer-oriented and brand-conscious global market place, in which certain of the key traditional functions of the city – including labour-intensive manufacture – have transferred significantly to other continents, notably Asia.

Unsurprisingly, it has attracted critique, not least for the limited definition that is applied to *creative industries* and the delimiting of a *creative class*; also, for the predilection for encapsulating a *creative city* as a city of *cultural production* within a narrow conception of *culture*.

Creative Industries and the Creative Class

Symptomatic of restrictive definitions is the establishment in 1997 under Tony Blair’s newly elected United Kingdom New Labour government of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and the influence that its inventory of *creative industries* has had worldwide. The list covers advertising, architecture, arts and crafts, design and fashion, film, software and computer games, the performing arts, publishing, television and radio (‘Creative Industries,’ Wikipedia). It is hardly surprising therefore that the DCMS was dubbed from the outset the Department for Fun and Games. Howkins’ (2007: 112-116) less recognised but slightly more inclusive list, conspicuously adds research and development in science and technology. *Heritage* is not included in either list; it is not perceived as related to *creativity*.

Symptomatic also is the close demarcation of a *creative class* that is primordially highly-educated, well-paid, professional and mobile, and would exclude from its numbers many of the most brilliant innovators in history. Richard Arkwright (1732–92), the unschooled son of a tailor, self-made founder of the factory system and father of the Industrial Revolution, may be cited by way of illustration (Charlton 2001; Rodwell 2002).

Creativity is applied imagination; imagination is unlimited. The conditions under which creativity flourishes cannot be circumscribed. To anticipate this is to restrain, not facilitate, creativity. Top-down *creative strategies* and *cultural strategies* should be considered contrivances, contradictions in terms. They exclude majority sections of any given existing population that do not fit into pre-determined boxes and are rejected as *uncreative* or *uncultured*. And they do so in the sectoral interests of an effectively self-proclaimed *creative class* that is focused on activities that are in the main ephemeral, and conform to the above-noted circumscribed attribution of *contemporary*. “There is”, as Friedrich Schnook voiced at this conference, “as much creativity in a steelworker as someone who writes literature” (Figure 2).



Figure 2 A hand-craft metal-worker at his marketplace stall in Ödemiş, Turkey.(© Dennis Rodwell)

For my part, of critical importance today is to recognise, empower and harness human creativity to its full potential and in whatever quarter. In this, I suggest that the appropriate sequence is to start with the *needs* for creativity and thereafter to address how cities can best respond to them – collectively and individually. Much of the debate to date has commenced from the opposite direction: defining *creative industries* and *creative cities* in limited terms, to the result that cities within this paradigm risk becoming clones of each other, each competing for the same clientele in a highly competitive global market place, perhaps successful in the short-term but with limited prospects in the long-term, and with the remainder deleted at an early date from the recycle bin. This does not mobilise the unique characteristics, the Unique Selling Point (USP), of each and every national and world city. It lacks resilience and may simply assist in realising an interim role for a select few.

Nor, to cite Florida's thesis of a *creative class* (2012: xi), does it “unleash the creative energies, talent, and potential of everyone – to build a society that acknowledges and nurtures the creativity of each and every human being. Creativity is truly a limitless resource; it is something we all share.” Historically, innovation has originated from individuals irrespective of their social or economic class, and there is no reason to anticipate that this constant will suddenly change.

Key Challenges in the World Today

In order to respond to the myriad of challenges confronting humanity and our planet today, there has never been a greater need for creativity in the world. Issues at the top of today's international concerns include:

- The protection and enhancement of biodiversity;
- Population growth and the management of urbanisation;
- The exhaustion of non-renewable raw material and energy resources;
- The food supply chain: in quality, quantity and distribution;
- Water resources: in quantity and quality;
- Human health and access to health care;
- Social and material inequalities and extremes of poverty;
- Pollution in the atmosphere, seas and rivers;
- Carbon dioxide emissions; and
- Climate change and global warming.

These disclose a primordial need for creativity across all sectors, be they the arts, earth sciences, established, experimental and hitherto undiscovered technologies, or other. Set

against this need, any pre-ordained list of *creative industries* pales into insignificance. Further, the notion that a prescribed elite *creative class* can respond to them is sublimely unrealistic.

Additional to the sustainability catchphrase of ‘top-down meeting bottom-up’, referred to above, is ‘think global, act local’ (Rodwell 2007: 183-197, 203). In both of these, local knowledge is of vital importance, and the generic definition of *culture* – especially what any given society *thinks* and *does* in the natural and manmade environment with which it is most familiar – is of crucial importance. No amount of education of a mobile *creative class* can substitute for this.

My thesis is not that the Idea of Creative City should be scrapped, but that to be of relevance in the Urban Policy Debate it needs to be re-formulated as a truly inclusive rather than exclusive concept – both of people and of places. The *creative class* is of less concern to me. If it takes off in flight, so be it (Florida 2007). Our cities do not need, especially in this age of major concerns about non-renewable resources, transient ‘cappuccino regeneration’ of the type that favours transient fashions.

Heritage as a Driver for Creative Cities

To quote Jane Jacobs again (in Hospers and van Dalm, 2005: footnote 10): “Just like all cities, creative cities are about people. This means that they cannot be planned from scratch. Creative places in the city are just like living beings: they are born, grow, decay and can rise again.”

In 2011, adopting an inclusive definition of *historic* in the sense of *pre-existing*, I wrote (Rodwell 2011b: 103, 107-112): “For historic cities to be economically successful in today’s highly competitive world, they need to take full advantage of their individual, distinguishing qualities. It is no longer sufficient to copy one’s competitors; it is essential to stand out from them. Historic cities start with one enormous advantage: their unique inherited qualities. Lose those, and all is lost.” In this, it is important to appreciate that “a historic city is at one and the same time a physical place and the human space” (Rodwell 2012a: 27). The human capital of cities is their primary resource.

The past as an inspiration for fresh creation

Examples of successful historic cities which manifest “the crucible in which culture, creativity and consciousness continually evolve” exist in all cultures (Buchanan 2013). I will give three examples across Europe.

Lyon, France

Lyon has successfully revived its post-Second World War socio-economic fortunes through a creative approach to its past (Rodwell 2008a: 9-10). The medieval Saint-Jean quarter of the historic centre, which had become seriously dilapidated and partly abandoned, was one of the first of the *secteurs sauvegardés* to be designated under the 1962 Loi Malraux (Repellin 1990: 49-54), and has witnessed a remarkable revival in its fortunes.

Trompe l’oeil murals have a long history in Lyon dating back to the Renaissance. Today, the association of artists (*Cité de la Création*) of Lyon, funded by a public-private partnership that includes sponsorship from the financial, manufacturing and construction sectors, is responsible for a continuing programme of painting and periodic re-painting of scores of otherwise blank gable and other walls across the entire city, including in the social housing districts, thus rendering them immediately accessible to all sectors of the population irrespective of their social or economic class (Poirieux 2006).

Invariably dramatic and colourful, often totally deceptive until one is close up, many of these murals relate Lyon’s position as a city of innovation and innovators together with its traditions in the fine arts and literature. Examples portray the city’s roles in the

cinematograph, printing and textile industries, the twentieth century city planner Tony Garnier – renowned for his formulation of the ideal industrial city (*une cité industrielle*) – as well as famous historical figures such as the Renaissance architect Philibert de l'Orme and writer François Rabelais. The *Cité de la Création* has also exported its skills on assignments to other cities, including Quebec (Canada) (Rodwell 2008b: 8-9).

Lyon lies at the confluence of three rivers that flow into it from the north: two natural rivers, the Rhône and the Saône, and one man-made, Beaujolais wine. From the sixteenth century onwards Lyon became famous as a centre for the production and manufacture of silk, becoming known as the 'silk capital of the world'. Today, apart from a few specialist hand weavers, the silk industry has all but disappeared. Nevertheless, Lyon today leads Europe in the manufacture of artificial and high technology fibres, including fibre optics, and remains an important centre for the fashion industry. The 'threads' of three rivers and of fibres continue to drive the prosperity of a city that is third in the population table of French cities after Paris and Marseille, and second in terms of its metropolitan area.

Lyon is also noted for operating *Vélo'v*, the first successful public bicycle sharing system in Europe, as an innovative response to urban congestion and pollution; additional planned benefits include encouraging conviviality in the city and a healthy lifestyle for citizens. Established in 2005, in a cost-neutral partnership between the city and the advertising company JCDecaux, *Vélo'v* has since been adapted to cities across Europe – including Paris and Amsterdam (Figure 3).



Figure 3 *La Fresque de Gerland* by the Palais des Sports, Lyon, France, celebrating the city's prowess in football. In the foreground, one of over 350 *Vélo'v* stations across the city. (© Dennis Rodwell)

Lyon has capitalised on its unique traditions as the springboard for cultural continuity and innovation across multiple fields.

Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany

The historic city of Freiburg im Breisgau, located in the south west corner of the country close to the French and Swiss borders, has exploited its climatic advantages – it is statistically the sunniest and warmest city in Germany – together with the scientific and technical skills in its higher education institutions and the private sector, to become a centre for pioneering research and development of renewable energies, especially solar industries both active and passive, and low energy housing design.

Freiburg Green City, as it is known, has developed two new neighbourhoods on brownfield sites, Rieselfeld and Vauban, as models of sustainable urban layout and building design,

integrated into the city's tramway system, and additionally prioritising walking, cycling as well as recycling (Figure 4) (http://www.greencity.freiburg.de/servlet/PB/menu/1182949_12/index.html).

Freiburg is a prime example of the dynamic nature of the cultural characteristics of a society: what it *thinks*, *does*, and how it interacts positively with its natural and manmade environment.



Figure 4 The Rieselfeld district of Freiburg in Breisgau, Germany: solar collectors installed on new housing.
(© Dennis Rodwell)

Dundee, Scotland

By the 1980s, Scotland's fourth largest and archetypal post-industrial city was in a state of seemingly terminal decline. Renowned for its traditional industries of jute, jam and journalism (the 'three Js'), and promoted today as 'One City, Many Discoveries', concerted investments by national agencies and local institutions, driven by key individuals in the city, have transformed Dundee into one of the most enterprising and successful Creative Cities in Britain – without adopting that label.

Biomedical and technological industries have arrived since the 1980s. Dundee now accounts for 10 per cent of the United Kingdom's digital entertainment industry. Earth sciences is another important area.

Under the auspices of UNESCO, the University of Dundee hosts the Centre for Water Law, Policy and Science, which is playing a lead role in inter-disciplinary research to address global problems of water shortages, quality and water security and governance systems (<http://www.dundee.ac.uk/water/>). The city's place in polar exploration is celebrated at Discovery Point on the waterfront, where Robert Falcon Scott's Antarctic exploration ship *Discovery*, which was built in Dundee, is berthed alongside the visitor centre.

The University of Dundee also hosts the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design, and a major feature of the largely pedestrianised city centre is the public art championing the city's heritage of journalism and exploration, and providing inspiration for present and future generations (Figure 5).



Figure 5 Dundee, Scotland, is home to D C Thompson & Co Ltd, publishers of newspapers and comics. This image shows statues of: Desperate Dan with Dawg to the right, characters from the *Dandy*; and Minnie the Minx from the *Beano*, behind to left. (© Dennis Rodwell)

Dundee is a further example of a city that has applied diverse strands of its *heritage* to address multiple challenges in the natural and manmade world with *creativity*.

Conditions for creativity

Andy Pratt writes: "... a creative city cannot be founded like some cathedral in the desert; it needs to be linked to, and to be part of, an already existing cultural environment" (Pratt 2005: 35). Jane Jacobs also says that "creative cities ... cannot be planned from scratch" (cited in Hospers and van Dalm 2005), and speaks of *creative places* within cities rather than the Creative City as such.

This article is not the place for expanding a detailed prescription for *creative places*, rather to indicate certain of the human conditions under which creativity can be nurtured; also, to example typologies of physical space that have potential widespread relevance across Central and Eastern Europe.

Human conditions

The following *soft* issues should to be addressed:

- Creativity cannot be forced: contrivance risks frivolous novelty for its own sake. Creativity is inspired by accident, need or clear objectives. It is important in communities to highlight the range of needs, establish clear objectives, and harness people's innate senses of enquiry, discovery, responsibility and enthusiasm.
- Words and concepts that have become the victims of reductive simplification and compartmentalisation need to be revisited from first principles and communicated anew. Key words identified in this article include *heritage*, *creativity*, *culture* and *contemporary*.
- Attention should be focused on the vital the role of *culture*, in the widest sense, as the unifying factor for energising a coherent approach to our era's overarching agenda: *sustainable development*. Freiburg Green City has especial relevance in this context.
- Educational systems and community initiatives should accord equal value and opportunities across all age groups to practical skills as well as academic learning,

and integrate these with direct participation in live projects. Schools, colleges and universities have vital roles to play in this, as do governmental and community groups. Special focus should be placed on children and young people, whose energies are often not used to advantage in their communities.

- All promotion of agendas that suggest exclusion, such as *creative class*, should be dropped. Florida's thesis is contradictory, risks alienating and marginalising established communities, and has no place in our democratic age. As with Heritage City, the Creative City should ensure that the needs and wishes of established communities are fully respected, their irreplaceable local understanding and loyalty to place is fully engaged, and their primordial role as stewards of cultural continuity is mobilised.

Typologies of physical space

Post-industrial cities, notable for their abundance of redundant and disused factory buildings and associated complexes, offer the essential infrastructure for public workshops and affordable workspace for *creative industries*. Following the prescriptions of Jacobs and Pratt, these provide ideal opportunities for the establishment of *creative places* within existing cities. Post-1989, Central and Eastern Europe is especially rich in such places.

A highly successful example is the Baumwollspinnerei, Leipzig (Figure 6) (<http://www.spinnerei.de/>). Founded in 1884, by 1909 the largest spinning mill on the European continent and finally closed to cotton production in 1993, it remains largely unaltered from the principal period of its construction, 1884–1907. Covering a 6 hectare site and with 70,000 square metres of usable floor space across 23 separate buildings, it is now a major cultural complex providing workspace for a wide range of mostly new businesses. One of its keys to success is a management policy which embraces the needs of financially precarious categories such as artists, who are often considered the epitome of *creativity* but would be excluded from majority definitions of the *creative class*.



Figure 6 From Cotton to Culture: the Baumwollspinnerei, Leipzig, Germany.
(© Leipziger Baumwollspinnerei)

The digital age: *caveat emptor*

The past we can research; the future we cannot foretell. As already signalled, the major discourse on cities adheres to the historical paradigm of cities as both physical place and human space. In this twenty-first century we cannot be certain that cities will continue to

perform as the primary, let alone sole, human space in which creativity will be nurtured and flourish.

Human space is no longer dependent on physical place. Information and communications technology is rapidly expanding worldwide. The internet is used for an escalating number of educational and research purposes, working practices and business ventures as well as for everyday retail and other transactions. And 'social media' are both enlarging and substituting many forms of human exchange. Additionally, as we have seen, the United Kingdom typifies a cycle of urbanisation and de-urbanisation which renders statistical analysis and comparison inconclusive.

Maintenance of the traditional role of cities, as "the crucible in which culture, creativity and consciousness continually evolves" (Buchanan, 2013) cannot be guaranteed. The human ingredients of the Creative City may equally well find themselves in a suburb, village, or remote island. We should be aware that the Idea of Creative City may be a phenomenon specific to its time and place.

Conclusion

At the time of the Italian Renaissance, the past served as a resource and inspiration for the future: *heritage* and *creativity* were subsumed as part of a continuous past-present-future timeline. Comprehension of this evolutionary progression has been erased from popular consciousness, *culture* lost its generic sense, and *contemporary* been expropriated to a single meaning.

Of the numerous repercussions of these reductive tendencies is the notion that *heritage* and *creativity* are in opposition rather than harmony; another, than the Creative City is concerned with a delimited range of *creative industries*.

There has never been a time in history when our planet has been in such need of human creativity across all fields of engagement and endeavour. Applied creativity is limited only by opportunity. The human capital of cities is their primary resource, and established cities start with the primordial advantage of their unique inherited physical characteristics and citizenry.

A Creative City can neither be founded in the desert nor from scratch. Each city has a unique cultural environment that can, where adequately recognised and supported, act as the springboard and driver for its successful future. To achieve this, the discourse of the Creative City needs to be revisited and broadened to become a truly inclusive concept that embraces the creative energies of place and people at all levels.

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CREATIVE CLASS THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

Creative Class Theory is a concept developed by Richard Florida in his 2002 book, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. The Creative Class theory and policy recommendations in Florida's book have been adopted by many municipal governments in Europe, Australia and North America, as the foundation in economic development, redevelopment and land use planning efforts. The City of Ashland, where I served as Mayor, used these principals to develop the City's award winning comprehensive plan. The theory posits that talented, creative workers/people are more important to economic growth than companies. The author develops a modeling approach examining three variables: Talent, Technology and Tolerance and studies these variables to create a list of the most creative U.S. cities. The author finds correlations between economic growth and the degree to which these three variables are present (Florida 2002). The goal then for municipal leaders who wish to spur economic growth is to develop attractive communities for creative individuals that offer a diverse, tolerant and amenity rich communities. In the eleven years since the publishing of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, there have been many scholarly articles challenging the overall theory, the methodology used to support the theory and the overall policy implications related to the adoption of creative class strategies. This paper provides a review of the scholarly debate and research on Creative Class theory and assessing examples of Creative Class developments in the cities of Milwaukee and Ashland, Wisconsin, USA.

Keywords: Creative Class, Growth, Economic and Community Development

Introduction

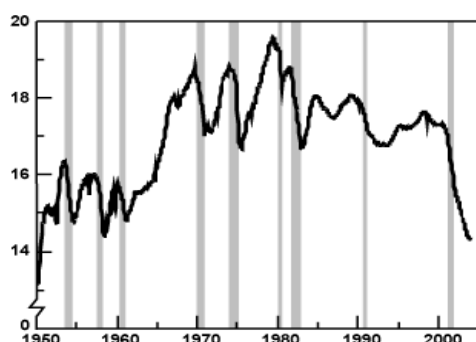
During the decade of the 1980's, the United States began to witness a severe loss of manufacturing jobs. Layoffs in the manufacturing sector which had previously been a part-time and seasonal affair became permanent. This was especially true in the Middle West which has held the nation's largest percentage of manufacturing employment. The "steel belt" became known as the "rust belt." While the loss of manufacturing jobs continued during the 1990's, it was at a much slower pace than during the previous decade (Uchitelle, 2007). During the 2000's, the nation again witnessed severe losses in the manufacturing sector as many of the good paying manufacturing jobs were "off shored" to other nations. In January 2004, the number of manufacturing jobs in the U.S.A. stood at 14.3 million, down by 3.0 million jobs, or 17.5 percent, since July 2000 and about 5.2 million since the historical peak in 1979. Since the Great Recession of 2008, employment in manufacturing is at its lowest since July 1950.

To put the extent of the loss of U.S. manufacturing jobs into context, the population of the U.S. in 1950 was 152.27 million and in 2004 it was 292.81 million. (Source: US Census Bureau).

During the last thirty years, the U.S. has moved from an industrial-based economy to a service based economy. More people are now employed in the service sector than the manufacturing sector of the economy. Simultaneous with the loss of the base of manufacturing jobs was the significant increase of personal computers in the 1980's and internet technology to the general public in the 1990's. A new wave of computer and software companies were introduced during this time led by young, t-shirt and blue jean wearing computer technicians with very different approaches to business. The business pages

were replete with stories of “creative destruction,” that is, how these new high tech firms would rise to replace the old manufacturing economic order (Reich, 2002 P.50).

Millions of manufacturing jobs:



Sources: Congressional Budget Office; Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Note: The vertical bars indicate periods of recession as defined by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

During the last thirty years, the U.S. has moved from an industrial-based economy to a service based economy. More people are now employed in the service sector than the manufacturing sector of the economy. Simultaneous with the loss of the base of manufacturing jobs was the significant increase of personal computers in the 1980's and internet technology to the general public in the 1990's. A new wave of computer and software companies were introduced during this time led by young, t-shirt and blue jean wearing computer technicians with very different approaches to business. The business pages were replete with stories of “creative destruction,” that is, how these new high tech firms would rise to replace the old manufacturing economic order (Reich, 2002 P.50).

The Great Lakes States still have a significant percentage of its employment base in the manufacturing sector as compared to the nation. However, even those manufacturing firms do not perform business in the same manner as thirty years ago. It is clear that low-skill jobs are being replaced with high-skill jobs. Many jobs which once only required a high school diploma, now require an Associate's Degree at a minimum. This increasing demand for higher skill levels is found in both the manufacturing and service sectors. The remaining successful service and manufacturing firms have very different processes and require very different skills of their workforce than before. Researchers studying this new economic paradigm define it as adding creative content to products and/or services for which companies can charge a premium price. Over the years, this new economic paradigm has been, in broad terms labeled The Information Economy, The Post-Industrial Economy, The High Tech Economy, The New Economy, and The 21st Century Economy. In 2001, John Howkins coined the term “The Creative Economy” in a book of the same name, which has encapsulated many of the previous terms and theories about economic growth at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. During this period, municipal leaders under pressure from their constituents to re-fill the loss of manufacturing jobs were seeking ways to increase employment. It was in this desperate economic and political environment that Dr. Richard Florida released his book, *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, in 2002.

Florida's book has become a national and international best seller and “a public-policy phenomenon.” (Peck, P.740, 2005). The Creative Class theory and policy recommendations in Florida's book have been adopted by many municipal governments in Europe, Australia and North America, most notably, the City of Milwaukee (Zimmerman, P.230, 2008), as the foundation of economic development, redevelopment and land use planning efforts. While peer reviewed data is not available on the number of municipal governments adopting

Florida's strategies nor on the number of copies of the book sold, evidence from Florida's web site make it clear that *The Rise of the Creative Class*, has been wildly popular.

Creative Class Theory

Florida's theory posits that the fundamentals of the economy have changed for developed nations in that economic growth for those nations is no longer based on raw materials or on competition for companies. Florida theorizes a consumption based model of economic development, rather than the historically familiar production model of economic development (Pratt, P.108, 2008). The production model of economic development postulates that the driver of economic growth is investments in plant and materials which in turn are sold at a profit outside of a region. This brings additional dollars beyond those that were expended to the region. In this model, workers are commoditized as a fixed cost, rather than a variable cost, added to production. Florida posits a consumption model in which young, highly skilled and educated people/workers who add creative content to products and services drive economic growth (Pratt, P. 109, 2008). Florida developed the term "creative class" to describe these talented and creative people driving economic growth. Florida claims the Creative Class comprises 30% of the U.S. workforce and he divides the Creative Class into two categories:

Super-Creative Core: This group comprises about 12 % of all U.S. occupations including science, engineering, education, computer programming, research, the arts, design, entertainment and media workers forming a small subset.

Creative Professionals: These professionals are knowledge-based workers and include those working in healthcare, business and finance, the legal sector, and education. They "draw on complex bodies of knowledge to solve specific problems" using higher degrees of education to do so.

For municipal leaders wishing to spur economic growth, Florida provides a strategy of developing attractive communities for younger, well educated, creative individuals that offer a diverse, tolerant and amenity rich communities where creative individuals can live and recreate. Regions must develop, attract and retain talented and creative people who generate innovations, develop technology-intensive industries and power economic growth (Florida, 2002).

Creative Class Methodology

The author develops a modeling approach examining three variables: Talent, Technology and Tolerance, known as the 3T's, which he measures within a region. Specifically, Florida develops what he calls "The Creativity Index" composed of four equally weighted factors:

- % creative class share of the workforce measured by occupation and education
- % high-tech industry
- Innovation, measured in patents per capita
- Composite Diversity Index, measured by the Gay Index (% gay & lesbian population); Melting Pot Index (% Foreign Born); % nonwhite & nonblack; % interracial marriage, % bohemians (artistically creative people).

Florida's research rests upon the relationships between indices of the above variables and his correlation analysis shows a statistical link between these 3 T's and economic growth. "This composite indicator is a better measure of a region's underlying creative capabilities than the simple measure of the creative class, because it reflects the joint effects of its concentration and of innovative economic outcomes. The Creativity Index is thus my baseline indicator of a region's overall standing in the creative economy and I [Florida] offer it as a barometer of a region's longer run economic potential. The following tables present my

creativity index ranking for the top 10 and bottom 10 metropolitan areas, grouped into three size categories (large, medium-sized and small cities/regions).” (Florida, p.245, 2012).

Large Cities Creativity Rankings

Rankings of 49 metro areas reporting populations over 1 million in the 2000 Census

Top Ten Cities

City	Creativity Index	%Creative Workers	Creative Rank	High-Tech Rank	Innovation Rank	Diversity Rank
1. San Francisco	1057	34.8	5	1	2	1
2. Austin	1028	36.4	4	11	3	16
3. San Diego	1015	32.1	15	12	7	3
3. Boston	1015	38.0	3	2	6	22
5. Seattle	1008	32.7	9	3	12	8
6. Chapel Hill	996	38.2	2	14	4	28
7. Houston	980	32.5	10	16	16	10
8. Washington	964	38.4	1	5	30	12
9. New York	962	32.3	12	13	24	14
10. Dallas	960	30.2	23	6	17	9
10. Minneapolis	960	33.9	7	21	5	29

Bottom Ten Cities

City	Creativity Index	%Creative Workers	Creative Rank	High-Tech Rank	Innovation Rank	Diversity Rank
49. Memphis	530	24.8	47	48	42	41
48. Norfolk, VA	555	28.4	36	35	49	47
47. Las Vegas	561	18.5	49	42	47	5
46. Buffalo	609	28.9	33	40	27	49
45. Louisville	622	26.5	46	46	39	36
44. Grand Rapids	639	24.3	48	43	23	38
43. Oklahoma City	668	29.4	29	41	43	39
42. New Orleans	668	27.5	42	45	48	13
41. Greensboro	697	27.3	44	33	35	35
40. Providence	698	27.6	41	44	34	33

The outcome of Florida’s correlation analysis is used to develop the above rankings of cities. Such a list is meant to spur lower ranking city’s elected officials to develop creative class strategies.

Research Question – Does it work?

Given the dramatic changes caused by deindustrialization and the rise of computer and internet technology, how are local governments that respond by adopting creative class strategies performing in terms of spurring economic growth? Does adopting the creative class strategies proposed by Florida lead to economic growth? There have been many scholarly

articles challenging Florida's overall theory, the methodology used to support the theory and challenges to the policy implications related to the adoption of creative class strategies. This literature review examines the main critiques and the authors responses to discern the whether creative class strategies spur economic growth. I am particularly interested in the impact of Richard Florida's work in Milwaukee where his strategies have been adopted by city planners. It has been eleven years since the release of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, and therefore, I want to examine the literature on cities like Milwaukee that have adopted Florida's strategies.

A. Literature Review:

Florida has received criticism in three broad areas;

- Questions as to the relevance and accuracy of his methodology
- Challenges to his Creative Class Theory
- Criticisms of the implications of his economic development and public policy recommendations

B. Critique of Methodology:

I begin with the criticism of Florida's methodological approach, as these critiques are the easiest to justify through the data analysis performed by the researchers. That is not to say that the criticisms of the theory or policy implications are not valid. The overall theme of critics of Florida's methodological approach is that the indices used do not represent and/or correlate with the variables of the 3T's of Talent, Technology and Tolerance. The criticism of Florida's methodology can be broken in to four specific concerns:

- The Gay Index is not a representation of tolerance (Ten Brink, P. 820, 821, 2012);
- That education and occupational classification are not a representation of talent (Rausch & Negrey, P.483, 2006) & (Kraatke, P. 838, 2010);
- That diversity is not a suitable proxy for tolerance (Reese, Faist, & Sands, P. 347, 2010);
- That the definitions of technology workers, tolerance and diversity are subjective; that the outcome "depends upon how one defines the 3T's and which variables one uses, and what relationship they have to the target variables." (Pratt, P.108, 2008).

Richard Florida acknowledged the narrowness of his original metrics and broadened them beyond the Gay Index and Bohemian Index to include a Melting Pot Index of percent foreign born, percent nonwhite & nonblack and percent interracial marriages. Florida combined these three metrics to develop his Composite Diversity Index. Florida then recalculated his original research and found it to still be valid (Florida, 2004). However, researchers using a similar methodology, albeit with the broader measures of a human capital theoretical model, to examine midsized Canadian urban areas found no correlation between the creative class, amenity indicators and economic growth. While the researchers did find a correlation between university employees, the creative class and quality amenities, they also found that there was "no correlation (not to mention causation) between improved economic health and any of the creative class indicators." The researchers found that amenities the creative class desire is not clear (Reese, Faist & Sands, P.361, 2010).

In Florida's response to this study, he addressed the issue of economic health by responding that human capital works through income and creative class works through wages and therefore income is not a valid measure of the creative class.

Overall, the researchers challenging Florida's methodological approach found his metrics to be unreliable as his Composite Diversity Index is subjective and mixes conceptually unrelated variables (Reese, Faist, & Sands P. 351, 2010)

C. Critique of Theory:

While Reese, Faist & Sands did challenge Florida's creative class theory as being almost identical to human capital theory, their main claim was test and challenge his 3T's. Other researchers have challenged Florida's theory more directly. Florida's theory is normative, meaning that Florida prescribes methods to make a city thrive economically by replacing the production model of economics with a creative one. Bakowska and Rudawska have suggested that Florida's creative class theory is just repackaged human capital theory. These researchers examined the international standing of creativity by nation in Europe comparing both theories. They found a positive correlation between share of creative class and growth based on national data. They also found correlations between knowledge, information and intellectual property corresponding with economic growth. However, they also found continued value in the production model of economic development and therefore support traditional job creation schemes, but with a focus on jobs that are creative in order to add value to a country's budget. "Therefore, the labour market should be orientated towards creating new jobs in developing areas that are knowledge-based and not production based." (Bakowska and Rudawska, p. 474, 2011). The researchers challenge Florida's consumption model and posit an argument for continued economic development activities based upon the production model, but with a creative twist.

Hoyman and Faricy challenge Florida's creative class theory as being almost identical to social capital theory. Forwarded by Robert Putnam in 1993, social capital theory postulates that social capital, or the linkages between people and associations within a community, directly relates to economic growth. Like Reese, Faist & Sands and Bakowska and Rudawska (2011), Hoyman and Faricy tested creative class theory through social capital theory using slightly different measures, specifically, the density of voluntary associations. The researchers found no correlation between creative class and economic growth (Hoyman and Faricy, p. 329, 2009). Florida responded by acknowledging the value of social capital theory in spurring economic growth. Specifically, Florida acknowledges the importance of "bridging" or loose ties that leads to an ethos of tolerance, while condemning "bonding" or strong ties that lead to restrictions on innovation (Hoyman and Faricy, p. 318, 2009).

D. Critique of Policy Implications

Florida has also been criticized by different researchers as being both a big spending liberal (Malanga, 2004), and a conservative libertarian (Peck, 2005). While Steven Malanga was not published in a peer reviewed journal and his article lacks citations, his criticisms of Florida's theory have been used by several other researchers and therefore is important in the dialogue between scholars. Two points raised by Malanga are germane. First, he found that the cities listed by Florida have not had job growth. Second, that Florida's data is time sensitive due to the bursting of the dot.com bubble; hence Florida's research took place during a period of very high employment.

Jamie Peck appears to be Florida's harshest critic, calling creative class theory "familiar neoliberal snake-oil", the "creative craze" and "cappuccino politics with plenty of froth." (Peck, p. 759, p. 756, p. 760, 2005). Peck is also the researcher most often cited by other scholars performing critical research on the creative class. Peck states that Florida's popularity is due to the fact that he operates within the well-established neoliberal economic structure in that it praises and normalizes the contracted-out, "free-agent" economy for the favored class (Peck, p. 756, 2005). Peck is concerned about the economic justice implications of Florida's policies. He criticizes Florida for not mentioning the low paid temporary workers and day laborers who are forced to work in flexible environments and as such normalizes the flexible labor-market conditions.

Peck sees a connection between support of the creative class theory and increased social polarization as public dollars are diverted away from the poor to support building of creative class enclaves. “The subordination of social-welfare concerns to economic development imperatives (first, secure economic growth, then wait for the wider social benefits to percolate through) gives way to a form of creative trickle-down; elite-focused creativity strategies leave only supporting roles for the two-thirds of the population languishing in the working and service classes, who get nothing apart from occasional tickets to the circus” (Peck, p. 766 & 767, 2005).

Another critic of Florida who expands on Peck’s critique is Stefan Krätke, who states that Florida supports gentrification and is ignorant of social polarization caused by adoption of creative class economic development policies. This critique is echoed by Atkinson & Hazel who found similar outcomes in Australia (Atkinson & Hazel, p. 73, 2009). Krätke replicated Florida’s research but removed the finance sector from the methodology of the list of creative occupations (he argues that the financial industry is not a driver of the economy, but rather an intermediary) and he found no correlation between economic growth and the creative class. Krätke’s research points to the location of corporate headquarters, with their many high paying jobs, as a significant driver of economic growth. However, Krätke’s main claim is not a critique of Florida’s methodology, but rather that Florida’s argument that the creative class spurs economic growth is a “chicken and egg” or circular argument. In other words which came first, the creative class or the good paying jobs? The cities that Florida researched may have a strong creative class presence but, they may have arrived after the creation of economic growth caused by corporate headquarters being located within the region (Krätke, p. 843, 2010). Krätke adds to the dialogue by reminding the reader that correlation does not equal causation.

Another criticism comes from Florida’s support of a solely consumption based model of economic development. Andy Pratt argues that both production and consumption based models are at play in spurring economic growth – it is not an either or proposition. He criticizes Florida’s use of broad occupations as they “strip out the necessarily embedded relationships with industries and with production and consumption; essentially it individualizes what is a complex and hybrid phenomenon.” (Pratt, p. 114, 2008). Pratt posits that creative class economic development strategies is a “build it and they will come” model which fails to recognize the complexities of a modern, fluid economy. Pratt also criticizes creative class economic development strategies as they tend to sell cities using public money which is a socially regressive form of taxation (Pratt, p.112, 2008).

Richard Florida’s response to these critiques of his creative class theory and the possible negative social consequences of adopting creative class economic development strategies has traditionally been to re-iterate that the economy has moved away from blue collar factory jobs and that the creative economy is not going away. In other words, Florida until very recently, has not responded (Florida 2004) (Peck, p. 757, 2005). Recently however, Florida has acknowledged that the clustering of creative workers only benefits a minority of the overall population in urban areas. This represents a major shift in his previous theory which assumed a creative class trickle-down effect that would increase income for all workers. “The benefits of highly skilled regions accrue mainly to knowledge, professional, and creative workers. While less-skilled blue-collar and service workers also earn more in these places, more expensive housing costs eat away those gains. There is a rising tide of sorts, but it only lifts about the most advantaged third of the workforce, leaving the other 66 percent much further behind.” (Florida, 2012).

E. Milwaukee & The Creative Class

According to Jeffery Zimmerman, the city of Milwaukee is a “test case” for researching the impact of adopting creative class economic development strategies as city leaders and staff

have been implementing these strategies since 1999 with the creation and implementation of a downtown master plan focused on a new urbanism design theories (Zimmerman, P.231, 2008). City Mayor John Norquist who presided over Milwaukee between April 15, 1988 and December 31, 2003, is currently the President and CEO of the Congress for the New Urbanism. New urbanism seeks to develop walkable, mixed-use neighborhood development, with interesting private sector architecture and public amenities that neighborhoods, and regions that provide a high quality of life for all residents, while respecting the natural environment. *“The hallmarks of New Urbanism include:*

- *Livable streets arranged in compact, walkable blocks.*
- *A range of housing choices to serve people of diverse ages and income levels.*
- *Schools, stores and other nearby destinations reachable by walking, bicycling or transit service.”* (Congress for New Urbanism web site –What is CNU? [www.http://www.cnu.org/who_we_are](http://www.cnu.org/who_we_are))

The parallels between new urbanism and the amenities called to be developed by Florida’s creativity thesis are many and new urbanism and the creative class theory have many overlapping qualities. A longtime proponent of new urbanism, Mayor Norquist wrote *The Wealth of Cities*, in 1998, providing support for new urbanism principals as a method to revitalize U.S. cities.

Zimmerman provides a historical overview of Milwaukee’s new urbanism or creative class efforts designed to revitalize Milwaukee’s downtown and river front districts. Zimmerman finds that Milwaukee has indeed created many vibrant, attractive public and private spaces addressing quality of life issues a method to spur economic growth. New, vibrant BoBo (Bourgeois Bohemian) neighborhoods have been created in Milwaukee. However, Zimmerman does not perform empirical analysis to determine if these revitalization efforts actually increased the economic prosperity of Milwaukee residents. Rather, Zimmerman performs a case study with a focus on the theoretical underpinning of creative class economic development strategies.

What Zimmerman finds is that these strategies do in fact turn the old economic paradigm or production based economic development strategies on its head and that Milwaukee’s “Live/Work/Play” revitalization plans are directly based on Florida’s creative class theory. Zimmerman agrees with previous researchers that creative class theory is “circular logic” or an “economic growth fallacy”, as it is not clear whether BoBo neighborhoods spur growth or growth spurs the rise of BoBo neighborhoods. (Zimmerman, p. 233, 2008). Zimmerman also provides some insight into why creative class strategies have been readily adopted by so many municipal leaders. Following Peck’s research, Zimmerman shows that Florida is popular because of his theory’s alignment with the neoliberal urban terrain and entrenched urban elites. (Zimmerman, p. 234, 2008). In other words, Florida supports already established urban policy prescriptions. Zimmerman sees creative class strategies as little more than repackaged new urbanism in its goal to reestablish healthy neighborhoods. Zimmerman echoes previous critics of creative class theory citing Florida’s focus is to validate the elite, thereby rendering the poor invisible. Specifically, Zimmerman cites the police patrol of the new BoBo neighborhoods and the increase in arrests of young African Americans cruising the lakefront (Zimmerman, p. 241, 2008).

F. Ashland & The Creative Class

The City of Ashland, Wisconsin, is a small city of approximately 8,500 residents in the northern part of the state. At first blush it may seem that that the scope and size differences between these two cities make comparisons moot. However, the issues facing Milwaukee and Ashland are very similar; they have similar taxing structures, they have similar social problems; each city has a significant, non-white, minority population, the cities were

incorporated at similar times, they are both located on the Great Lakes, each city has shared a similar economic base, and the basic infrastructure and educational needs of these cities outstrip the available financial resources (Kenny 1995; City of Ashland 2004). The anomaly in Wisconsin are the suburbs and exurbs which tend to be newly incorporated, have a more homogeneous racial population and most significantly have more wealth and tax base to meet basic city infrastructure and education needs (Tiebout, 1956). I had the privilege of serving as Mayor of the City between 2002 and 2006 and oversaw the development of its award winning comprehensive plan which contained many new urbanism and creative class policies. In fact, Creative Class theory underpinned many the comprehensive plans' policy recommendations. Therefore, there are many parallels between Milwaukee and Ashland which make for an interesting and relevant comparison when examining creative class policies and outcomes.

As the former Mayor I am a participant observer in the truest sense of the term as my position allowed me to not only greatly influence the processes used, but understand the philosophical and practical underpinnings of why those processes were chosen. As an example, Ashland differed from Milwaukee because of the use of sustainability planning practices. Sustainable policies were also replete within Ashland's comprehensive plan. The City of Ashland was the second municipality in the USA to be granted Eco-Municipality Designation by Sustainable Sweden in July of 2005. Where Milwaukee followed a traditional top-down approach to policy and land use planning, Ashland incorporated a bottom-up planning approach engaging significant portions of the community in the process. This was done to democratize the planning process, thereby breaking with Ashland's traditional planning process. This new process was necessary if the City was to adopt new policy recommendations tied to creative class and sustainability theories which were viewed as extreme by many within the traditional power structure. (Business North, 2005).

The democratization of the planning process not only provided strong grass roots support for the policy recommendations within the document locally, it helped in garnering support from state and federal elected officials to fund or partially fund many of the policy recommendations. In fact, federal and state funding to the city of Ashland increased over 300% during the four years I was in office. As one example, the City received funding for paving one half of all city sidewalks and the main city trail, the redevelopment of Highway 2, the city's main lakefront artery, with enhancements such as paving bricks, period lighting, and a decorative underpass which also provided a loop to the lakefront trail. These funds allowed the City to fundamentally alter its lakefront from industrial use to recreational use, thereby fulfilling Florida's goal of providing amenities desired by the creative class in order to spur economic growth.

In comparing annual unemployment data from the state of Wisconsin, the City of Milwaukee and Ashland County (city unemployment data is not available), it is clear that all three units of government of following similar trends regardless of creative class policies.

Year	Wisconsin	Unemployment %	Milwaukee City	Unemployment %	Ashland County	Unemployment %
2000	Wisconsin	3.4	Milwaukee City	5.3	Ashland County	5.3
2001	Wisconsin	4.4	Milwaukee City	6.7	Ashland County	5.8
2002	Wisconsin	5.3	Milwaukee City	8.2	Ashland County	7.3
2003	Wisconsin	5.6	Milwaukee City	8.7	Ashland County	7.1
2004	Wisconsin	5.0	Milwaukee City	7.7	Ashland County	6.0

2005	Wisconsin	4.8	Milwaukee City	7.2	Ashland County	5.9
2006	Wisconsin	4.7	Milwaukee City	6.9	Ashland County	6.0
2007	Wisconsin	4.8	Milwaukee City	6.9	Ashland County	5.9
2008	Wisconsin	4.8	Milwaukee City	6.7	Ashland County	5.9
2009	Wisconsin	8.7	Milwaukee City	11.4	Ashland County	10.2
2010	Wisconsin	8.5	Milwaukee City	11.9	Ashland County	10.1
2011	Wisconsin	7.5	Milwaukee City	10.9	Ashland County	9.5
2012	Wisconsin	6.9	Milwaukee City	10.1	Ashland County	8.7

Source: Wisconsin Department of Workforce Development

The economic growth that should spring from adopting creative class strategies should also act as an attraction for creative workers. In other words one would expect to see an increase in population in creative class cities. However, it is important to note that both Milwaukee and Ashland have lost population rather than increased population.

Wisconsin 2000 WDHS: 5,363,701	
Wisconsin 2010 WDHS: 5,686,986	
<hr/>	
Milwaukee 2000 Census: 596,974	
Milwaukee 2010 Census: 594,833 (US Census Bureau Estimate)	
<hr/>	
Ashland 2000 Census: 8,620	
Ashland 2010 Census: 8,216 (US Census Bureau Estimate)	

Based on the above metrics, despite the fact that Ashland and Milwaukee gained many new creative class amenities; it appears to have failed to increased population or employment.

Conclusion/Recommendations

Florida's work was released during a time of rapid changes in developed nations' economies. This fact combined with the creative class theory's alignment with already established neoliberal policies, likely explains his book's popularity with municipal officials. What the literature review has also uncovered is that Florida's work on the creative class has been seriously debated and challenged on methodological and theoretical grounds. The implications for regions that adopt creative class strategies have also been seriously debated and challenged. Florida has been in dialogue with many of these researchers and has responded by altering his metrics, outright rejecting arguments against his theory and most recently, acknowledging unequal distribution of economic gains in creative class clusters. Due to many years of new urbanism or creative class land use development and the similarities between them, Milwaukee and Ashland are two test case cities that serve as fertile ground for further research into creative class theory methodology and policy implications.

My research question: Does adopting the creative class strategies proposed by Florida lead to economic growth?, remains, by and large, unanswered. While some researchers have found correlations between the creative class and economic growth, an overwhelming majority of researchers have not. Many researchers found only scant evidence or hints of a correlation between the creative class and economic growth. The evidence from Milwaukee and Ashland also appears to confirm a lack of correlation between creative class amenities and economic growth.

The criticism cited by many researchers, that Florida's argument is circular, remains a major obstacle in researching the economic performance of cities that have adopted creative class strategies. Florida and others have examined many metropolitan regions, but their research is time sensitive as they have researched cities at a point in time. Furthermore, the researchers whom I examined have not taken into account whether or not the region adopted creative class strategies and if so, the economic growth implications of enacting those strategies over time. There is a gap in the existing research. The municipalities that have adopted Florida's creative class strategies have not been tested, over time, against metrics of economic growth. Have more jobs been created? Have wages or benefits increased? Many researchers have been critical of Florida on theoretical grounds claiming his strategies create broad social ills. However, the basic premise of providing economic growth within the cities that have adopted his strategies, as the foundation for land use and comprehensive plans, have not been tested over time. New research could examine how regions that have adopted creative class strategies performed economically through the economic recession of 2008. Those communities or regions that adopted Florida's strategies should have performed better economically than those cities or regions that did not – all things being equal. This paper then, identifies a research gap. More research is needed that is grounded in a methodological approach of examining regions or municipalities that have actually adopted Florida's strategies over time. It has been eleven years since the release of *The Rise of the Creative Class*, and Milwaukee and Ashland have clearly adopted creative class strategies over that same period that can be examined longitudinally and one can actually measure the positive and/or negative economic consequences. Further research is needed comparing specific and overall wage/income gains in creative class cities such as Milwaukee and Ashland. Such research could provide a solution to the circular argument conundrum of which came first, the creative class or economic growth?

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LOOKING FOR THE CREATIVE CITY: URBAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EDUCATION AND CULTURAL STRATEGIES IN MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA

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Abstract

The city of Medellin, Colombia, has been recognized as a paradigm of urban change and promotion of creative urban policies for integral development and achieve transformation of vulnerable communities in the informal peripheral areas of the city. Medellin is Colombia's second largest city (4million inhabitants) and achieve in a short period of time a urban transformation through inclusive urban policies and city development management strategies that prove to be a powerful tool to transform urban conditions and communities, changing the traditional top-down approaches of urban planning for renovated bottom-up strategies involving creative clusters, communities, city administration and private sectors through strategic planning, promoting of IT developments and cultural and educational strategies. These ideas have been used by other Colombian and Latin-American cities to rapidly improve urban conditions and provide a better living to the vulnerable populations in large and intermediate cities. This paper will first analyze the evolution the creative city concepts and present some of the strategies that the Medellin city planning administration have implemented on education and inclusive policies to transform cities and communities.

Keywords: Creativity, Innovation, Urban Development, Strategic Planning, Urban Economy

Evolution of the Creative City concept

The last two decades have marked the emergence and proliferation of the entire world of research and public policy agendas that focus creativity as a new and powerful tool to stimulate economic regeneration, urban planning and design. Particularly, the concept of "creative city" developed by Charles Landry (1995), had an important influence on strategies that support urban growth and the renovation of urban communities. This concept suggests that talented people are the key to economic growth and that cities rich in diversity, design and heritage are able to create physical and social conditions for empowering local entrepreneurship and encouraging the global export of innovative ideas and technologies.

Urban planners and public policy makers adopted these creative city strategies for creating new sources of employment and improve the level of income by strengthening the cultural and artistic districts and the creative *cluster* incubators, as defined by Florida (2002). Also, they have been concentrating on strengthening the critical infrastructure of intellectual resources, social diversity and cultural middlemen; not only as a way of improving vitality and economic competitiveness among cities, but also as a way of strengthening social cohesion and citizen's identity.

Nevertheless, the world economic crisis in 2008 set up significant challenges for the agendas of creative economy as a mean of urban development. It is believed that the idea of creative city originated from the financial service boom and the real-estate powered by long-term credits. Public policy creators and cultural merchants have been continuously benefited and entrusted with schemes of new forms of massive consumption, corporate sponsorship and urban regeneration led by the real estate market. These processes have also been encouraged by public investment in cultural facilities and programs of "urban revival".

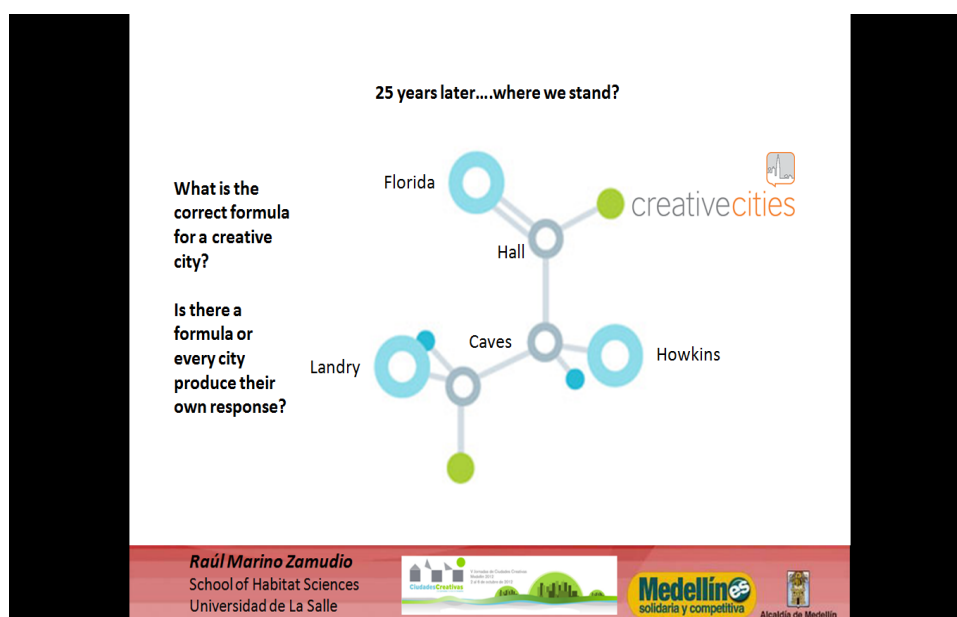


Image 1 Scheme for Creative City, developed by the author

The continuous anxiety about world economy and policies of fiscal austerity challenge many of the suppositions that used to nurture the creativity agenda as the catalyst for urban and social development. The urban planner Peter Hall (1998) is focusing how this era of austerity impacts the thoughts of the creative city. The current world financial and fiscal crisis will make doubts and critiques of the concepts associated with the creative city of the 90's more visible.

Urban Economy and Creativity

The recent research on creative economy as a catalyst for urban development had also explored the interrelation between the public investment in culture and education and the real estate market. While it can be observed that the creative boom offers new opportunities to artists and cultural promoters, the long term implications on the integration of cultural actors and stakeholders into urban regeneration projects have not been clearly studied so far.

For example, the role of artists and the importance of cultural qualities of places have been recognized as essential elements in the initial stages of urban production economies. However, the final goal of regeneration commonly materializes in big scale commercial and residential complexes, promoted by urban marketing. This situation usually physically displaces (or puts beyond of budget reach), the small and intricate spaces that are more adequate for emerging and amateur urban artists. The economic geographer Tom Hutton also suggests that the economic success of the urban renovation policies based on heritage and culture, frequently carry also the “seed of its own destruction” (2010). When the once forgotten areas of the city are reintegrated, the increasing rent and real estate prices and the demolition of old buildings displace the very same people that could play an important part in the future the source of cultural and creativity revitalization.

Due to the increasing interdependence between real estate developments and the policies of urban regeneration, the concept of “creative cities” could be perceived now as an empty political idea that provides a façade to the real restructuring of urban labor markets, based on the exploitation of the increasingly high values of urban land and the new demand for housing. If not careful in applying the formula of the “creative city”, it could fail when not providing a real contribution to the understatement of the deep postindustrial realities that most of the world cities present today.

Economic crisis and urban creativity

The recent economic uncertainty calls for a reinterpretation of the Creative Era from the 90s, where new visions of urban renovation can lead to a better policy making respond. The moments of crisis usually generate new perspectives and ideas, and historically in times of economic depression the creative industry had led process for urban development. One of these scenarios was the NY area during the 70's crisis, where whole districts had a new economic and social dynamic using cultural branding and innovation hubs, in the areas of Greenwich Village and Hudson River former industrial areas. Nevertheless, the impacts on land speculation and gentrification produced a displacement of the very same cultural stakeholders that promote the cultural branding of their urban zones.

On the other hand, London recession beginning the 90's did not create a new class of urban creativity clusters, but a high income real estate development in the center of the city. In the actual era of austerity, it is important to explore the new relationship between creativity and urban economic restructuration, particularly according to the drastic reductions on cities budget on education and support of cultural activities, and the impact of theses on the new policies for urban wellbeing and housing. Finally, regarding this urban processes, the cultural theorist Malcolm Miles (1997) states that "...now we are moving into a different phase of the creative agenda, recognizing the true value of the social capital as a key factor for an integral economic revitalization of urban areas".

Case Study: Medellin Creative Strategies for urban development

The city of Medellin is the second largest urban agglomeration in Colombia, with a population of 4 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area. During the 80's, this city has had one of the highest crime rates in the world, due to the mafia war over controlling the drugs business. However, in the last 10 years the city has been undergoing a process of revitalization, achieving great results and improving urban life, especially in the marginalized areas where more than 1 million persons used to live without access to the city's infrastructure such transport, public services, public space and education. The city planning department adapted the strategic planning principles and created Integrated Urban Plans (PUI) (*Medellin Planning Department*) that integrated strategic lines in the most urgent areas for urban recovery and integration.

This strategic plan had a bottom-up vision instead of the usual master planning tools that were not effective for the rapidly changing conditions of the informal areas of the city, and approached the communities with a capacity building strategy, implemented in many similar cities by UN Habitat (*United Nations Development Program*). One of the most interesting human capital resources of this population was their strong cultural background, while the city administration supported this capabilities of the population with a Creative Cluster strategy included in their strategic plan for the city.

Medellin Urban Innovation

As result, the city of Medellin is now one of the most recognized cities for urban revitalization and a best practice example for Inclusive architecture, new urban spaces and social recovery. During the last year, the city hosted the Ciudades Creativas Conference organized by the Fundacion Kreanta, a Spanish based organization that supports the discussion on the evolution of the creative city concepts and their effective adaptation in processes of urban renovation (*Foundation Kreanta*).

VISTA SUR ESTACIÓN JUAN XXIII



Image 2 Project for Metrocable in Medellín informal areas, developed by Medellín City Administration and Colombian Transport Ministry.

The MIT Senseable Lab, directed by Prof. Ratti is also collaborating in expanding this vision into a Digital City strategy supported also by Ruta N, and the City Planning Department (*MIT Senseable Lab*). The idea is to make urban processes more effective using urban digital infrastructure to improve the access and communication in different areas of the city, reducing the physical and social barriers between city areas and offering vulnerable communities access to technical education that will allow them to enter the city labor market in a faster way. This innovation in urban planning had been acknowledged with several prizes for sustainable urban development such as the Holcim Award, the UN Habitat Scroll of Honor and the city have been elected to host the next World Urban Forum in April, 2014 (*World Urban Forum 7*), which is the largest world forum for thinking and transfer knowledge in the area of urban development.

Conclusions and Recommendations

While the concept of “creativity” has been generally associated with originality and innovation in arts and sciences, since 1980 this concept has been expanded to cultural, social and economic transformation of companies and cities. During the 90s and 2000s, economists and business theorists started to argue that the growth of contemporary capitalism depended on the constant urban creative innovation and the ability to adapt to constant changing conditions of urban competitiveness. The idea was that the periods of uncertainty in everyday life are the inevitable result of global processes of creative distress.

This has led to the emergence of urban development forms and particular urban dynamics that disregard the consequences of working life based in personal flexibility. According to the UNTAC report (2010), the recent era of creative classes, creative clusters, creative neighborhoods and creative industries have led employment conditions to be increasingly short-term, casual and precarious in quality and benefits. New forms of work have become to privilege people with certain kind of class connections, skills, appearance and life styles. The public politic agenda in Medellín has been based on entrepreneurship and flexibility, instead of basic concepts of employment, labor laws and benefits.

The following list shows pros and cons for Creative Cities, developed from research on Creative City in the Faculty of Habitat Sciences, Program of Architecture and Urbanism, La Salle University:

Pros:

- Use of technology to make connections
- Potential for Renovation of problematic urban areas
- Cities not depending on manufacturing sectors
- Value in creation and innovation
- Promote Cultural and Art activities that may increase social cohesion and capital.
- City or districts branding may lead to tourism sector increase

Cons:

- Urban Renovation may lead to gentrification
- Can increase the segregation gap in the cities
- Renovated districts become intellectual ghettos
- Large amounts of former manufacturing employees out of work
- Land Value and Real State Bubble Effect
- Employees in the creative sector may not have labor security

Education has played a significant role in a creative vision in Medellin, and in which public schools increasingly emphasize capacity building in technology, media and visual arts as top career aspirations. At the same time, universities offer courses in “Business and Creativity” as research focuses creative industries throughout its range of action. To understand the real possibilities of urban creativity, it is necessary to perform an in-depth analysis of the way in which these theories have been implemented by stakeholders, private and public institutions, and also our academic urban research community. As suggested by the urban geographer Steve Millington (2009) “the creative agenda in some cities have created even more marginalization and inequality, putting more emphasis on the economic growth instead of reducing the social and physical disparities on the city. This has created private worlds of hipsters and fashion districts, increasing the atmosphere of segregation and urban division”.

This suggests us to stop for a while the dependency on creativity, or at least to look for alternative ways instead of the homogeneous creative city advertize as the panacea for urban decline. Also suggest to make a more sensitive and objective valuation of the great impact of the “creative urbanism” per se, and the necessity to reevaluate and consolidate working class and institutions that provide all the people, and not only a few fortunate creative class, with the capacity to explore their own intrinsic capacities for invention and imagination in urban development.

Final recommendations:

1. Integrate all people into the urban revitalization process
2. Keep local residents in urban renovated areas through real state price and rental control
3. Redistribute income into city development for poorest areas
4. Local development policy with community participation from the beginning.
5. Offer better labor security to new employees
6. A diverse city is an active city
7. Offer more inclusive public space for integration
8. Promote cultural and educational activities that integrate all classes, not only the creative class.

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CREATIVE CLASS IN POLISH CITIES

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Abstract

Taking onboard one of the most controversial, broadly discussed, criticised, yet invariably popular among practitioners concepts of 'creative class' by Richard Florida this paper aims to test the hypothesis in case of Polish cities. The main objective of the presented study was to test the creative class hypothesis and its relation to the competitiveness and attractiveness of cities in Polish urban context. Significance of creative class as driver of urban development is widely discussed and tested in American, European and Australian literature. In Poland, however, there is still lack of accurate and comprehensive analysis of creative class, as well as its preconditions and impacts. Presented study is one of the first attempts to provide comprehensive, internationally comparable study of creative class in Polish cities. Unlike previous studies based on regional level data (which according to Florida are not adequate for analysing urban and metropolitan phenomena) this one exploits NUTS 4 occupational data. Results of the study are based on original definitions of indicators of key variables proposed by Richard Florida. Moreover, paper tests also other definitions of creative workforce proposed by Florida's opponents and critics to verify which indicators have most explanatory potential in Polish urban context.

Keywords: creative economy, creative workforce, creative class, occupations, Polish cities

Introduction

Cities, like children, bear such a heavy load of projection that their real character can be hard to see. [...] These days, cities so dominate the world that you can use them to demonstrate any truth you choose. This brilliant observation made by Nicholas Lemann in his article 'Get out of town. Has the celebration of cities gone too far?' published in the *The New Yorker* brings the essence of why it is both very important and very complicated to talk about urban development nowadays (Lemann, 2011). This remark is particularly important in the context of the economic crisis debate regarding cities and possible paths of recovery. Many scholars dealing with metropolises and globalization oscillate between science and journalism. Some of them tend to overestimate economic growth as ultimate urban development goal and accept the 'innovation' dogma as something that any human activity should strive to. The publishing market is promoting titles that provide tempting, simple and attractive framework of explaining complex socio-economic processes that take place in cities nowadays. This type of literature and its authors mastered the skill of simplifying complex issues by tailoring them to the needs of local policymakers and business practitioners - stakeholders who don't have the time to get deep into complex theoretical models and subtle calculations. They prefer more 'digestible' literature providing many examples, case studies, individual success stories, where the theory is just an anecdotal framework, and the author's thesis is supported by his personal life experiences. One of the concepts that is subject to this criticism is creative class theory introduced by Richard Florida.

According to creative class theory, with the progressive transformation of the economy towards knowledge-based economy innovation is becoming increasingly important, as the main source of economic growth and prosperity. The theory states that the primary resource of the economy, in other words, the means of production, is no longer capital, natural resources or labor, but knowledge (Florida, 2002). To ensure a high level of innovation in the economy it is necessary to supply more and more talented and creative workers (Florida, 2002). Such people are described by the theory as creative class. The role of the creative class in today's economy lies in the fact that their professional activities are closely related to creative and innovative problem solving in everyday tasks. The creative class includes among

others representatives of professions such as scientists, designers, engineers, artists, architects, business leaders, some health care professionals and teachers. Principle of the creative capital theory is the assumption that talent, knowledge and creativity of people are becoming key resources of the city in knowledge-based production processes (Florida, 2010). Florida understands creativity as ability to use available knowledge to create new, useful forms, which is the overriding economic resource. In this sense 'knowledge' and 'information' are the materials and tools of creativity. While the 'innovation', in the form of technological innovations, new business models or new methods, is the product of creativity (Neal, 2012).

Richard Florida is one of those who, as Lemann argues, *helped usher in the new era of urban cheer* starting his spectacular career with publication of 'The Rise of the Creative Class' (Lemann, 2011). Ever since its publishing the concept of creative class has had a huge impact on practitioners at the local, regional and national level and thereby on the creation of development programs. Because of that impact on urban practice Richard Florida raises many extreme reactions and controversies. For many of his critics the fact that Florida owns a thriving consulting firm and promotes his brand through media, among mayors, as well as in academia, boosting prices for lectures or consultations undermines his credibility as a researcher.

Another problem is the gap between Florida's concepts, its perception and practical implications. Much of the confusion regarding Florida's theory results from the phenomenon of 'creative wannabes', that is actions and strategies inspired by literal interpretations by practitioners and implementations of projects targeted at 'creative class' taking place in inadequate locations, using inadequate means and communication strategies, especially in medium-sized post-industrial cities with low or medium growth.

Understanding creativity – clash between theory and practice

Defining creativity raises many terminological questions. The conceptualization of this term is a challenge due to its interdisciplinary character and use of multiple methodologies and indicators. One of the challenges is to define criteria for distinguishing creative environments, people, products from the non-creative. The debate concerning creativity within the social sciences has its origins in cognitive theories investigating intellectual structures and learning processes that provide understanding of reality, create solutions and ideas that are new and meet cognitive needs (Lubart & Sternberg, 1998; Lubart, 2004; Sternberg, 2012).

Markusen notes that creativity used as an explanatory variable of differences in regional performance operates according to the so-called fuzzy conceptual logic⁷ (Markusen, 2006), which means that it is not possible to determine what is creative and what is not in a simple, true or false way. In other words, various degrees and types of creativity are characterized by nonlinear impact on regional development (Markusen, Wassall, & DeNatale, 2006). At the same time, the need to measure the impact of creativity on urban development is strongly emphasized in the literature as results of numerous quantitative and qualitative analyses show significant correlation between the stimulation of creativity in a particular place and emergence of economic niches that are resistant to the price-driven global competition (Wojan, Lambert, & McGranahan, 2007).

Review of existing literature allows to summarise that definition of creativity is subject to three competing realities. Firstly, the researchers are trying to develop a concept, which is noticeably different from the others and at the same time is possible to defend and prove empirically. Secondly, any research effort is related to specific interest groups and political

⁷ Fuzzy conceptual logic, in contrast to classical logic, which is based on binary, true or false values, introduces intermediate values between 0 and 1, 'blurring' the boundaries and thereby allowing a partial truth or partial false. These continuous values reflect the membership degree of a particular element to a fuzzy set. Fuzzy sets are, in turn, sets of elements characterized by presence of a characteristic varying intensity, such as a set of high persons includes members that are quite high, very high, high, etc. (Klir & Yuan, 1995).

areas, which often determines the choice of a particular definition. Thirdly, the selection criteria are often narrowed by availability and sources of data. While there is a wide range of potential data sources, the problem is the way they are aggregated by sector, type of business, industry, profession, or territorial unit (Markusen et al., 2006).

Ambiguity of creativity as a concept is furthermore affected by the fact that it's subject to different interpretations formulated by practitioners, various professionals, urban planners in different cities and geographical areas, in specific rhetoric of urban policy, strategies and territorial marketing documents. The literature is dominated by Anglo-Saxon and Western understanding of creativity in urban context and little is known how other countries and areas of the world interpret, redefine and apply in practice concepts such as creative industries, creative class or cultural production (Borén & Young, 2012; Evans, 2009; Markusen et al., 2006). Applied research on creativity in cities roughly reflects on definitional issues concerning spatial planning, specific national preconditions and political structures, models of territorial administration or cultural traditions and social values (Borén & Young, 2012; Edensor, Leslie, Millington, & Rantisi, 2009; Gibson & Kong, 2005; Van Heur, 2009; Waite & Gibson, 2009).

The debate on urban creativity is subject to the phenomenon that Ward and McCann define as *urban policy mobilities*. They argue that urban policy *'travels' globally in complex ways during which its core meanings can be altered through the mundane practices of urban actors* (McCann & Ward, 2010, 2012; McCann, 2004a, 2004b). Urban policy concepts spread as sets of keywords, fashions and trends that are interpreted and adapted through practices in specific local contexts which can result in twisting original ideas through modifications, adaptations and redefinitions. Therefore transfers of urban policy mobilities are rarely of complex, literal or direct character (Peck & Theodore, 2010). This phenomenon is particularly interesting in studying impacts of the 'creative city' concept on urban policy programmes and strategies during the first decade of the twenty-first century (Borén & Young, 2012; Currid, 2007; Evans, 2009; Landry, 2000, 2006; McCann, 2007; Novy & Colomb, 2012; Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2010; Waite & Gibson, 2009).

3T: talent, tolerance and technology

According to Florida urban and regional development based on innovation is dependent on the so-called 3T - talent, tolerance and technology. All three dimensions are closely related, and even though each of them individually has a positive influence on innovation, it takes all to create positive synergies. According to Florida each of these elements is necessary, but not sufficient to attract creative people, generate innovation, and stimulate economic growth (Florida, 2005). Talent stands for highly educated workforce, which is essential for the formation of regional development and innovation. Technology, is understood as hi-tech industry. The combination of these two factors and their spatial concentration allows the formation of technology clusters and innovative business. The third element, tolerance, describes social and cultural factors necessary for innovation and development of creative activity. Tolerance is associated with easy accessibility to goods, services, facilities and other people. This means low barriers of entry into various areas of socio-economic development and openness to new values, lifestyles and cultures. This model shall be used as canvas for testing

Conceptualising creative class

Taking into account the above mentioned conceptual challenges it is necessary to investigate how different authors and institutions define creative class and creative workforce and that test these definitions in order to observe their explanatory potential.

Florida identifies the creative class on the basis of specific professions, rather than indicators of education and business sectors. Therefore, this theory is an interesting

alternative to conventionally understood human capital. The operational definition of the creative class assumes that its representatives are people who do the creative professions and are related to broadly understood innovation. That's why representatives of the creative class can be found in every industry. Therefore the challenge of this research is precise identification of the professions, which actually are associated with creative activity (Florida, 2002).

Creative class as defined by Florida consists of three components. Super-creative core is formed by scientists and engineers, university professors, writers and poets, artists, employees in entertainment industry, actors, designers and architects, as well as the intellectual leaders of modern societies: documentary writers, publishers, editors, cultural personalities, researchers and employees of think tanks, analysts and other representatives of the opinion-forming circles (Florida & Jacobs, 2003). The highest segment of the creative work is, according to Florida, to produce new forms, projects that are ready to use and can be widely applied. This may be inventing a new product that can be manufactured, sold and used on a large scale, it can be to create a theoretical concept or strategy, giving the advantage in various situations, in the end it can be to compose a piece of music that can be played in different arrangements. People within super-creative core are by definition doing this type of work regularly. They simply get paid for their creativity. In addition to solving problems, their work may also include defining and identifying problems (Florida, 2005). In addition to this group, creative class also consists of other 'creative professionals' who work in a variety of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sector, financial services. There are also lawyers, doctors, businessmen and senior managers. These people are involved in the processes of creative problem solving. Their tasks usually require a college education and consequently high human capital. The representatives of this group are regularly required to think independently, apply or combine standard procedures in an innovative manner so that they are adequate to the situation; independent assessment of the situation, courage to use non-standard solutions. In the course of their work they may also participate in the improvement of new technologies, techniques, methods, and may even create them themselves. If as a result of promotion or career change, creating new solutions becomes the main task of such a professional, then they become part of super-creative core (Florida, 2005). The third segment is the so-called creative class are the so-called bohemians, artists or professionals, musicians, photographers, fashion designers and models.

Many scholars have questioned operational definition of the creative class claiming that it is so broad and includes so many professions that in consequence it confuses creative professions with professions that require high human capital, and includes some professions that are neither creative nor specialist (Markusen et al., 2006; Wojan et al., 2007). Therefore this study uses traditional human capital indicator as an alternative to creative class in order to stay in line with critical evaluations and testing of Florida's theory (Donegan & Lowe, 2008; Florida, Mellander, & Stolarick, 2008; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2008).

Alternative definitions of creative workforce

Some of the critical remarks concerning operational definition of creative class state that this definition is too broad and does in practice doesn't differ much from the human capital indicators. According to other critics of research training approach creative workforce indicator should include wider context of industrial, spatial and social relations behind creative production (Pratt, 2008). Therefore this analysis provides three alternative, narrow and more specific operational definitions of creative workforce in order to test their explanatory potential as indicators. They are presented in the following table.

Table 1. Alternative definitions of creative workforce

Variable	Indicator	Occupational groups
CULTURAL WORKERS (A. Markusen)	core cultural workers	Artists and related workers, Photographers, Actors, Producers and directors, Dancers and choreographers
	related cultural workers	Announcers, News analysts, reporters, and correspondents, Editors, Technical writers, Miscellaneous media and communications workers, Broadcast and sound engineering technicians and radio operators
CREATIVE WORKFORCE (ESPON)		Architects and designers, Academics, Teachers, Analytics and programmers, Computing professionals, Librarians and archivists, Social studies specialists, Writers and journalists, Artists, Business service specialists, Lawyers, Curators and cultural workers, Telecommunication specialists, Stewards and guides, Craft workers
CULTURAL WORKFORCE (NEFA)	core categories	Performing Artists, Visual Artists, Creative Artists, Applied Artists, Information and Cultural Support
	peripheral categories	Chefs, bakers and cooks, Hospitality professionals, Printing operators, Artisans

Definition of cultural workers and its two components (core and related cultural workers) proposed by Ann Markusen has gained noticeable recognition in the literature, among other things because it takes into account the criticisms of creative class. The proposal takes into account both occupational and educational criteria (Markusen, Wassall, DeNatale, & Cohen, 2008; Markusen & Schrock, 2006; Markusen et al., 2006). It is strongly focused on cultural dimension of creativity, namely artists, what Florida refers to as ‘bohema’, and their institutional surrounding.

Another definition is the ‘creative workforce’ indicator developed by the ESPON programme is based on professions, not industries measuring the share of occupations related to the creative workforce. The share of local workers (active population) engaging in creative and cultural professions has been taken as an indication of how ‘embedded’ creativity and culture is in local production systems and its importance for economic development (Russo, 2011). This is a robust way to measure the creative class as it provides harmonised regional data across Europe, it ensures international comparisons and comes from an official and reliable source of information. ESPON definition is more content oriented and focused on various sorts of specialists regardless of their formal education.

Finally, this analysis also tests the NEFA ‘cultural workforce’ definition developed by the New England Creative Economic Initiative, designed to articulate the nature and significance of the cultural sector, which employs a broad definition of the creative economy yet restricts it to cultural activity and not science, engineering, and other high human capital fields. It further divides these into core activities, consisting of industries and occupations that directly make, produce, or market cultural product and enabling peripheral activities such as producing and repairing dedicated equipment to retailing cultural outputs, it represents occupations, mostly not requiring formal higher education, however responsible for lifestyle related cultural products and services (Denatale & Wassall, 2007). The NEFA definition, similarly to Ann Markusen’s definition is focused of cultural segment of workforce, however this definition is much broader.

Data and methodology

The data for the quantitative analysis has been derived from the Polish National Statistical Office from the survey of the structure of wages by occupation for 2010 (CSO survey symbol Z-12). The survey is performed every two years on a representative sample of 27.2 thousand employers (13%) and includes national economy entities employing more than 9 people.

Results cover population of approximately 8.0 million full-time and part-time employees. Unlike other international analyses this paper is not based on occupational census data, which in Polish case, are available only for 1988 and 2002. The reason for this methodological choice is the need to perform quantitative calculations on most recent data available, as Polish cities experienced very rapid changes during the past decade. The shortcoming of this methodological choice is the limited quality of data resulting from grounding the study on very large companies and institutions (average operator who submitted the report counted 138 employees) and excluding smaller employers. Not including the 'long tail', which is supposed to reflect the structure of new branches of economy, into the analysis provides a significant limitation to the presented results (Anderson, 2004). The data used in in this analysis are selected categories of ISCO- 88 occupational classes (3 digits) for 65 Polish city counties, that is cities over 100 000 inhabitants (NUTS 4). Operationalisation of key variables is presented in the table below.

Table 2. Operationalisation of key variables

Variable	Indicator	Data
Creative class	Super-creative core	CSO estimated occupational data ISCO-88 3D, NUTS 4; sample : 27,000 (13%); 9+ employees
	Creative professionals	
	Bohemians	
Talent	TalentIndex	% of population with higher education
Technology	Techpole (LQ) 2010	% of workforce in hi-tech industries
	Innovation Index	Patents per 1000 population
Tolerance	GayIndex	No. of announcements on gejowo.pl
	OpenessIndex	Foreign born inhabitants per 1000 population
Economic performance	GDP per capita 2010	Estimated for NUTS 4 level
Agglomeration	Population 2010	Inhabitants

Creative class in Polish cities

In order to test the creative class hypothesis and alternative hypotheses in case of Polish cities few correlations shall be performed. This task is divided into two steps and illustrated by the following tables. Firstly, creative class vs. traditional human capital indicator is put to test. Than testing is conducted among various indicators of creative workforce.

The choice of occupational categories of each of creative class subgroups has been adopted from the large international study by Boschma and Fritsch (Boschma & Fritsch, 2007). Like in other international comparative analyses talent is operationalized as share of population with higher education. Technology-related variables are also based on original studies by Richard Florida and adopted from classifications used by Boschma and Fritsch (Boschma & Fritsch, 2007). Techpole Index, following Milken Institute procedure, has been calculated as location quotient of share of workforce employed in hi-tech industries (NACE classification), which means, that it reflects both the local degree of specialization in technology intensive activity as well as its sheer scale of employment in these sectors. Innovation Index is constructed on the basis of number of patents per 1000 population.

Table 3. Correlations between creative class and variables of the '3T' model

	Super-creative core	Creative specialists	Creative class	TalentIndex
city counties (N=65)				
Techpole	0,007	,336**	,262*	,685**
Innovation Index	-0,093	,271*	0,162	,459**
GayIndex	-,170	,584**	,366**	,693**
OpenessIndex	-,086	,558**	,389**	,698**
GDP per capita	-0,239	,473**	0,234	,446**
Population	-0,104	,497**	,330**	,505**

Tolerance-related variables are standard Openess Index based on foreign born inhabitants per 1000 population and controversial Gay Index, which due to lack of data is based on number of active announcements on largest Polish gay dating portal. Taking into account Polish cultural and social context, which is quite conservative in terms of tolerance towards homosexual environment, Gay Index seems a valid tolerance indicator. This is contrary to many other European countries, where using Gay Index to indicate tolerance has been contested. Finally, measures of economic performance and size of the city are standard GDP per capita (estimated for some of the analysed cities) and number of inhabitants.

Table 3. presents results of correlating creative class components, total creative class variable and talent indicator against '3T' model variables. Results show that in general traditional measure of human capital provides better explanatory potential in terms of technology, tolerance and economic potential of Polish cities. In each case share of population with higher education proves significantly strong to moderate correlation with '3T' variables. Strong correlation is seen between Talent and Techpole Index, Gay Index and Openess Index. It means that people with higher education tend to concentrate in cities with strong technology sector and tolerance towards different background and lifestyle. This result indicates that Polish cities might not function in the paradigm of creativity-driven development due to their underdeveloped metropolitan functions and innovation sector. A traditional human capital being more appropriate explanatory variable than creative class indicators is in line with results of national (Gorzela & Smętkowski, 2005; Jałowicki, 2010; Smętkowski, 2009) and international research (ESPON FOCI, 2009).

Total creative class indicator shows weak significant correlation only with tolerance and city size indicators. This means that in case of Polish cities creative class does not present valid explanatory potential as driver of metropolitan development. On the other hand the fact, that tolerance rather than technology is correlated with this specific occupational mix might be an interesting observation with potential regarding forecasting future trends of urban development in Poland. Yet, this observation does not prove strong grounding in analysed data. More detailed analysis of creative class components shows, that it is the creative specialists rather than super-creative core that show significant correlation to technology, tolerance and economic performance. As much as these correlations are significant, they are visibly weaker than measure of human capital. Creative professionals work in a variety of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sector, financial and legal services, healthcare and business. In other words, this group of specialists reflects dynamic development of business services in Polish cities. This indicator is also closely correlated with human capital, as creative specialists usually require a college education and consequently high human capital.

Surprisingly, super-creative core component doesn't show any significant correlation to

any of the '3T' model components. This result confirms the above mentioned remarks concerning development path of Polish cities. The impact of Polish super-creative core, that is scientists, engineers, writers, artists, designers and architects, etc. doesn't seem to visibly translate into quality-driven development. It implies that the potential of this group of workforce is not fully capitalized in the economic and social processes taking place in Polish cities. This result is consistent with earlier observations.

In order to verify whether observed results regarding Polish cities are consequences of the urban development paradigm or just questionable operational definition of creative class another test shall be performed. Second test is parallel to the first one and also based on correlation analysis, however in this case alternative definitions of creative workforce are contrasted.

Table 4. presents results of the of correlating total creative class and alternative measures against '3T' model variables. Results show that only creative class indicator shows positive and significant, although weak, correlation with technology, tolerance and population size. Other variables, regardless of their orientation prove no significant correlation to any of the analysed '3T' model components. It means that while not being a perfect explanatory indicator, when compared to alternative ones, creative class proves to have at least some explanatory potential in case of Polish cities. More specific definitions of creative workforce, just like the component of super-creative core, don't present significant analytical capacity in the context of Polish cities.

Table 4. Correlations of alternative creative workforce and variables of the '3T' model

	Creative class	Cultural workers (Markusen)	Creative workforce (ESPON)	Cultural workforce (NEFA)
city counties (N=65)				
Techpole	,262*	0,151	-0,052	-0,059
Innovation Index	0,162	0,049	-0,068	0,121
GayIndex	,366**	,086	-,063	-,021
OpenessIndex	,389**	,221	-,100	,029
GDP per capita	0,234	0,005	-0,147	-0,038
Population	,330**	0,089	-0,069	0,119

Therefore it's possible to generalize, that it is still too soon to assume that Polish cities function in global league of creative cities. This observation should not however question legitimacy of policy measures targeted at creative sectors and creative class. It rather puts creativity discourse in Poland in adequate framework, as other areas, such as general quality of life and innovation might be more urgent areas of policy interventions than creative workforce and sector.

Conclusion

Testing creative class hypothesis in the context of Polish cities proved to be an interesting intellectual and analytical exercise. Results show that while creative class measure in case of tolerance and technology proves weak but significant explanatory capacity of quality-driven urban development, it is mainly its 'less creative' component of creative professionals that more adequately explains situation in Polish cities. Moreover, a traditional indicator of human capital proves to have much stronger explanatory potential than any of creative class components. Finally, none of the alternative creative workforce definitions appeared to be

significantly correlated with '3T' model indicators. These results lead to conclusion, that Polish cities might not function in the paradigm of creativity-driven development and that the potential of creative workforce is not fully capitalized in the economic and social processes taking place in Polish cities.

Some scholars claim, that Central and Eastern-European cities function in the paradigm of 'creative imitation' (Capello, 2012), a strategy that is bringing rapid urban growth in this macro region, but is following a different rationale from the one postulated by Richard Florida. Consequently, it might be too early to mainstream urban policy in Poland around notion of creativity, as other areas, such as quality of life and innovation might need more urgent policy attention. Otherwise Polish cities might fall in the trap of becoming 'creative wannabes' and spend public resources on inadequate ventures and projects. Another explanation of achieved results can be linked to the quality of data and its shortcomings related to the fact that they exclude small employers and further methodological limitations of using quantitative indicators to reflect the role of creative people (Comunian, Faggian, & Li, 2010).

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SUSTAINABLE INTERVENTION THE ROLE OF DESIGN ACTIVISM IN STIMULATING CHANGE IN A COMMON SYSTEM OF VALUES

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Abstract

Today in urban environment there is a certain level of tension around the idea of sustainability. The common understanding of importance of sustainable behavior does not provide a solid notion and feeling of sustainability. A solution, that design may suggest, is engaging communities in acts of design activism in public urban spaces with an objective to strengthen sustainability as a common value. The paper reviews the previous knowledge in order to compile working definitions of sustainability and design activism. Further on, it analyzes the practices in the field of design activism and, as a result, comes up with a framework for a design intervention for the sake of sustainability, that provides a basis for the following practical stage of research.

Keywords: Sustainability; Design Activism; Values

Introduction

The current state of urban environment discloses a certain level of tension around the idea of sustainability. Suddenly, it is crucial for branches of industry and business and for daily life in general to be sustainable. In new media, one comes across, for instance, numerous cases of questionable sustainable design (Lockton, 2013; Miao's Culture & Sustainable Design..., 2013; Tobyonline, 2012), gets introduced to a concept of sustainable banks (Sustainable bank - UniCredit, 2013), sustainable destinations for traveling (Sustainable Destinations, 2013) and sustainable kitchen (A Sustainable Christmas Table, 2013). The situation may require from designers and design researchers more than a quiet and measured exploration of sustainability and sustainable design matters.

Both designers and the target group of their practices are confronted today with the reality where the results of the design process are not merely products or services. They bear messages and embody purposes that have an impact on society and common system of values. This may be the time to actively address the new, but omnipresent value of sustainability.

First of all, it is important to take into consideration a few variables that demonstrate what challenges sustainable design faces and what obstacles stand in the way of effective sustainable design practices. One of such challenges is finding a way to approach the complex and distant terms '*sustainability*' and '*sustainable development*' that have been defined, systematized and classified by researchers from various fields for the past three decades since the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission) in 1987. As mentioned by Dimitrov, the intractability of definitions of sustainability lies in the parties who create them, not in the issues of sustainability as such (2010). I argue whether this intractability lies, among other reasons, in the purposes the definitions of sustainability aim to serve and the parties they are addressed to, the parties that are meant to comprehend these definitions and apply them to daily situations. It appears quite often that the actors defining sustainability aim the concept to be perceived specifically by certain academic, business, political or other groups, but not by the common public in general. I can mention as an example supporting this argument a complex wording by Pearce et al

"vector of desirable social objectives" used to explain sustainability (1988).

There are, of course, different levels of individual sustainability awareness among common public. There is a great number of those who do not know what sustainability is and don't even have the word in their vocabulary. At times, such misconception may reach a bigger, macro cultural level. For example, the closest word Russian language has to "sustainability" can be translated as "устойчивость" (stability) (Savina, 2013). But stable is not necessarily sustainable. For instance, growth rate of global pollution is very stable. And the French use the word "durabilité" (durability) (RAU Architectes, 2013). But does durable mean sustainable? For example, plastic is very durable, its half-life reaches 100-200 years. Professor Gunvor Guttorm of Sámi University College in Kautokeino, Norway, expresses a certain confusion about the term "sustainability" and how important the use of this term is (lecture, 18 Sept. 2013). According to her, in Sámi language and, therefore, the culture itself there are around 20 terms referring to the concept, i.e. "bistevaš" (strong and continuing), "rivggas" (lasting, never-ending), "duohčat" (saving, preserving, reasonable use, careful treatment).

The notion of sustainability may translate into practice in various ways depending on different level of individual sustainability awareness. Some people may have got themselves familiar with some of the definitions and carry out some sustainable practices. What is sustainability according to these individuals? Is it recycling garbage? Buying local products? These are certainly very commendable practices, but are they enough? (On a side note, how much can we even rely on conscious consumerism as long as the consumer still has a choice between sustainable and unsustainable products and services? Is it not a bigger objective for designers and other collaborators to eradicate the mere possibility of unsustainable consumption?) And prior to further discussion, a timely question posed by Oakley has to be asked: "Why is sustainability something we must be compelled to embrace?" (Oakley et al, 2008).

Asking these questions, from my perspective, refines a problem of multiple nature: the absence of a solid notion and feeling of sustainability leads to unjustified turmoil around the concept and, eventually, does not result into effective sustainable behavior.

What actions can be taken to deal with the problem and who is to take those actions? One possible solution, that design may suggest, is engaging communities in acts of design activism, design interventions in public urban spaces with an objective to explain the idea of sustainability, demonstrate and motivate sustainable behavior and eventually to strengthen it as a common value. This is time to be political and proactive through the methods of design activism.

The paper discusses sustainability in depth. This argument and defining the concept are an important part of the paper and the research as a whole, crucial for gaining understanding of the problem. However, the universal understanding of the concept of sustainability and the problems around it is more of a far goal that is expected to be reached closer towards the end of the research. This paper's findings are expected to be focused on the field of design activism, reviewing what has been done in the field and what can be borrowed from that experience and applied to address the value of sustainability.

The main question this particular paper deals with is "what is an efficient framework for implementation of an urban design intervention against unsustainable behavior?" The findings will provide a basis for practical tests in scope of bigger research. In this paper, I, first, review the previous thinking that has been done around defining sustainability and design activism. Further on, specific cases of practices implemented in the meeting point of these fields are described. After briefly describing the research methodology, I analyze possible methods and approaches of execution of a design intervention in an urban public space in order to create a basis for subsequent practical application.

Core Concepts

Prior to further discussion some vocabulary has to be established to introduce and link together the terms that lie at times in quite distant academic fields. As mentioned before, the study undertakes to discuss the issues of sustainability through the language of design, more precisely via design activism. Therefore, for the sake of this study it is important to clarify the two key concepts: *sustainability* and *design activism*.

Even though *Sustainability* might not be the only central concept to be defined in the scope of this paper, it certainly is the most vague one. Among the objectives of my broader research there is an aim to define, explain or even to coin an alternative name for the concept in order to make it perceived and accepted on as many societal levels and by as many groups as possible. But in this paper I will have to review and follow the definitions offered by preceding discussion and research.

As expressed previously, in the introduction, the common shortcomings of a great number of existing definitions of sustainability are complexity, narrow field of application and, quite often, a clear agenda of an interested party. Some scholars would even formulate this concern in a less tolerant manner - Fortune and Hughes, for example, refer to sustainability as to an empty concept "lacking firm substance and containing embedded ideological positions" (1993). A definition of such nature would be the one by SustainAbility, a strategic advisory firm that states, "while sustainability is about the future of our society, for today's industries and businesses, it is also about commercial success" (Sustainability: Can Our Society Endure?, 2013). A positive aspect such disorder of definitions shows is that clearly "everybody agrees that sustainability is a „good thing“" (Allen and Hoekstra, 1997) and, therefore, makes attempts to define it. But perhaps it would be more beneficial in many respects if as wide community as possible, rather than just a narrow top business community, could relate to the term and the meaning behind it.

At times, a very concise and apt explanation can be found, such as the one by Lither of the US Environmental Protection Agency, defining sustainability as "the study of the interconnectedness of all things" (2008). It is certainly a valid observation, though it lacks some core criteria of sustainability, such as its relation to time. Besides, one would argue whether sustainability is a study, rather it is preferred to be seen as "ways of life" (Shove, 2003).

A quantity of researchers and institutions base their notion of sustainability on the definition by the World Commission on Environment and Development (the Brundtland Commission) according to which sustainability or sustainable development "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987). This statement appears to touch upon two issues that are likely to evoke a response among a wider community: 1) the issue of needs that every individual can relate to one way or another; 2) an implication that our current way of being affects the ways of being of our children. However, the definition seems to leave more questions than answers, not to mention the load of responsibility it places on the shoulders of a conscious citizen.

Hawken has taken the thought further and formulated in simple words the rule of restorative economy, that can be applied to a much wider range of fields. It contributes, among other themes, to understanding of sustainability: "Leave the world better than you found it, take no more than you need, try not to harm life or the environment, make amends if you do" (Hawken, 1993). In consonance to this thought, Hardt M. notices that humans are the only world species that has a concept of waste, that is "we take resources, turn them into products, use the products and throw them away" (2010). Hardt introduces the need to learn circular thinking, in other words, to learn to give back to earth whatever has been taken and to perceive sustainability as "the concept of no-waste" (2010).

One other notion that has to go along with understanding and accepting sustainability is that sustainable behavior does not mean big sacrifice, quite the opposite, it results in better

life quality. Or, in the words of Manzini (as cited in Oakley et al, 2008) referring to excessive consumption as an example of unsustainable behavior, “the action of consuming less has to be combined with a perception of living better”.

Compiling the previous experience and basing itself on the above-mentioned apt definitions, this paper chooses to define sustainability as *ways of being that meet the needs of today without compromising the ways of being and needs of the future through giving back as much as has been taken and along with maintaining a good life quality*.

I believe the approach to pursuing such ways of being should be multidisciplinary and involve numerous actors. But from the position of my current research I suggest the approach of design activism.

In order to specify the term *Design Activism*, it makes sense to start from the notion of conventional activism. The latter is quite often referred to as manifestation of protest and resistance, as in “demonstrations, which took place despite an official ban on political activism and public protests” (El-Nawawy, Khamis, 2012). As explained by Thorpe, the term “activism” may envelop various kinds of routine activity undertaken by advocacy actors (2011), whereas “protest” and “resistance” are more specific and narrow elements of activism, or tactics that “use unconventional methods of political participation” (Taylor, Van Dyke, 2007). I would like to borrow for this paper's connotation of design activism the wording “unconventional methods of participation” for it echoes design approach to problem-solving along with the call to “think outside the box”.

So what are the above-mentioned tactics aimed for or against? Are they a mere opposition to existing unwanted conditions? As observed by Thorpe, activism has also a constructive side to it, that is “reveals an injustice or wrongdoing, but it may also frame a better alternative — it may be generative” (2011). This characteristic correlates with the Simon's understanding of design where it is defined as “courses of action aimed and changing existing situations into preferred ones” (1996).

It is important to mention that advocacy of conventional activism is most likely to have a client. In other words, traditionally it takes action “on behalf of a wronged, excluded or neglected group” (Tilly, 1995; Thorpe, 2011). How does this criteria apply in the situation of design activism? As Thorpe discusses, bringing about change is typically an objective of design, however it does not usually constitute activism on behalf of excluded or neglected groups, but rather aims for general improvements (2011). At the same time she explains that neglected groups can be perceived more widely. For instance, *nature* or *general public* can be examples illustrating neglected groups.

Though Thorpe's approach appears to be accurate and sufficient to define design as activism, it is done however from the position of social studies and conventional activism and, according to some researchers, does not fully consider all the variety of techniques and central elements of specifically design activism (Markussen, 2011). For instance, in her earlier work Thorpe defines only a limited set of form for design activism manifestation: demonstration, act of communication, conventional actions, a service, an events or a protest artefact (2008). Markussen argues that often enough design activism projects fall in between the mentioned categories and points out the need of creating a different more flexible framework for (urban) design activism. He emphasizes as well the significance of aesthetics of activist design practices and concludes that “activist artefacts promote social change by altering the condition for urban experience” (2011).

Summarizing the previous findings on design activism it makes sense to compile a definition of the term for the sake of this paper and, perhaps, further research. *Design activism is a course of actions aimed at revealing injustice and wrongdoing (on behalf of a neglected party) and framing a better alternative, through unconventional methods of participation and expression and with inclusion of design criteria, such as aesthetics, function, usability and others*.

Methodology

Although, along the process of the research the methodology of data collection and analysis may change and/or extend, at this stage it is safe to describe it from qualitative analysis point of view. The research conducted so far falls under the category of "case study", which is, according to Mas, one of the four major approaches to qualitative research along with phenomenology, ethnography and grounded theory (2011). The main question of the case study approach can be formulated as follows: what are the characteristics of this single case or of a number of cases in comparison to each other? Every regarded case is a bounded system (e.g., a person, a group, an activity, a process). Within this paper, I analyze activities from the Case Study Analysis chapter of the paper and, further on, the similar activities of my own design.

Evaluation of the cases from the Case Study Analysis chapter of the paper has been based on their online documentation and according to certain criteria extracted from the formulated in the Core Concepts chapter definition of design activism:

- revealing injustice and wrongdoing
- framing a better alternative
- inclusion of design criteria, such as aesthetics, function, usability and others

One other evaluation criterion for these cases would be "effectiveness of the method in stimulating change". One way or another all the selected cases prove to stimulate a change. This criterion does not evaluate whether a case is relevant, but whether it stimulates a change directly (dealing with a problem in its core) or indirectly (provoking thoughts or actions that might lead to a concrete solution). The application of this criterion will be clarified in Case Study Analysis chapter.

This particular work is interested in collective case study research which is one of the three case study research types. It focuses in studying and comparing multiple cases in a single research study (Stake, 1995).

Case Study Analysis

So what could be an efficient framework for an urban design intervention against unsustainable behavior? This chapter of the paper intends to overview the existing practical projects in the field of design activism in order to analyze examples of implemented interventions. From this analysis, the study aims to gain knowledge and use it to form a framework for the future interventions. The cases described below have been considered relevant as a result of the analysis mentioned in the previous chapter. For convenience in the context of this paper the number of analyzed cases has to be relatively small. These cases have been selected as a result of a subjective analysis of how well they fit the purpose of design activism in the context of sustainability.

Tactical cartography

Tactical cartography can be defined as a graphic spatial representation of urban space that confronts power and promotes social justice. In other words, it is a way of remapping urban space in order to give the citizens freedom to exercise their rights, such as the right of privacy (Markussen, 2011). The objective is to graphically locate all the occurrences of a problem within a geographical unit.

An example of tactical cartography project is a web-based application iSee, active from 1998 till 2002 in New York and later on spread out to Boston, Ljubljana and Amsterdam (iSee, 2013). It is charting the locations of surveillance cameras in urban environments. With its help individuals can plan their urban routes to avoid the cameras and retain their privacy from unregulated security monitors.

From the point of the four criteria for analysis, this case appears to be relevant and effective in "spreading the word" and raising awareness of an existing problem (be it

uncontrolled surveillance or unsustainable behavior). Institute for Applied Autonomy that designed iSee has a clear standpoint on injustice and wrongdoing towards individual privacy and "question the appropriateness of video monitoring in public space" (iSee, 2013). Furthermore, framing a better alternative (in this example, an opportunity to design your own "private" mobility plan) is obviously among the objectives of tactical cartography. One might however argue that such alternative is merely a temporary solution -- simply avoiding the problematic zones (unregulated security monitors) does not stop the problem (interference with individual privacy) from spreading.

Inclusion of design criteria may not be the strongest feature of the application, but it can be pointed out that an act of tactical cartography has a client, is functional and user-friendly and safe to use. As for the aesthetical features, they are not the key requirements for such very technical project.

One may say that tactical cartography effectively stimulates change, that is, influences the community's awareness of an existing problem, as well as its behavior in relation to the problem. However, it often happens that there are "higher powers" partly responsible for causing the problems (in this specific example, government and security companies). It seems to be a harder task to stimulate change in their behavior through an act of design activism. In other words, the method of tactical cartography stimulates change indirectly.

The method can be applied to any situation where a number of similar problematic (e.g. unsustainable) zones can be mapped throughout a certain territory (district, city, municipality etc.). Such cartography, if commonly available, may be diversely used as a connecting instrument between a problem, an activist and an engaged community.

Hacking of urban regulations / space hacking

This method incorporates design experiments with form, material and interactivity aimed to test the boundaries of urban rules and regulations and the ways to evade the ones that seem unjust.

Scaffolding project by Santiago Cirugeda was implemented in Seville in 1998 (Cirugeda, 2013). The project hacks the regulation forbidding urban dwellers to expand their living space according to their own preferences. A scaffolding structure that supports parts of a house is, however, legal. Cirugeda used this freedom to use such support to provide an extra balcony-like room for a certain flat in Sevilla (see Figure 1). The unregulated temporary scaffolding ended up serving as a new room for several months.

The method reveals an injustice and frames an alternative, but the key feature of space hacking is the fact that the framed solution is likely to be disruptive and radical and, therefore, is at risk of being defied rather soon by an opponent party with an agenda (in the example of Scaffolding project that would be the urban planners who support the mentioned regulations). But, despite the risk, is it not one of the main purposes of activist behavior - to be radical aiming for change?

Most of the reviewed cases of space hacking proved to be relevant from the point of view of design - they effectively use the space, are functional and ergonomic, aesthetically appealing, outstanding and innovative. The same Cirugeda places unregulated "homes" on rooftops and in city squares, as a part of his numerous projects from the series *Recetas Urbanas* (Urban Recipes). However the set of design criteria may vary when space hacking is applied not in construction projects, but in other contexts. The effectiveness of the method may reduce to some extent due to its disruptiveness, however it still creates a resonance essential for stimulating change.

In the context of sustainability, space hacking may defy various unjust regulations. An "innocent" example would be a creative arrangement of bike tracks in the urban zones where they are not provided by city planning (another project from the series *Recetas Urbanas*).



Figure 1. Scaffolding project by Santiago Cirugeda, Seville

Urban exploration

Urban exploration in terms of design activism refers to critical engagement with urban space, observing and questioning an existing situation and raising these questions for a community. This questioning results in acts of conscious site-specific⁸ street art⁹ aimed at revealing wrongdoing in a precise urban space.

Sean Martindale's urban exploration act called "Park" took place in Toronto in 2009 (Schiller, 2009). An unattractive spot of the city was planned for building yet another residential complex. However, it had been empty and dirty for several years. The activist arranged an unauthorized lawn on the spot and shaped it as the word "PARK". Martindale's project questions the use of urban space and vegetation distribution in the city.

Even though the method of urban exploration points out the above-mentioned wrongdoing, it does not necessarily frame a better alternative, it rather aims to evoke thoughts that may eventually lead to solving the problem. The activist leaves it for the audience to decide how to address the injustice (if at all). Therefore, its effectiveness in stimulating change may be subject to argument, as the evoked thoughts do not guarantee an action or a behavior change. In terms of design criteria, the method is almost exclusively an aesthetic practice.

From perspective of sustainability, urban exploration provides opportunities for critical engagement and communicating message. A close example would be the work "Improvements on the Hood" by a Russian street artist and activist Timofey Radya where the purposes of omnipresent advertising surfaces are being reinvented and reused (Radya, 2012). For example, the unattractive info-boards placed on the trees are being transformed into nestling boxes for birds (see Figure 2).

The Fun Theory

The Fun Theory is an initiative of Volkswagen Sweden, that promotes the thought that something as simple as fun is the easiest way to change people's behavior for the better.

One of their projects is called "The world's deepest bin" (Eco Lessons with Litter Bins,

⁸ Site-specific (art) - a work (of art) the meanings of which are defined by the place where it is situated. Without the place, the work cannot unitarily exist (Chen, 2005).

⁹ Street art - any art developed in public spaces - that is, "in the streets" - though the term usually refers to unsanctioned art, as opposed to government sponsored initiatives. The term can include traditional graffiti artwork, stencil graffiti, sticker art, street poster art, video projection, art intervention, guerrilla art, flash mobbing and street installations. Typically, the term **street art** or the more specific **post-graffiti** is used to distinguish contemporary public-space artwork from territorial graffiti, vandalism, and corporate art (Fyer11, 2009).

2013). It questions why people fail to throw rubbish in the bin instead of onto the ground and provides a solution to change the situation. The Fun Theory enthusiasts installed a movement sensor under the lid of a normal park garbage bin. When the garbage was dropped the sensor reacted with a sound of falling in a bottomless pit. That garbage bin collected that day 72 kg of garbage. That is 41 kg more than usual.

This is the case where the suggested alternative can be applied to a much wider area than the revealed wrongdoing (throwing garbage on the ground). Through simple examples, The Fun Theory opens up the potential of fun in problem-solving. The activists in this case approach problems in a rather small case addressing very particular problems one at a time and engaging a rather small community (at least, in comparison to the previous cases). This may be one of the reasons of the effectiveness of the case. But then again one might question the ethics of the process -- in a way the users get "tricked", since the project appeals to the natural human curiosity and not necessarily to their consciousness. Despite this argument, I suppose that curiosity, as the first natural reaction, may develop into attention and awareness and, eventually, to result into consciousness.

Most of the existing projects with the element of The Fun Theory one way or another touch upon some aspects of sustainable behavior, whether it is reducing the amount of garbage or choosing walking versus use of elevators, like in the project called Piano Staircase where sensors of movement would respond to walking up an underground staircase with the sounds of piano (Piano Staircase, 2009).



Figure 2. Nestling boxes made of cardboard advertisement, a part of "Improvement on the Hood" project by Timofey Radya (photo: T.Radya)

Distorted mirror

I chose for this method the name "distorted mirror", because the activists working with this technique reveal a wrongdoing and execute the same activities as the "wrong" party does, but in accordance with their own ideological beliefs (e.g. more sustainable, more sociable, more user-friendly etc.).

For example, when the city of Anyang, Korea, undertook to erect yet another massif of residential buildings and offices in a district bordering with a pleasant and socially important city park, the activists of Raumlabor Berlin studio accepted the call to intervene. The Open House project appeared, with the efforts of the activists and the citizens, in an open space of the above-mentioned park as a symbol of how construction can be light, sustainable,

purposeful, socially significant. "Open House is a vertical village, an architectural and social sculpture, that was designed based on subjective urban studies and is therefore, spatially and socially intertwined with the existing urban landscape," -- explain the activists from Raumlabor Berlin (Open House, 2010). The "village" combines individual, collective and public spaces: a bar, a kitchen, a tea house, workshops, a children's playhouse, a gallery and a community farm. Therefore, the project mirrors the actions of the city government, but with a "distortion" towards a different approach to construction.

The strongest component of the distorted mirror approach is framing a better alternative. In fact, the act starts with such framing and reveals a wrongdoing through it. The inclusion of design criteria is present (function, safety), but the extent of its presence depends on what kind of "wrong" activity is being mirrored. Effectiveness in stimulating change here is not as strong, rather the change is stimulated indirectly, like in the example of Open House, where the conditions for change are provided, but only on the level of users and co-creators from the given community, and not on the level of authorities who actually cause the problem in the first place.

The method of distorted mirror can be widely applied to interventions involving construction, i.e. in featuring sustainable use of materials versus the unsustainable one. But also unsustainable daily actions may be subject to mirroring. A very simple example would be an intervention against use of disposable plastic shopping bags versus the fabric ones.

To sum up the analysis, I compare the five selected cases in a form of a table reflecting their correspondence with the criteria for analysis. In this comparative table "Strong" stands for "completely meeting the criteria", "Average" -- for "not necessarily meeting the criteria" and "Weak" -- for "unlikely to meet the criteria". As it can be concluded, The Fun Theory responds strongly to all the four criteria and even stimulates change directly, dealing with a problem in its core. The distorted mirror case has similar respond to the criteria, except for its slightly lower change stimulating value. Urban exploration, on the contrary, works more on aesthetic level through simply being visually present, not necessarily framing an alternative and stimulating change merely by evoking thoughts around the revealed problem. Both tactical cartography and space hacking appear to respond to the criteria almost the same way. However, framing a better alternative is marked "average" in the case of space hacking, as the solution for the revealed wrongdoing (a hacked regulation) is usually quite disruptive and radical (like in Cirugeda's project) and may not stand a chance to stay due to the opposition of authorities.

Table 1. Correspondence of the cases with the criteria for analysis

<i>Criteria Cases</i>	Revealing wrongdoing	Framing a better alternative	Inclusion of design criteria	Stimulating change
Tactical cartography	Strong	Strong	Client; function; usability; safety	Indirect
Space hacking	Strong	Average	Client; function	Indirect
Urban exploration	Average	Weak (if any)	Function; aesthetics	Indirect (if any)
The Fun Theory	Strong	Strong	Function; usability; safety; aesthetics	Direct
Distorted mirror	Strong	Strong	Function; usability; safety; aesthetics	Indirect

Conclusion

The paper has discussed and defined to certain extent the terms of sustainability and design activism. These definitions do not claim to be final and will be revisited through the whole duration of the research. At this point they are considered working and valid.

The practices of design activism overviewed in the study are not the final set of approaches. These methods are still to be proved effective or not through the practical testing. Further exploration may reveal other efficient approaches that will be analyzed through the same framework of collective case study. Besides, the approach to analysis itself may develop in further stages of research. Despite all the mentioned possible changes, the findings of this paper provide a strong enough framework for planning a design intervention in urban space aiming to stimulate change towards sustainable behavior and strengthening the common value of sustainability.

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IS KRAKOW ATTRACTIVE TO YOUNG MEMBERS OF THE CREATIVE CLASS?

URBAN POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Abstract

Currently not only academics but also many municipal governments find the idea of the creative city a promising concept. They often stress the need to develop the creative sector as well as attract the creative class to metropolitan areas in order to make them more competitive in the global market. If young musicians, visual artists, architects, designers, actors and other students in creative majors are to remain in a city after graduation what type of practical measures should be undertaken by municipal authorities to make an urban centre attractive to them as a place of artistic education, creation and residence? The paper addresses two main issues linked with the inclusion of the creative class and creative city concept in urban policy making. On the one hand, it looks at what are the most desired programmes and activities aimed directly at artists as the core of the creative class. On the other, it considers the general features of the socio-economic milieu attractive to the aspirational creative class which the municipal authorities may to some extent be able to impact on.

Keywords: creative class, artists, art students, urban policy, Krakow

Introduction

Cities and regions have always competed with each other to attract capital and human resources – skilled workers, investors, residents and visitors (Jacobs, 1985; Hall, 1998; Glaeser, 2011). Throughout history different factors drew them to urban areas and different explanations were offered to explain why some urban centres develop more dynamically than others. By focusing on spatial preferences of young artists as a specific sub-group within the creative class, our paper aims to link two important strains of current research on the factors of urban development that is the very vivid discourse on the creative class, creative cities and the creative economy (Florida 2002, 2005; Landry 2008; Musterd, Murie, 2010; Andersson et al. 2011; Mellander et al. 2013) and the equally dynamic discussion on the general contribution of culture to urban development (Montgomery, 2003; Cameron, Coaffee, 2005; Evans, 2009; Bille, Schulze, 2011; Zebracki, Smulders, 2012).

The fashion for the creative class and creative cities observed nowadays is inspired by several factors. First of all, there is a growing demand for creativity in contemporary economy. Applying a broad definition of creativity as *‘a complex process of innovation, combining some or all of the following dimensions: ideas, skills, technology, management, production processes as well as culture’* (KEA, 2006, p. 36) does not negate the importance of artistic creativity but on the contrary suggests that cultural creativity has a much broader potential impact in a given spatial, social and economic context as it coexists with and influences scientific, technological and economic creativity. Secondly, following the promising arguments of several propagators of such concepts, notably Landry (2008) with respect to the creative city and Florida (2002, 2005) on creative class, attracting this social group and strengthening the city’s creative image has in recent years been increasingly seen by urban policy makers as a panacea for many urban problems (Andersson et al., 2011). For the same reasons the ‘creative’ argument has been frequently used in an instrumental way by politicians, investors and developers, despite the fact that many subsequently conducted

studies have indicated that the relationship between creativity, creative class, urban space and economic development is much more complex and context dependent (Peck, 2005; Evans, 2009; Musterd, Murie, 2010; Krätke, 2011; Borén, Young, 2013) than originally suggested. Similarly, since over two decades a growing recognition of the importance of culture to urban development is visible among academics and policy makers (Bille, Schulze, 2011). Its contribution is analysed from diverse angles ranging from direct and indirect economic input to impact on urban regeneration, gentrification and city image (Zukin, 1989; Bianchini, Parkinson, 1993; Landry, 2008; Lloyd, 2004; Ley, 2003; Montgomery, 2003; Murzyn, 2006; Collet, 2008; Clerval, 2008; Vivant, 2009; Markusen, Gadwa, 2010).

Many studies continue to underline that there is still little known about artists' geography, especially if less known cities and precise motivations for migration are to be included in the analysis (Florida, 2002; Cameron, Coaffee, 2005; Borén, Young, 2013; Ryberg, Salling, Soltis, 2013). There is a visible research bias toward best known metropolitan areas of the Western world (Mellander et al., 2013). In Poland, similarly to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Lengyel, Ságvári, 2011), research on the creative class and its role in urban development is quite recent and has focused on broadly understood creative class, without singling out any unique subgroups within it (Stryjakiewicz et al., 2007; Stryjakiewicz, Męczyński, 2010; Chapain et al., 2010; Grochowski, 2010; Namyślak, 2010; Klasik, 2011). It may thus be worth a while to examine in depth a more specific issue of interurban migration choices of artists constituting a super creative core of the creative class (Florida, 2002) and acting as specific agents of urban change.

Interurban spatial choices of artists

If the thesis that attracting the creative class is good to the urban economy and in general to urban development is accepted, the interesting question is what are the determinants shaping interurban choices of the creative class. In other words what features of a city, its environment and economy make it more likely to be selected for in-migration by the creative class and what features or policies might convince creatives to remain in a certain urban area? Florida and his followers posit that migration decisions of the creative class are influenced by three groups of factors: talent, technology and tolerance (3Ts) (Florida 2002, 2005). While some researchers were questioning this model, Florida and his team have nuanced their approach (e.g. Marlet, van Woerkens, 2005; Bille, 2010; Florida et al., 2010; Scott, 2010; Mellander et al., 2013). An interesting proposal of three Ps (pathways, places, personal networks) was put forth when some of Florida's assumptions were tested in the European context. According to it, 'hard', traditional location factors linked with the existing development path of an urban area and current economic climate such as employment opportunities (Scott, 2010), size of the urban market, available spaces, real estate prices and accessibility remain decisive for location decisions of the creative class similarly to other social groups. Secondly, although certain 'soft' location factors such as tolerance and diversity or vibrant urban environment, cultural, sports and leisure amenities might be important to keep the creative class in place when it already resides in it, its migration decisions are to a large extent dependent on personal trajectories such as place of birth, decisions where to pursue university studies and personal networks fostered with family, friends and colleagues (Musterd, Murie, 2010). The host of potential factors impacting on the location choices of the creative class is thus broad comprising of but not limited to tolerance, aesthetics, amenities, housing and jobs (Marlet, van Woerkens, 2005) and includes location decisions undertaken by creatives at some key turning points in their life (Stryjakiewicz, Męczyński, 2010).

In addition, three other important variables largely neglected in Florida's initial assumptions were: 1) a specific geographic, social and cultural context migration decisions of the creative class are undertaken in (e.g. conclusions drawn mainly from research conducted in the United States); 2) potential differences in mobility preferences depending on life cycle

stage of the members of the creative class (Wojan et al., 2007; Borén, Young, 2013); 3) internal heterogeneity of the creative class, linked with the fact that different individuals and professional groups might display different migration preferences (Heebels, van Alst, 2010; Borén, Young, 2013).

A further interesting practical issue linked with the creative class is what policies should be adopted by cities in order to attract and retain it (Murie, Musterd, 2010; Verdich, 2010)? Should such policies be general, targeted especially at this social group or some of its subgroups? Should they be focused on the quality of education, especially higher education or much broader issues of immigration and citizenship rights or perhaps accessibility of housing and usable space to the general population? Should they be mainly addressing the improvement of amenities or support development of clusters and networking opportunities (Chapain et al., 2010)? If so should the authorities focus on development of high profile, flagship art projects or lower profile, smaller in scale networks and venues? Should policy measures be addressed mainly to institutions, firms or individuals (Kovacs et al., 2010)? Should they follow a top down or bottom up approach?

The study presented below focuses on one selected professional group within the creative class that is artists as a constitutive part of its super creative core (Florida, 2002). Cities have always been places of concentration of artistic life (Lloyd, 2004). Since centuries artists have been drawn to cities both by the complexity and vibrancy of urban environment and greater possibility to make a living in an urban setting. They would not only want to enjoy urban life and search for inspiration but most of all expect to find consumers and patrons supporting their artistic endeavours (Debroux, 2013). As such artists should not only be seen as creators of urban ambience, image and cultural offer, but also as inspirers, creators and consumers of urban amenities, direct and indirect contributors to urban economy, employees, employers and residents in the city (Markusen, King, 2003; Markusen, 2006). Accordingly, some researchers see artists as 'key figures' in the development of the creative economy (Montgomery, 2005, p. 27) and a 'key creative group worthy of study' (Borén, Young, 2013, p. 200).

Some researchers further single out young artists and creative students as an important sub-group to study. Woldoff et al. (2011, p. 83) found out that in the United States as 'aspirational creative class' students of creative majors display specific preferences for urban residential and leisure environments and suggest that *'towns that seek to retain a younger, college-educated population must look beyond jobs and also consider the amenities that their communities provide to attract and retain young, educated people with bohemian cultural preferences'*. Lloyd (2004, p. 343) has also noticed that in the American context young artists search for unique urban spaces as a specific *'contemporary artists' neighbourhood provides both material and symbolic resources that facilitate creative activity, particularly in the early stages of a cultural producer's career'*. Heebels and van Aalst (2010) contrast young creative entrepreneurs in Berlin with their older, more established colleagues. Younger creatives tend to cluster within popular artistic neighbourhoods to build their reputation and creative identity, and to have possibilities to establish contacts with cultural gatekeepers. Residential preferences and choices of such aspirational creative class might thus be a good indicator of some general trends as according to Pareja-Eastaway et al. (2010) young creatives seem to be more mobile than their older colleagues. They are also slightly more interested in soft factors such as size of the city-region, entertainment opportunities, proximity to friends, housing availability and general quality of life.

Research questions and methodology

As follows, the aim of the paper is to analyse the issue of residential attractiveness of a major Polish city to young artists, that is students of artistic majors defined as students of academies of fine arts, music conservatories, higher schools of drama art and students majoring in TV

and film production, architecture and design as well as related subjects at other higher education institutions (HEI). Such approach is consistent with the methodology used by the Polish Central Statistical Office and followed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego, 2013). It is also in line with the proposal of Florida (2002) for inclusion of certain occupations in the Bohemian Index and to a large extent consistent with earlier research done on the so-called 'professional' members of the bohemia, i.e. bohemian graduates in Great Britain (Comunian et al. 2010; 2011), though taking a narrower view on them as synonymous with 'creative arts and design students'.

Krakow – the city selected as the case study – is both a major centre of university education, second only to Warsaw as the country's capital, with longest university traditions in Poland and a major centre of art education. In 2011 over 200 thousand students attended HEIs in Małopolska region, majority in Krakow, including 5.4 thousand persons who studied art majors at undergraduate and graduate level at seven HEIs (Central Statistical Office, 2012). The latter included prestigious art schools with long traditions, some existing since the 19th century (Academy of Fine Arts founded in 1818, Academy of Music – in 1888), renown public schools functioning since late 1940s (Faculty of Architecture at the Krakow University of Technology, 1945, State Drama School, 1946), Faculty of Art at the Pedagogical University in Krakow existing since 2008, and art and creative majors at private schools opened after 1989 (Krakow School of Art and Fashion Design, 1994, Faculty of Architecture and Fine Arts at the A.F. Modrzewski Krakow University, 2003 and TV and media major at the Faculty of Management and Social Communication at the same university, 2012).

In order to explore the issue of attractiveness of Krakow to young creatives studying art majors following research questions were asked:

- Why is Krakow chosen by young artists as the place of pursuing an artistic major?
- Do young artists wish to remain in Krakow after graduation? What migration directions are perceived by them as attractive? What are their motivations to leave Krakow and what role do 'soft' and 'hard' location factors play in undertaking migration decisions?
- What policy measures undertaken by the local government are most desired by young artists?

A questionnaire survey addressed to students of art majors at all of the above mentioned HEIs in Krakow, was conducted in paper form and on-line between May and July 2013 (N = 236). Its results were complemented with desk top research and 9 in-depth interviews with deputy rectors responsible for student affairs, deans responsible for artistic majors and other university employees (e.g. at Career Offices).

Attractiveness of Krakow as a place to study an art major

Results of the survey confirm that Krakow remains attractive to young people as the most important supra-regional centre of art education at the university level located in south-eastern Poland. Almost half of young artists studying in the city are native Cracovians or come from the surrounding region. More than one fourth were attracted from two neighbouring regions: Silesian and Podkarpackie (Table 1). A substantial share of art students in Krakow also comes from other regions in Poland. In comparison, in the capital of neighbouring Silesian region, the city of Katowice offering similar possibilities of studying art majors, three quarters of art students come from Silesia and only 25% from other regions. On the other hand, Katowice attracts 13% of art students coming from Małopolska region, people who for various reasons did not want to or could not pursue art majors in Krakow.

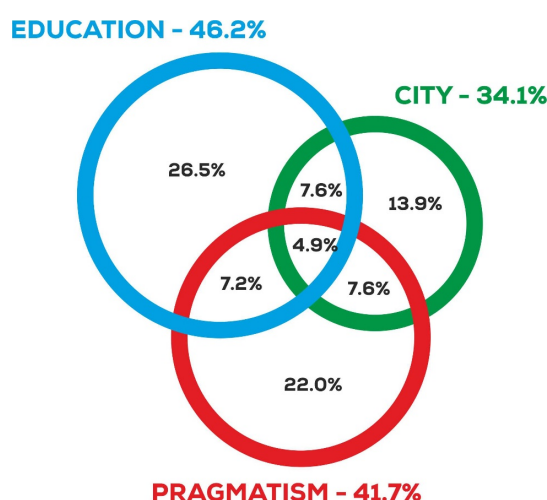
Table 1. Regions of Poland from which students come to study art majors in Krakow

Region (voivodeship)	Share of students (in %)
Małopolskie	47
Silesian	15
Podkarpackie	12
Lubelskie	7
Other	18

Source: own elaboration

Diverse reasons why students decide to study in Krakow may be grouped into three main categories (Fig. 1). Almost half of surveyed students chose Krakow because of the high level of art education in the city, pointing to good quality of academic instruction at the university they attend. Some of them also underlined the excellence or uniqueness of a particular art major. Relatively fewer artists were motivated to study in Krakow by the wish to learn from a particular professor. In turn, every third respondent stressed the fact that the city itself was an important factor convincing him or her to undertake studies in Krakow (*'I have always dreamed about studying here. Krakow is an amazing, magical city, where one may encounter history at every step one makes'* [KRK-KSA-17]). Many students referred to the general atmosphere of the city, both in terms of cultural heritage and possibilities to spend leisure time while relatively few persons (only one in ten students) drew attention specifically to Krakow's vibrant artistic and cultural life. In addition, apart from reasons which confirm the good reputation and positive image of the city, quite a few young people opted for Krakow for purely pragmatic reasons: they have already lived in Krakow or near it. A small share of them admitted that they ended up in Krakow simply because a particular university accepted them (*'I didn't choose Krakow, Krakow chose me'* [KRK-PWST-10]). Among other reasons, these linked with personal connections of students such as joining friends who also ended up in the city, having a family member who lives in Krakow or a family member who used to study at the same university, were decidedly less frequent (Table 2).

The motivations of respondents are quite often multiple. For example, as many as 7.6% of them revealed that their selection of Krakow was linked both to the educational offer and the atmosphere of the city. Similarly, 4.9% students stated that in their case purely pragmatic motivations overlapped with other advantages of Krakow in terms of educational opportunities and quality of life (Fig. 1).

**Figure 1.** Reasons for selecting Krakow as a place of university studies

Source: own elaboration

Table. 2. Reasons for selecting Krakow as a place to study an art major at the university level

Categories	Answers	% of answers*
EDUCATION	good, prestigious art school	28.7
	good, unique art major	11.7
	broad educational offer in general	8.1
	good art professors	0.9
CITY	attractiveness & atmosphere of the city	33.6
	artistic & cultural life	8.5
	perspectives for development	2.7
PRAGMATISM	close to my hometown	25.1
	place of residence / 'I'm living in Krakow'	16.1
	'I was accepted to a university here'	4.0
PERSONAL LINKS	friends studying/living here	4.5
	some family members living here	3.6
	family traditions of studying in Krakow	1.8
OTHER		5.4

* Please note that the shares of answers are based on responses to open ended questions, as each student could point to as many reasons as he/she wished answers do not sum up to 100%

Source: own elaboration

Remaining or leaving the city after graduation?

The analysed group of students is also diverse in terms of their likely future migration decisions (Fig. 2). The number of persons declaring that they want to leave the city is similar to the number of those wishing to stay in it after finishing university. About half of likely migrants out of Krakow want to move to another place in Poland though their migration decisions are influenced by different factors and push them in different directions. About one fourth of all students want to move to a smaller town or to the countryside, for some it means returning to the place of birth or the former place of residence (cf. Lovett, Beesley, 2007; Borggren, Wahlqvist, 2010; Herslund, 2012). People falling into this category seem to be tired of urban life, need to return to a smaller community, be 'closer' to nature, perceive more peripheral places as inspiring and better for creative activities (*'I need more peace, quiet and contact with nature'* [KRK-ASP-80]). They are also prone to underline the need to be close to family and friends and point to lower costs of life in smaller towns or in the countryside. One of the respondents also drew attention to a less fierce competition in the art market experienced in smaller urban centres.

**Figure 2.** Migration plans declared by art students in Krakow

Source: own elaboration

The second subgroup of students who want to leave Krakow but remain in Poland consists of persons who wish to migrate to other major Polish cities. Warsaw is most often selected because of greater economic possibilities (finding a job linked with one's professional training, better developed art market) and greater possibilities of further artistic and professional development it seems to offer. In the case of other urban centres mentioned such as Wrocław, Łódź or the Tricity their creative potential is more often underlined. Students perceive them as inspiring, changing, open and creative cities offering possibilities to young creatives where one is able to do something new or avant-garde (Wrocław – *'the city develops fast, a lot of new projects are implemented there'* [KRK-PWST-11]; Łódź – *'I long to get to know something new, interesting and not as 'high brow' as sometimes the city's [Krakow] residents present it (in some sense: 'having enough' of this 'artistic' side of Krakow)'* [KRK-ASP-71]). In addition, although rarely, students also remarked that artists coming to the city experience very high entry barriers in trying to enter the city's art scene.

In turn almost one third of all surveyed students seriously considers migrating abroad, mostly to major European and American metropolises such as London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna and New York. First and foremost students are motivated by economic considerations. Departing abroad is seen as a greater possibility to work in one's profession. Students think that finding a satisfying, well-paid job is easier abroad where some cultural industries are better developed than in Poland. Explaining their motivations some students however do not so much underline factors pulling them to cities abroad as push factors making them less likely to stay in Krakow and in Poland such as: unemployment, high entry barriers linked with nepotism and 'jobs for the boys', low wages, lack of appreciation of artists (*'I adore Krakow but unfortunately at the moment I see no job for myself here working in the profession which I love'* [KRK-PK-37]; *[I want to leave] 'because art is more appreciated, respected, supported and recognized there [abroad]'* [KRK-ASP-31]).

The second group of reasons for international migration is of more artistic character and is linked with personal development of particular artists who see such migration as a possibility to acquire experiences and get familiar with art genres and cultural industries still relatively underdeveloped in Poland (Antwerp – *'a better developed fashion industry, more possibilities for young artists'* [KRK-KSA-15]; Berlin – *'as the capital of contemporary art the city makes it possible to be up to date with new trends in art'* [KRK-ASP-05]; London – *'it is a city open to artists, full of contrasts and contradictions, bustling with life, fashion and art'* [KRK-KSA-24]). One of respondents also drew attention to the problem of providing better support to young artists at the early stages of their carrier (Leipzig – *'I participated in a student exchange there, the city offers inexpensive studios for artists' workshops'* [KRK-ASP-61]). Further educational aspirations – the wish to continue studies at more renown and specialized foreign art schools – are another migration motive (e.g. Prague – *'because it is a major centre of stage design in Europe and I would like to continue education at the specialist level'* [KRK-ASP-51]).

The last host of reasons which allow to better understand students' migration motivations is of cognitive character and stems from their wish to enrich experiences by living, working and creating in another city, experiencing different cultures and artistic milieus (*'I want to change the place of residence, e.g. for a year, to get to know a new culture, to travel, to learn foreign languages'* [KRK-PK-19]). Answers linked with this factor at times include references to multiculturalism and curiosity of alternative life styles (Berlin – *'because it is super, a lot of Goths and electronics'* [KRK-KSA-16]). This 'experience oriented' group of future art graduates is the only one which at times also remarks that such migration will be temporary and after acquiring foreign experiences return to Krakow or at least to Poland will be considered (*[moving abroad] 'for sure not for good but for some time, only to 'feel' something different, acquire experience, living not in one's own place'* [KRK-ASP-71]).

The motivations mentioned by students point to the complexity of factors influencing their

migration decisions. If in the case of selecting a place of university studies the atmosphere and amenities offered by the city are of relatively high importance, decisions undertaken after finishing university are mostly influenced by the students' assessment of opportunities of finding a well paid job in line with professional training and by their perception of the possibilities of personal development thanks to a city's rich cultural and artistic life or possibility to continue education at more specialised, prestigious art schools.

On the other hand, although art students would like to move to global metropolises and other major cities which are generally perceived as multicultural, tolerant and well known thanks to alternative artistic scenes and vibrant night life, such urban features are very rarely pointed to as main reasons for migration decisions. Thus, our findings support some earlier studies confirming, contrary to Florida's suppositions, that artists' migrations are firstly and predominantly linked with searching for employment and opportunities for personal development rather than attaching greatest importance to bohemian amenities (Hansen, Niedomysl, 2009; Bennett, 2010; Murie, Musterd, 2010; Borén, Young, 2013).

This thesis is confirmed not only by answers to questions pertaining to interurban migration preferences of students of art majors posed in the cited survey but also by results of its other parts focused on intraurban issues, including features of urban space and amenities important to young artists in Krakow while choosing particular spaces within the city for the purpose of residence and creation. What they seem to value most is, similarly to non-artistic residents of the city, good access to basic services, public transport, low real estate prices, safety, peace and quiet (Murzyn-Kupisz, Szmytkowska, 2013). Fewer than every third aspirational bohemian attaches greater importance to living nearby or conducting creative activities next door to other artists or in quarters perceived as tolerant to minorities and alternative life styles. Likewise, although students in artistic majors frequent some bohemian amenities, it is not very important to them to live or work in the nearest proximity of such places contrary to findings of Woldoff et al. (2011) pertaining to American aspirational bohemians. Among diverse bohemian amenities, access to cafes and bars is the only major feature to some extent important to young artists in Krakow.

As follows, answering the question posed by Marlet and van Woerkens (2005) in the title of their paper on *'Tolerance, aesthetics, amenities or jobs?'* results of our research suggest that thinking of future places of residence and work young Krakow artists rank their spatial preferences in the reverse order. Jobs come first, amenities and aesthetics follow, tolerance is least important. Such tendency has been confirmed by interviews with representatives of art schools who also notice a more 'market oriented' attitude among current art students rather than still stereotypically expected bohemian nonchalance and attachment to the idea of creation of 'art for art's sake'. On the other hand, one also has to keep in mind that there may be diverse, complex reasons for the change of art students' approach to their professional and creative life ranging from less elite character of higher education in Poland, which to some extent includes formerly extremely exclusive art majors, diluting the bohemian ethos, to young artists experiencing a growing pressure on the 'utilitarian' aspect of artistic creation, especially in the context of artists seen as providers of 'raw materials' for the creative industries.

Considering factors first pulling young artists to and then pushing them out of the city, it is also necessary to draw attention to the position Krakow holds in the national and international educational and creative markets. Krakow enjoys a strong position in the domestic academic market: its prestigious public art schools have a well established reputation, some private ones have already gained considerable appreciation as well¹⁰. In

¹⁰ In the 2013 ranking of "Perspektywy" monthly Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow was the top fine art university in Poland (out of 15 fine art universities). State School of Drama Art in Krakow ranked second among seven universities with theatre and film majors while the Academy of Music was the country's third music conservatory (among 8 such schools in total).

contrast, mainly in comparison to Warsaw, the job market for creative graduates and the art market are not that well developed. This problem was pointed out both by students participating in the questionnaire and by some rectors, deans and other employees of HEIs offering artistic majors. The labour market for artists in Krakow is at times also perceived as closed to newcomers from outside the city or without an artistic family background.

From an international point of view, both Krakow and other major Polish urban centres still remain on the creative periphery. Results of our research thus further confirm that migration of artists from such places is *'driven both by push factors such as limited local opportunities and geographic isolation and pull factors including experience, identity, networks, and the draw of more established industries or geographic clusters of activity'* (Bennett, 2010, p. 125). It is thus not surprising that a significant number of art students wish to go abroad to major Western metropolises perceived as the very core of the creative world. Searching for new experiences and possibilities of professional development by temporary migration is in itself not a bad idea. Providing that after some time abroad young artists will be willing to return to Poland such temporary migration might be very beneficial, enriching the local and national creative scenes. Whether they will indeed return is however a much more tricky and uncertain issue since as Bennett (2010, p. 117) noticed *'It is well known that a pilgrimage overseas can be crucial to the career development of specialist creative artists. All too often, however, the pilgrimage becomes a permanent migration'*.

Urban policy towards young artists

What types of municipal policy aimed at culture and art are welcomed by young students and would convince them to remain in the city after graduation or return to it after acquiring experiences elsewhere? Among options proposed in the questionnaire almost three quarters of respondents pointed to the need for a well developed system of creative grants offered to local artists – residents of the city and a system of grants awarded to particular artistic projects proposed by artists (not necessarily residents of the city) and implemented in the city. Moreover, two out of three art students regarded preferences given to artists with respect to access to artists' ateliers¹¹ or a preferential pricing policy with respect to renting municipal property to artists as important mechanisms supporting artistic life in the city. On the other hand, despite high housing prices in Krakow, only one in four students was interested in preferences given to artists with respect to access to municipal housing.

An interesting picture emerges from suggestions of policies proposed by students in an open-ended question. They point to lack of spaces where young artists could meet, share thoughts, co-create or get to know creative endeavours of others outside the framework offered by universities or cultural institutions (cf. Markusen, Johnson, 2006). Such spaces could include studios for several cooperating or associated artists (i.e. a type of artistic co-working space) and would be especially welcome if they could be located in interesting post-industrial spaces in quarters such as Podgórze and Zabłocie. Aspirational bohemians would also be happy to see the city supporting more initiatives linking art to urban space. Furthermore, young artists see the need to undertake more active motions aimed at promoting young Krakow art. Organising spaces, events or promotional campaigns or art auctions and sales of artworks of young artists could help to strengthen the local and national art market. Students would as well be interested in thematic competitions organized by the city. In addition, some of them would expect to obtain some basic public support such as stipends for

(Retrieved from http://www.perspektywy.pl/porta1/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=831:ranking-szkol-wyszczegolowanie-2013&catid=87&Itemid=231 November 27, 2013)

¹¹ Since 1994 the Municipality of Krakow implements a programme of allotting artists' ateliers in municipally owned properties to painters, sculptors, photographers, conservators of art works and graphic designers or industrial, textile and interior designers (Retrieved from http://www.bip.krakow.pl/?sub_dok_id=14257, November 27, 2013).

expensive art materials, equipment or music instruments.

A significant share of proposed motions is linked with the need to strengthen the local labour market for art graduates although in this case it is hard to come up with easily applicable solutions. One of the areas mentioned by students is the development of cooperation and greater openness of cultural institutions to young creatives. Another sphere of activities important from their point of view is linked with supporting the development of creative industries, and helping to foster links between young artists and firms in the creative sector. In addition, young artists as any graduates in non-artistic majors, are interested in receiving more practical support and basic skills needed when entering the labour market. Some of them would also like to develop their own, independent artistic and professional endeavours, and as such they would be interested in participating in all sorts of workshops and courses providing them with skills and knowledge on promotion, fundraising, management or cooperation with the commercial sector.

Conclusions

Results of our research among students of art majors in Krakow point to high level of internal differentiation within this group which means that it is hard to arrive at policy solutions satisfactory to all art graduates. Young artists differ from each other significantly in terms of aspirations, expectations and preferences for specific places of residence and work. Half of them currently envision their future in Krakow. Others declare that they want to leave the city after graduation. Their motivations are diverse. Some look for a quiet place away from the metropolitan buzz, close to family and nature. Others would like to search for new inspirations, knowledge, experiences and challenges in major urban centres in Poland and abroad, selecting cities which are perceived as dynamic and creative. Last but not least, many are down-to-earth realists who would like to concentrate on finding a well paid job in line with the studied art major.

There is no illusion that Krakow is able to (nor should it) retain all of its art graduates. Its creative economy is not able to absorb all artists finishing its numerous art schools. From time to time, depending on the stage of professional life cycle, artists do need to alternate different geographies to develop new artistic networks, experience different milieus, artistic styles, ways of understanding a given art genre or questing for new stimulants of personal development (Borggren, Wahlqvist, 2010; Bennett, 2010). The city itself also needs some 'fresh blood' attracting artistic newcomers to bring in new ideas and skills. As follows, the aim of the urban policy in Krakow should not be solely fixed on retaining as many graduates of art majors as possible but also (and perhaps most of all) focused on convincing some of them to return to the city after getting experiences elsewhere and on attracting promising newcomers. One may actually imagine a three-way policy of grants or other forms of public support offered to creative graduates: one stream of support for Krakow artists who want to spend some time in a different art centre in Poland or abroad and come back with new ideas, one consisting of motions aimed at attracting young artists from other cities or countries to stay in Krakow for some time and enrich its artistic life and one intended as encouragement for locally conceived or implemented grass root, experimental or non mainstream initiatives of young creators. Thanks to such combination of approaches the city could to a greater extent participate in the global cultural exchange but at the same time stay open to nurturing new activities of artists emerging locally.

Furthermore, in the context of urban policy dilemmas linked with the creative class presented in the introduction, it seems that major barriers in retaining art graduates in Krakow are not particularly linked with bohemian amenities but with the labour and art market and development of cultural industries translating into possibilities of both personal and professional development and making a living by artists. This does not mean that active motions aimed at changing the perception of the city in terms of its openness, dynamism,

entry barriers to the artistic world or ‘*good conditions for creative self-expression within various art forms*’ (Bille, 2010, p. 479) are not necessary, particularly if cooperation of artists with public cultural institutions is to be taken into consideration. However, all proposed actions aimed at young artists will not bring desired long term effects if the art market and the creative industries in the city are insufficiently developed.

Another policy direction in need of further exploration stems from the conclusion that the artist-oriented urban policy should be an integral part of a broader urban policy linked with quality of life in the city aimed at all of its residents (artists included). It is a common myth that all artists confirm to the stereotype of the irrational, crazy bohemian (Trebay, 1998), eager to explore downgraded, problem areas in the city and satisfied with lower standards of living and working environment. Most of the surveyed future bohemian graduates, expect same qualities of urban space as other non-artistic residents: good quality housing, accessible and well maintained green spaces and other public spaces, well working public transport, spaces for pedestrians and cyclists, safety, low air pollution, etc. Moreover, artists searching for ‘alternative’, ‘authentic’ spaces with a great potential are surely able to ‘discover’ them without the help of public administration. Such truly avant-garde places are rarely effectively created by an administrative decision within an urban policy framework. Similarly, bohemian amenities will emerge everywhere where there is demand for them. As follows, the task of public authorities should be constant commitment to improving the general quality of life in the city while staying open to supporting grass root initiatives linked with the development of new spaces and networking opportunities for artists and other creative people, promotion of artistic activities, development of labour and art market through development of cooperation between artists and cultural institutions and the creative sector or through direct support given to artists who are interested in individual, associative or entrepreneurial activities in the city.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF STREET THEATRE TO CREATIVE CITY

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Abstract

In the paper I aim to present the role that street theatre and street theatre festivals play in making, shaping and fostering a creative city. Street theatre as a creative art form contributes to the “opening” of public spaces in the city and invites spectators to co-create in communal public environment. Street theatre and festivals contribute to the atmosphere of the city and its image improvement. They are used as vehicles of economic generation or as ‘quick fix’ solutions to city image problems, as investment for restructuring, regeneration and city marketing, and they contribute to the visibility of the city, picture a perfect city, attract tourists and strengthen local identity. City serves as a scenography – displayed decor and spectators with their co-creation of the performance get the chance to see parts of their cities anew. Perception of the city as we know it is changed, places revived, get a new function and sense through a creative play. With the performance and story new grammar of places and streets is created. Through new uses of public space street theatre transforms place and gives it a new meaning. With symbolic meanings enriched city or hypercity (Nas 2006: 8) allows everybody to be a producer apart from being a consumer. I will explain what “participatory bodily, experimental creativity”, “embodiment” and “embodied space” mean in a process of creating a city through street theatre. Anthropological insights into existing theories about space, place, city, urban and public will be accompanied with ethnographic illustrations deriving from my in-depth ethnographic research carried out at European festivals of street theatre and among the performers

Keywords: art festivals, street theatre, city, anthropology

Aliens in the city. Illustration

“On the night of 1st of August an unusual cube landed in the city centre of Graz Karmeliteplatz. Slovenian team of scientists Ljud began to study this foreign object and came to the conclusion that it is of no danger for the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, they wanted to protect the passers-by. Unusual pink-colored signs began appearing all around the city. This happened on Wednesday 6th of August, precisely at six in the afternoon,” the speaker said in a video of Austrian *KleineZeitung* in a slow, serious, careful and mysterious voice, with long and prudent pauses between separate, clearly completed sentences, accompanied with shuddering musical background, and in this way the arrival of aliens was announced. Thus, the boundaries between reality and fiction were erased in Baudrillardian manner with the incorporation of the serious media into the play. As does the artistic group KUD Ljud which much realistically intervenes into the reality with the fictional play of its interactive theatre happening “Electric invasions”.

KUD Ljud is a young Slovenian theatre group that brings together artists from various professions. Last few years the group has mainly been focusing on creation in public space, because they were annoyed by the work in the institutions, saying “those could be very limiting in the production system where the performance is made in a short time and plays few times in a small circle of audiences, then moves on to another one; such a technical way,” which did not suit them. At the same time they want to reach a wider audience, who don’t usually visit theatre institutions. The group highly values interaction with the public because theatre performance is seen as a game, ritual and social event. They believe that theatre is a “live” art that has a direct connection to modern time and space. They combine different media, genres, styles and techniques in their activities, which are understood as socially engaged. Following the examples of the “ancient ritual theatre”, Bali theatre and visions of theatre theorists of avant-garde – here they follow Artaud – they advocate “more organic circular model” of organization and production of a theatrical event.

Electric invasions are weekly interventions in public space, including space installation (space ship in the form of a cube, three meters in dimension), interactive theatrical event and theatre workshops. Through playful interactive street performance they raise issues of diversity and conventions of behaviour in public space. Metallic cube – a spaceship that suddenly appears in the town square, park or on city streets and spreads out and eventually extends the tube roots over surrounding structures (fountains, trees, public lighting, ...), is in fact, itself already an independent installation as it is technically very sophisticated – with the help of sensors responds to sounds and motion, in accordance with the predominant color of the entire performance secrets pink colored liquid and gives off steam. In interaction with it, people can calculate the time when aliens will come out of the cube. After it has been protected and examined by scientists, they really come out in pink color, with deformed bodies, and through interaction with people and space begin to know a strange new world – they walk down the street, sit in the park, bathe in the fountain, eat in restaurants, appear on public transport... In so doing they test the obviousness of things that are common for us. Pink color appears around the city – flowers, lights, sidewalks and parts of road signs, water fountains are stained pink, people too. Eventually aliens, in accordance with their physically stylized figure of actors, find an occupation on Earth – as garbage men, waiters, dummies in shop windows, vendors of ice cream, they make friends, even fall in love. The boundaries between performers and the audience are temporarily blurred.

Thematically Electrical invasions deal with the question of empty, mechanical interpersonal relationships, the question of self-evident, restrictive behavioural conventions and differences in the context of public urban environment. Visitors have the opportunity to actively cope with intensified otherness and deal with their own xenophobia in a relaxed way. Participants of the event are also faced with a situation in which foreign/other behavioural patterns can be decrypted. With the use of established action codes or with creation of new spontaneous systems of communication they come in genuine “electrical contact” (a term from Srečko Kosovel’s manifest *To Mechanics!*) Below this layer of affableness, unencumbered, playful and unconventional public intervention is hidden in-depth theatrical study and purified concept looking for practical answers to some basic theoretical issues of contemporary theatre. (KUD Ljud 2008)

Introduction. Street as a place for *communitas*

By definition street theatre takes place in public places where people are in motion and socialize daily, where it is also accessible (for free!) to those who otherwise would have never gone into a theatre building. It is open to all, regardless of their cultural, class, sex, age or any other affiliation, enabling the whole diverse community to meet. Thus it becomes throughout popular. It is hard to find any other performative event which all age generations attend together. Street theatre, alone or in festival, appeals to city residents and visitors as a whole.

The crowd of people on the street is physically close to each other but still they may be complete strangers. Yet, the experience of the same place and same moment in festival binds people together and connects them in a common reality. Street show gives them a feeling of belonging or *communitas* as defined by Turner (1991). Street as a powerful stage can be a liminal area (Hastrup, 1998: 31-33). Liminoid state offers an open space for creation of new identities and transformative power; it converts the usual into strange and the known into unknown (Turner, 1989: 40). In times and places of liminality the normative base of the social order and its social structure are challenged and temporarily reversed, as in the case of festival. Inverse and antistructural liminality allows reconstruction of social structures.

Experienced *communitas* is expressed through this transgressive practices associated with “carnavalesque” (Hetherington, 1998: 113). According to Bahtin (2008: 13, 17, 49) the carnival is governed by the laws of carnival freedom, in which participants are liberated from the prevailing truth and existing order, and they realize their relativity. Privileges, norms, bans and all hierarchical relations are temporarily removed. In carnival, as in street theatre festivals, all present are the same, which provides a special type of communication that otherwise would not have been possible. Spectators organised in a concentric circle or otherwise in a street performance are all equal and in the same position – the one that has a better view is a person that came earlier or obtained position it by effort, let it be a tramp or a city mayor. People are freed from the accustomed, generally accepted and gain new eyes through which they can realize a possibility of a different world order. People do not only watching a carnival, they live in it; as long as it exists they are not aware of any other life. In it, there is no stage barrier, no distinction between performers and spectators. This bears comparison with the traditional role of town squares and streets in the ancient, medieval Mediterranean towns where, during similar occasions, those public areas turned into large open-air stages allowing viewers to also become active participants. It is through participation rather than through the expressed message – the words – that one understands “the story” in the event (Hansen, 2002: 21).

I find Bahtin's examination of carnival very useful to explain the importance of today's street theatre festivals because forms of social space and related identities are also transformed by carnival features of such performances (Hetherington, 1998: 147). “It is these “transformative potentials” produced by the temporary suspension of everyday life and order of power that provide instances for redefining meanings and social order.” (Jamieson, 2004: 68). This leads us to think that festivals carry a political significance and in their transformability a potential danger and threat for the existing (look Handelman 1998: 31). Street action is first of all a carnival event par excellence, then a social manifestation and nonetheless a political action (Lukan, 2008: 68-69).

PLACE. Liberated public space

Street theatre is permeated by physical, social and symbolic public space. Performing on the street, which is a physical public space, actors use and create a social public space, and the performance itself creates a symbolic public space that is articulated in collective memory. In the discourse of actors of cultural interventions into public space, Chaudoir (2000: 54-64) remarks four dimensions of public space: spatial, temporal, social and political. Habermas's concept of public space envisions a common place embraced with ongoing exchanges in communication and formation of opinions (Chaudoir 2000: 22). However, street theatre is not so much a public space that would be formed by free expression of public opinion. Engagement overtakes the form of festivity, which is more about the fact that we exist as such, in the current collective, “integrated and recognized in society, for which on the other hand it seems that is otherwise disappearing” (Ostrowetsky 2001: 153). Temporal dimension can be a memory, immediacy and/or projection of the future.

Public space gets sense only in relation to the monumentality of the physical space that surrounds it, confines, and defines it.¹² City with its construction, with streets, sidewalks and squares depicts places potentially foreseen as public space, which is necessarily common place, accessible to all; seizing of it is actually its negation of existence (Ostrowetsky 2001: 143). Liberated social place is manifested (or is created) in “liberated” streets and squares (Dragičević-Šešić 2000: 74), freed from conventions and commands. Street theatre shows desire to re-appropriate the city. What makes it potentially powerful is also concentrated happening; because it is about life and at the same time is life (Hastrup 1998: 30).

Each occurrence of street theatre in a public place can be a reminder that public space belongs to everyone and to no one at the same time (Ostrowetsky 2000: 3). Similarly as Mason (1996: 308) says about street fair, involvement in street performance gives visitors a feeling of being in possession of the space, control and shape it. In times when public spaces are changing from democratic places of diverse people and activities into centres of trade and consumption as well as political control (Low and Smith 2006: vii), this is so much more important.

Socially produced space and bodily creation

According to Lefebvre, who sees the social and the spatial as inseparable, the resistance to dominant social relations are effective when abstract space is made visible by them – with sensory phenomena and products of imagination, such as project and projections, symbols and utopias. This way the social relations are also made visible through places of social praxis.

This specific activation of fixed, physical, geometrical space produces spatiality, which is produced every time anew together with performance and cannot be equated with place on which it occurs (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 176). Performing place of the street is on the one hand geometrical space provided beforehand, has certain ground plan, specific length, width and height, certain square dimensions or volume, is solid and stable, and does not cease to exist together with the end of the show; after the show ends it is still there. On the other hand, the same space is a performative place which constantly fluctuates. Spatiality rises with moving and with perception of actors and spectators. Moving and movement is constituted as a fundamental experience of the space (Honkasalo 1998: 38).

Edward W. Soja (after Farrar 1997: 106) defines spatiality as “socially produced space”: “Place is grounded and recognizable social product, a part of “second nature” which includes socialisation and transformation of physical as well as mental spaces”. In other words, nature of social space, even its material and physical reality, is a function of his use which in turn is a consequence of the interaction of those involved (Mason 1996: 307).

Lefebvre (1991: 33) defines »representational spaces« as through images and symbols directly experienced space. »Representational space« is a place of its 'inhabitants' and 'users', as well as some artists and other creators. This is a passively experienced place that imagination wants to adapt and change. It overlaps with the physical space with the symbolic use of its facilities (1991: 39).

Representational spaces incorporate symbolic meanings, which bearers or markers within behavioural markers are also festivals and street performances, as stated by Nas (2006: 8). With symbolic meanings and symbols enriched cities or hypercities are the most democratic cities because they allow everyone to be a producer apart from being a consumer. Already with their presence the audiences co-create in the performance, and sometimes with active participation and inclusion they also enter into the performance. Here I refer to participatory bodily, experiential agency (Muršič, 2006: 48) in terms of »embodiment« (51, 53). The artists are usually the ones who play a major role in productions of a hypercity as a mediator

¹² Already from Ancient Greece public space is almost by definition urban space. Urban and city remain a privileged aspect and research location of public space. There are only few analysis which treat rural or global spaces, such as internet, as public space (Low and Smith 2006: 3). In different societies, places and times, »public place« has a different meaning.

between reality and illusion (Nas 2006: 12); they are actors or »double agents« (Hastrup 1998: 38) in symbolic and agency play. The audience is somewhere in between: between the spectator and the participant.

»Embodiment« is a fundamental attribute of the processes of spatialization, identifying and differentiating (Muršič, 2006: 53). »Embodied space« (Low, 2003: 5) is an existential and phenomenological reality of space: its smell, feel, color, and other sensory dimensions. Phenomenologically it is a place, produced by individuals or social structures. With appropriation and transformation of space they create a new place (Pred, after Low 2003: 5). Embodied space is a place where an individual's experience and awareness are manifested in material and spatial form (Piškur, 2006: 34). Moving body shapes a space even before it fills it (Peterson Royce 2004: 70) and the street art is inscribed in the »urban scene« (Dragičević-Šešić, 2000: 87).

What was said in last few paragraphs can be most vividly illustrated through the experience of Canadian puppeteers of a two-man band *Les sages fous*. In their puppet street show *Bizzarium* they take you to the underwater world right in the middle of the street: »Once we performed in front of a very high church. And in the performance when we were diving and then looked back up to the top of the church from where we came, we followed all the way to the top of the church and saw the entire public how they followed our sight. And they saw their own church completely anew. Which usually they don't remark at all. And it suddenly became an underwater city. And people became algae or plancton, seaweed. They are also fish, fishermen, sea grass in some way.«

Reading of city

City, willing or unwilling, becomes a scene – a decor placed on display. Spectators have, by co-creating the show, the possibility to see parts of their cities in a new light. Renovated public space with a revised view of the everyday is one way of discovering new places, for the artist as well as a resident or spectator (Chaumier 2007: 169). The perception of the city otherwise well known is changed. Places revive anew, obtain a new function, and are filled with meaning (Dragičević-Šešić 2000: 96, 97, 164).

The magic of theatre is in making visible what was previously invisible (Hastrup 1998: 34), in several meanings. Visibility in street theatre is actually a synonym for readability, as visibility allows certain form of "reading the history, which on one hand is defined as a revelation, and on the other side as the resonance of identity" (Chaudoir 2000: 84). Urban place as text or city as the language (Duvignaud 1997: 39; Wittgenstein by Masquelier 2001: 122) offers many possibilities for reading and decoding inscribed history. In the sixties of the twentieth century, when the linguistics developed as a paradigm of social sciences and knowledge about life, Saussure's semiotic hypothesis was transmitted to the cities, in which elements comparable to phonemes and morphemes of language were identified and assumed to be formed in logical system (Choay 2006: 131). With performance and narrative new grammar of places and ways is established (Masquelier 2001: 127). The concept of grammar is used here in a sense stressed by Wittgenstein (by Masquelier 2001: 127): "When we follow the grammatical rules other than those which are in use, we do not say anything wrong, but we are talking about other things."

Interventions of groups Royal de Luxe are well known for their parades through city with ten meters high giants¹³. In relation to them, inhabitants become Lilliputians. Through new uses place is transformed, is given new meanings, similar to Walter Benjamin's *flâneur* (1998: 181) who transforms boulevard into interior: "The road becomes apartment for the

¹³ They operate them with help of machines and with their bodies so that they hang on the rope and move the entire physique.

stroller, among house facades he is at home like a townsman among his four walls.” Perception of the spectators of the Giant who fell from the sky (see Masquelier 2001: 119-135) about themselves, and the perception of the environment are permeated by the game with new rules. People themselves need to discover locations and moments of different episodes around the city. The presence of giants therefore becomes the reason for rumours, causes spontaneous exchanges between inhabitants who inform each other about departures and arrivals of marionettes. Also people need to include themselves in the narrative process they are offered and in this perspective invent (in the double sense of creating and discovering) what this event has to say to them. Nobody experiences the same experience. The event has facilitated transition from “having a city” into “being a city” (Ostrowetsky 2001: 156).

As in the aforementioned spectacle, spectators in other street performances mainly have the possibility to move around the place and in doing so changing their viewpoint, to distance themselves from the performers and other spectators as they wish and in this way associate to the story. Performing spaces in the city organize and structure the relationship between actors and spectators, movement and perception, differently each time (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 181). Of course they are the most mobile in walkabouts, which are very popular lately in the forms of guided city tours, where the actors explain and analyze street and city signs to the participants, tell (fictional) stories associated with what was seen, show an unusual perspective of the city and establish relations between the participants. In the walking tour show *Le Grand Big* tour of the Kolektiv Narobov (Narobov Collective) in the manner of good old touristic trips they take spectators on a journey through streets, dictate the dynamic of the walk, command them to hold hands, sit in the middle of the road, distribute cigarettes when it is time for a break, tell stories of the people behind the walls of blocks of flats, establish relations with residents, ring the bells of housing blocks (and receive a jug of water in return), extort a kiss from a passing cyclist on his way, tell the history of the place ... Although unravelled stories are completely contrived they highlight otherwise self-evident parts of the city – which are not questioned on our everyday tours as we are convinced that we know them – that we become aware of as a tourist in our own town.

Incredible, mysterious and fictitious story was going on in walking through the scenes of the streets, squares, parks and buildings. With moving through the space, the spatiality of the city was produced by each individual spectator in mixing real places, people and events with fictitious ones. With spilling over imaginary and real spaces performative space is marked as “intermediate space” (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 188).

In Ljubljana artistic collective KUD Ljud opened ready-made open-air gallery – Pocestnica (Streetwalker), walking street performances, in which existing architectural elements, urban compositions and iconography, facades of buildings, inscriptions in the place and natural phenomena were displayed and “read” as gallery pieces. Through this they reactivated and reinterpreted public space as well as opened discussion about elite art behind the walls and its discourse. “*Streetwalker* directly addresses everyone, especially random passers-by for whom contemporary art and gallery activities are something unknown and forgotten like last year’s snow.” (<http://pocestnica.net/>). In their gallery crossing for pedestrians becomes expensive artwork of the recognized artist (woe, if someone steps on it, or even drives over!), worth of semiotic interpretation, as well as wall graffiti, traffic and other signs. They equipped exhibits, as is fitting, with descriptions, information about the author, techniques, dimensions and instructions. Thus, following the example of Duchamp, they pointed out that even everyday objects can have aesthetic value.

Descriptive plates on the performative site are only the most obvious manifestations of inscription into urban space. Ephemeral, intangible, elusive event “nourishes place which can only be inscribed into permanent” (Chaudoir 2000: 139). Through “marking”, event remains

etched memory in the space and is being set up as a support to the collective memory (Chaudoir 2000: 64).

Place as an active protagonist and other unpredictable actors

As we have seen, spectators and actors shape the space, but even more obviously place affects the performance with its physical characteristics such as urban topography, geometric aspects, visibility, audibility, traffic aspects, possibilities of electric charging and others. Therefore, surroundings which are tangible, fixed and permanent, can be also thought of as “active protagonists in complex system of transformation” (Dragičević-Šešić 2000: 87). Street art uses city as material for the creation and invites it to be its own actor and not just the usual decoration (Dragičević-Šešić 2000: 87). Most directly this is seen in the performances in situ and site specific performances, ie performances that are prepared for a special place and generally not intended to be moved, in ambiental productions that use city architecture as its scenery, and in walkabouts, performances in motion where performers work together with public and use environmental place since mostly they do not set the scene. In general, it is precisely this – adaptability to any place, any location, any environment – a characteristic of itinerant street art (Dragičević-Šešić 2000: 85).

For performers who perform outside in open air settings is important to choose the right place. This task is usually performed by the festival organizers themselves or in consultation with the creators. Puppeteers who conjure the underwater world in their shows, say it is very useful for their relation with the public to find an appropriate place together. “In Spain we appeared at a pedestrian street with leaning trees. The road was like a green tunnel, we sailed through it. This is the difference between theatre and street theatre. Sometimes it is difficult when you are not in the right place; it may be too noisy, or you can be disturbed by drunk people singing.” When they performed in Macau in China, festival organizers placed them in the street with paving stones painted with motifs of ships, seahorses and fish; so the place contained themes of their story. “And people saw that pearl means magical power and found a meaning in it.

When group Antagon was performing with its performance TimeOut at the main square in Maribor under the clock of the town hall, at exactly eleven o'clock when they performed part of the show in which the clock appears (anticlockwise), sounds of bells were heard. Since their performance is accompanied by the live music group, sawing of the guitar and sound of bells merged was what made a great show.” Similar symbolic was repeated under the clock of Cankarjev dom at the festival in Ljubljana. Street theatre people love to tell about unpredictable events which color their performances and cannot be offered by the predictable stage (see Mason 1992: 87). “Some day we were performing near the railing. And behind the stage there were rails. Slowly, historic locomotive engine drove through the scene and continued its way. And we were performing on the stage ... These things are a very nice combination. Also, new people who are coming, and other influences. I call it a gift, a natural gift on stage.”

When collective Cie Osmosis was preparing their show Kontejner Alhambra at Prešernov trg in Ljubljana, location was limited with straps, usually used to mark a construction site. Even people on account of containers and forklift trucks that appear in the show, thought for a moment that their market has changed in the construction site again (which only a few months before the show it actually was).

Another unpredictable factor that influences open-air performance is weather. Creators got used to its capriciousness, therefore they do not let themselves get too much disturbed by its bad conditions and can adopt to any weather conditions. “We like to perform in open-air settings as this brings a lot of unpredictable situations. Something happens spontaneously on the street, you cannot see that often in closed theatre,” says Von Trolley Quartet. Or, they “fight” with weather. Ali Salmi rather waits rain finishes before continuing with the show. He

remembers once when there was storm many people came to watch his performance. "And if there were so many people we somehow had to play. First we checked electrification, in order for it not to be too dangerous for the performers and public. Floor was wet and slippery, but we removed the water from the roof and began with the performance. And it was beautiful because we used this moment and scene from nature, flash and lightening merged with our jerks. In performance Waterfloor we performed in the rain four times. It was amazing. You are all wet." In the middle of their performance Kontejner Alhambra dancers spend part of their time in the air, dancing, holding the fork of the forklift truck. Even under normal conditions this scene is extremely difficult and when towards the end started to rain lightly, people held their breaths.

When South and Jacon performed in Bretania in France it was foggy. "I think it must had been very interesting for the public, for us it was a little scary as our puppets got wet. Once we performed in wind which gave a feeling of water and waves, when you see gentle movement of things, cloths blaze and special sounds form. Really beautiful. Once flock of birds flew over us and it gave a feeling of a flock of fish," they are telling.

When it starts to rain, Antagon group are last to leave the scene. If there is public, they continue. "Just imagine theatre from the stage to happen in the rain. Lovely. Sometimes people say 'Oh, this is the first show I saw in the rain.' Rain is weather, is reality, such as sun, storm, clouds, fool moon. Therefore you are outside, connected with nature which is part of your performance." When we are finishing our interview before the evening performance, Bernhard looks towards the sky: "I am watching because there is wind. Wind is something that can make some damage."

Festival gaze

One of the objectives of street theatre and especially street theatre festivals is to disguise city in a festive look for the visitors' gazes. "The festival gaze" (Jamieson, 2004: 71) is oriented toward visibility of unexpected social and geographical manifestations. This gaze choreographs different forms of identification and interaction with the city.

When we speak about the new visibility that street theatre or its festivals provide, it is interesting to mention that some areas of the town where performances of the festival Ana Desetnica, festival of street theatre in Slovenia, were held were restored or decorated in the following years by municipal authorities. Festival thus "opens" new parts of town (Osojnik, 2008: 5). Festival is also an indicator for potentially good locations which call for development and enriches them with their use (Pivka 2008: 65).

Festival with its activities attracts the focus on places it is using, enlivens them with fun and vivacity, changes the use of the place for the duration of the festival and more importantly, even after the festival that place remains noticed. "Ana Desetnica gives street legitimacy, even more so, the surplus value, which means a shift from simply walking on it to the organization of its life as a (cultural) event, a fair, circus, theatre. Ana Desetnica is also one of the most profiled and most democratic festivals we have." (Lukan, 2006: 13)

Street theatre festivals as any other art festival has a potential to animate communities, celebrate diversity and improve quality of life. Charm of street theatre festivals for the city is undeniable: they are catalysts which provide the space with novelties, surprises and nonconformism, they increase the sense of community (public space for encounters and borning new ideas), raise artistic and cultural activities, provide a picture of an ideal city, support local economy, attract business, new residents and tourists, strengthen local identity (Layac, 2000: 23).

Positive images

Authorities, ministry of culture and municipal governments are well aware of the potential of street festivals that contribute to the atmosphere of the city and its image improvement. As

expressed by Zukin (2008: xii) “growth is considered the only game in town, and the only strategy for growth is to keep on reinventing urban spaces”. “The festival, with its connotations of sociability, playfulness, joviality and community provides a ready-made set of positive images on which to base a reconstruction of a less than perfect city image. Add the 'arts' dimension to the festival, and another series of positive images are available for manipulating according to the positioning requirements of the city. It is not surprising, therefore, that many cities have seen in festivals a sort of 'quick fix' solution to their image problems.» (Quinn, 2005: 932) Still, authorities tend to disregard the social value of festivals and construe them simply as vehicles of economic generation or as 'quick fix' solutions to city image problems (Quinn, 2005: 927), as investment for restructuring, regeneration and city marketing. The concept of city marketing can be interpreted holistically when including social, cultural and economic aspirations (van den Berg et. al. 1980 in Quinn 2005: 932). But within the prevailing conceptualisation of arts festivals as city marketing strategies, festivals are permitted little scope of unlocking potentials of festival such as challenging social order and authority and inverting social norms (Quinn, 2005: 934).

Conclusion

As an introduction into discussion about street theatre I presented an example of the street theatre intervention of KUD Ljud as an illustration of practical intervention into public space that can enhance creativity in the city especially in interaction with people. Throughout the text I pointed out scattered other cases that speak the same. I wanted to point out that the ways of being creative in the city are infinite. Further on some communal aspect of street theatre were shown. Street theatre has transformative potentials which are hidden in temporary suspension of everyday life and order of power which provide instances for redefining meanings and social order. Place is equally important for the liberation. Liberated social space is manifested in “liberated” streets and squares, freed from conventions and commands. City with its construction, with streets, sidewalks and squares depicts places potentially foreseen as public space, which is necessarily common place, accessible to all. Street theatre shows a desire to re-appropriate the city. We appropriate it through bodily creation and thus activate physical space. Through images and symbols directly experienced space, is for Lefebvre “representational space”. Through a symbolic use of its facilities, this is a place of inhabitants, users, artists and other creators. With symbolic meanings and symbols enriched cities or hypercities are the most democratic cities because they allow everyone to be a producer apart from being a consumer. Therefore, in my opinion a creative city is a city where people have a chance to participate, to create, to produce, and not only to consume culture. Where people are “being a city”, not only “having a city”.

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CREATIVITY AS PART OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE STRATEGIES – THE CASE OF POLAND

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Abstract

The European Capital of Culture, one of the most visible and well-known cultural initiatives of the European Union, has evolved over the last 25 years from a one-year interdisciplinary cultural festival into a possible tool for urban change and development. Many cities participating in the competition see the title not only as a way to broaden the cultural offer of the city, but also to initiate sustainable change with culture as the determinant of development. The recent competition in Poland brought together 11 candidate cities competing for the title in 2016. Many of them, aware of the latest trends in urban politics, included support for creativity and creative industries in their proposed strategies. Although 10 of the cities lost the competition (with Wrocław as the winner), one can argue that there was a benefit in the participation anyhow – the change in the paradigm of thinking about the connections between culture and socio-economic development on the city level. The article will aim at verification of the creative city concept in the cities' bids for the title, presenting a new trend in the urban cultural policy of Polish big cities.

Keywords: European Capital of Culture, ECoC 2016 competition in Poland, creative city

From fostering cultural diversity towards contribution to economic and social development

The European Cities of Culture (ECC)¹⁴ initiative, undertaken in 1983, was the first Community initiative in the domain of culture (EU document 8, 1985). Starting with the first ECC, Athens 1985, the aim was to bring the Europeans closer together and promote the feeling of community and the richness of European diversity of cultures. Cities that bore the title had, on one hand, an opportunity to present their heritage and culture to the European audience, and, on the other, to offer their inhabitants a wider cultural offer enriched by cultural activities prepared by artists from other regions and countries.

By the time the ECC was celebrating its 15 year anniversary the content of the celebrations and their impact had altered substantially. A clear benchmark was set up by Glasgow 1990, whose vision contributed to the metamorphosis of an industrial town into a modern city of culture and leisure. ECC celebrations were treated as a catalysis of revitalisation with the main focus on economic, rather than artistic aspects. The breakthrough was in the interdisciplinary approach with projects not only dealing with traditional culture, but also creative industries, religion, sports and engineering.

The impact of the ECC on culture and tourism, media recognition, local pride and identity building as well as strengthening the process of European integration led in 1999 to giving the ECC the Community action status and a new name of the European Capital of Culture (ECoC), emphasizing the potential of ECoC and “the need to integrate the cultural project into a dynamic medium-term process” (EU document 4, 1999).

The ECoC initiative entered the next phase of development with the European Union (EU) enlargement process. A new decision was taken in 2006 (EU document 6, 2006) introducing a number of changes in the terms of the selection criteria, procedures and a monitoring process. Since then cities participating in the competition for the title on a national level have been

¹⁴ Decision of the European Council and European Parliament number 1419/1999/EC changed the title to the European Capitals of Culture from 2005 on.

obliged to fill in an application form, where they present the programme for the celebration of the title, as well as their idea of a role and place of culture in the development of a given city. The bid has to fulfil two main criteria: “European Dimension” and “City and Citizens”. The first one refers to the initial aims of ECC/ECOC, while the other introduces issues that evolved during the existence of the ECOC initiative. The City and Citizens” dimension could be defined as fostering, on one hand, the active participation of residents in a life of a given city, including its cultural sphere. On the other hand, the focus is set on the programme and ideas of ECOC being an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city. The ECOCs of the new millennium more eagerly claimed that the title meant for them a chance for urban transformation. Enough to mention regeneration of industrial Lille 2004, Pécs 2010 with its revitalisation programme or Kosice 2013, for which creative industries was one of the most important issues.

The change of the approach towards the role of culture and its potential within the ECOC initiative coincided with the change of the overall paradigm concerning culture and development, visible both in the academic and practical sphere.

The change of paradigm

The absence of economic goals in the first official ECOC documents is not that surprising considering the fact that only Article 151 of the Maastricht Treaty (1991) introduced an obligation of taking cultural aspects into consideration in any action of the Community, also including the before-mentioned economic or social provisions. The first Community programme in the field of culture that to some, however limited, extent included them was the Culture 2000 Programme (2000-2006) only (EU document 5, 2000). Culture, as a separate area of intervention of the European Regional Development Fund, not combined with tourism, appears as late as the financial perspective 2007-13 (EU document 7, 2006). The first study in the field, commissioned by the Directorate General for Education and Culture and proving that culture and creative sectors play an important role in the economy of the EU, had not been done until 2005-2006 (KEA, 2007). New millennium also showed the EU awareness of the role of culture in building economic cohesion of regions (EU document 1, 2006) and promoting culture to foster creativity within the Lisbon strategy (EU document 2, 2007).

It might be claimed that the change of the EU policy approach mirrored a deeper transformation in thinking about culture that took place in the 1980s and 1990s. A look at cultural policy in Western Europe and its cities shows it has been changing over the last 50 years. The same is true for Poland, although the main change happened in the 1990s, with the beginning of the administrative reform in 1990, that shifted part of the power to the local level and, I would argue, allowed urban policy slowly to catch up with the Western trends.

In Europe the time after the WWII was marked by rebuilding cities and fostering economic growth with the cultural sphere quite isolated from the urban policy and the cultural policy of secondary importance. Social movements of the 1960's and the economic crisis of the 1970s resulted in new cultural strategies dealing with culture in a much wider context – as an element of activating local communities, building a feeling of community and pride, reviving unused city space, etc. In the 1980s, due to the pressure to economise on public financial resources, a new trend appeared: cultural policy targeting not only social goals but also economic problems. It was noticed that actions in the field of culture can become a tool to diversify local economic base (tourism, art, media, sport, leisure), to broaden labour market, and that it can be an element of city marketing – creating a positive city image, attracting new investors, inhabitants, tourists. It was the time to invent so-called flagship projects – prestigious buildings (either new or adapted spaces, usually post-industrial) that were supposed to be both a symbol and a catalysis for economic development of a city (e.g. Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao). The 1990s were marked by the triumph of cultural

revitalisation, a phase that in a continuously developing and changing form has been experienced until now. It is also the time when new concepts of cities have evolved, such as “a creative city” and “an intercultural city” (Bianchini, 1993, p. 9-15; 1999, p. 23-37).

Applying for the ECoC title is an illustration of creating “an eventful city” trend, that in a strategic, integrated and holistic way organises and maximises benefits from the event programme taking place there. Considering events as part of urban policy regarding promotion of the city and fostering high quality of life for the inhabitants, cities tend to actively generate new events or rejuvenate old ones, both based on their endogenous resources, and also bid for circulating events such as the Olympics, World Fair EXPO or the very ECoC (Richards, Palmer, 2010, p. 43, 62). In the beginning of the 21st century eventful city strategies became more sophisticated, developing interest for the long-term impact of the events. It started to be important to plan how to sustain the heritage of the event and its positive impact (Smith 2012, pp. 44-45).

European Capital of Culture 2016 competition in Poland

Using the experience of over forty cities that have borne the title of ECoC (including Krakow 2000), eleven Polish cities decided to try their chances in an all-Poland competition for the title of ECoC 2016, hoping that the title would help them to promote their city, regenerate neglected areas, change cultural policy and increase people’s engagement in a city’s life, including the cultural sphere.

In the first phase of the competition, eleven cities prepared a bid, of which five (Gdańsk, Katowice, Lublin, Warszawa and Wrocław) made the short list. After analysing the bids, study visits in the candidate cities, and listening to the presentations of the cities, international jury decided that the title should go to Wrocław and its idea of “Spaces for Beauty” (June 21, 2011). Official nomination was taken by the Council of Ministers responsible for cultural affairs in 2012 (EU document 3, 2012).

The ECoC is not only a twelve month cultural programme. The construction of the application form obliges candidate cities to present the following aspects: the way the cultural policy in a given city should look like, how the cooperation of city organisations on local and international level should be developed, the means to engage citizens in the life of a city (including the cultural sphere) in a sustainable way. In many cities participation in the ECoC competition leads to a wider discussion on the role and place of culture in the development strategy of a city. This actually happened in Poland – with much media attention as well as residents’, artists’ and politicians’ involvement. The candidate cities, while preparing the bids, applied different approaches to the issues mentioned, which is illustrated by the slogans chosen.

- Białystok – The Art of Coexistence
- Bydgoszcz – Culture under Construction!
- Gdańsk – Freedom of Culture. Culture of Freedom.
- Katowice – The City of Gardens
- Lublin – The City in Dialogue
- Łódź – @evolution of Imagination
- Poznań – Cultural Storm
- Szczecin – The Power to Bind Together. Common Cultural Space
- Toruń – Universe of Culture
- Warszawa – New Energy for Europe
- Wrocław – Spaces for Beauty
-

Participating in the ECoC competition encourages cities to develop a wider analysis of the situation of culture in a city and their social and economic problems. The construction of the

application form with a variety of questions, including a request for a SWOT analysis, forces candidates to reflect on the potential of the city and challenges faced. Visions presented in the bids are shaped also by the requirements of the ECoC and its selection criteria. Namely, the selection panel looks at how cities implement the above mentioned “European Dimension” and “City and Citizens” criteria, and the sustainability of their plans. For the purpose of this paper the second criterion seems to be more relevant (although the cooperation with foreign partners, synergy effects and increasing the vibrancy of cultural life of a city, that are part of putting “European Dimension” into practice, cannot be overlooked in this context either). Its definition includes broad involvement of inhabitants in the preparation and implementation process of ECoC, fostering local activities, encouraging participation in cultural, social and economic life of a given city. One might actually argue that the whole ECoC process is about bringing to the fore and exploring cities’ creativity and uniqueness.

Jacek Purchla, one of the members of the Polish selection panel, emphasises that the competition was “a real breakthrough for cities”, which are powerhouses of the changes in the contemporary world and which have learned to treat culture as a catalyst of their development (Sanetra-Szeliga, 2011). Analysis of ECoC bids confirms that trend. Chart 1 presents these elements of the bids that seem to be relevant to socio-economic development of the cities. They were singled out (as the most important ones of those directly mentioned and consciously incorporated in the ECoC vision) and confronted with the literature review results and case studies presenting a potential impact of cultural projects on socio-economic development. It has to be remembered that the bids are only of declarative character and might lack further analysis needed for the implementation phase.

Chart. 1. The impact of culture on development in the candidate cities’ bids

	Białystok	Bydgoszcz	Gdańsk	Katowice	Lublin	Łódź	Poznań	Szczecin	Toruń	Warszawa	Wrocław
activities that include culture											
revitalisation projects	√	√	√			√	√		√		√
building "iconic" buildings				√		√	√				
creating creative quarters						√	√				
opening spaces for cultural activities	√		√	√	√	√	√		√		
activating citizens/strengthening local civil society	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√
cohesion in city's development			√					√	√		
quality of life						√				√	
quality of public space				√		√	√			√	√
accessibility of cultural offer		√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	
culture participation		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√

active participation in culture (prosumer-like engagement)		√			√	√				√	√
fostering identity and feeling of belonging		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√
broadening cultural offer		√	√			√		√	√		√
promotion of openness, tolerance and cultural dialogue	√	√	√		√	√				√	√
cultural education		√			√		√		√		√
fostering development of creative industries		√	√			√	√	√		√	
foreseen impact of cultural activities within ECoC											
creating new jobs	√	√	√		√	√		√		√	
increasing tourism	√	√	√			√	√				√
changing city's image	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
increasing city's recognition on the international market	√	√	√		√	√					√

Source: own elaboration based on the candidate cities' bids forms.

The Chart 1 shows that employing culture for economic and social ends was clear in all eleven cases. "Creativity" became a 'buzzword' during the competition, as Purchla put it, mayors spoke "fluent Florida" (Sanetra-Szeliga, 2011, p. 114). It must be underlined, that even if the interest in the role of culture in urban development was superficial at first, the debates resulting from the ECoC competition brought about some changes. Together with the reflection on culture in local development imposed while preparing local and central programmes for EU structural funds, local cultural policy has evolved.

A Creative city in Polish ECoC candidates' visions

A *creative city*, a concept elaborated by a number of researchers, including Charles Landry (2000) and Richard Florida (2002), emphasizes the role of creative industries, cultural infrastructure as well as „creative class” in a discussion about the key resources of a city. One can identify culture-centric versions of the creative city definitions, where the central value is arts, culture, community wellbeing and inclusion (place of diverse and inclusive arts and culture), and econ-centric ones with urban economic sustainability and wellbeing through creative industries (place of economic innovation, creative talent and creative industries) (Smith et al, 2007). Combining them, creativity in this context means that, on one hand, a city

can produce competitive products and, on the other, hand flexibly change and adapt to the changes of demand and behaviour of its competitors. Moreover, thanks to its cultural resources, a creative city is able to attract investments in the innovative economic sectors and creative people. According to Sharon Zukin a creative city fosters its creativity by promoting “generous and inclusive culture” and having “an impatient desire for new things, while valuing the old” (2004).

A creative city, being quite a wide notion, can be described using a number of various factors. There have been numerous indexes¹⁵ developed to facilitate analysis of this phenomenon. For the purpose of this paper it seems useful to quote a categorisation by ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (Hartley et al, 2012), which distinguished two types of indexes: creative stocks and creative flows. While the first class of index is based mainly on the Florida’s creative class theory (2002) and measures diversity, openness, tolerance and vibrancy of creative sectors (output, employment, participation and talent), the second one focuses more on world status of a given city, its infrastructure, basic services, innovation and technology performance, networking and exchange. Taking into consideration the ECoC nature, a short analysis of the first type of indexes could prove more useful to present Polish candidate cities’ awareness and involvement in the idea of a creative city.

According to the creative stock type of indexes, the most important dimensions and indicators, when describing creative cities, include: openness and tolerance, human capital (along with education), social capital, government regulations, innovation and R&D, new technologies, actions involving natural environment, quality of life (venues, amenities, facilities), cultural capital and participation in culture, tourism, recreation as well as creative output (Hartley et al, 2012, p. 28). To elaborate on this issue some characteristics of these indexes should be presented. In his creative cities index Florida claimed that talented people, so-called creative class¹⁶, are attracted to cities characterized by 3T: technology – function of innovation and concentration of hi-tech, talent – number of people with at least a bachelor degree, and tolerance – diversity, openness, friendly attitude towards people of different religious or ethnic background and sexual orientation. Cultural life of a city is seen as important part of many of other indexes that fall into creative stock class – both on the supply side (cultural offer, employment in the creative sector, economic contribution of the creative industries) – e.g. Cultural Life Index (Picard et al., 2003), European Creativity Index (KEA, 2009, p. 187) and Creative Vitality Index (Webpages 1) – and demand side (inhabitants participation in cultural life) – e.g. Design Creativity and Innovation Scoreboard (Hollanders, van Cruysen, 2009). Further, Silicon Valley Creative Communities Index (Kreidler, Trounstein, 2005) proposes to include cultural assets (physical, virtual – talents and a general aesthetic quality of the city environment) and means to develop them. Moreover, social capital as an important factor in fostering creativity is mentioned in many indexes, eg. European Creativity Index or Creative Communities Index.

Having the idea of a creative city that broadly defined and assuming that a rich cultural environment benefits creativity and social life triggered by cultural activities supports the creative economy, one might come to a conclusion that the whole contemporary understanding of the ECoC initiative in a way revolves around implementing the creative city approach. A look at Chart 1 could confirm this. All of the candidate cities in one way or another focused on elements that constitute a creative city (which seems to be understandable regarding the scope of ECoC and the cultural life lying in its very heart). However, it seems

¹⁵ A number of them is mentioned in the following paragraphs.

¹⁶ People working in arts, entertainment, creative industries, science, engineering, whose “economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new create content” as well as those working in business, finance, law, health care and related fields (Florida, 2002, p. 8).

that both the core and emanation of a creative city lies in the creative industries (Pięta-Kanurska, 2010, p. 92). Therefore, the emphasis of the next part of this paper will be put on Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk, Łódź, Poznań, Szczecin and Warszawa, these cities out of the eleven candidates that explicitly aimed at fostering creative industries.

Bydgoszcz

Bydgoszcz's decision to participate in the ECoC competition stemmed from the belief that ECoC "stimulates the transformation process of the city through culture, one that will lead to civilisation advancement and the definition of a distinctive profile of the city" that it was feared had no clear identity (ECoC 2016 bids 1). The implementation of the Bydgoszcz 2016 vision was to contribute to long-term transformation process from an industrial centre towards a city of culture, tourism, sport, leisure and creative entrepreneurship with a diverse and rich cultural life, creative atmosphere, active inhabitants identifying themselves with their city and intensive international cooperation. The main goal of the programme was the development of cultural assets by modernisation and building new infrastructure (under-investment was identified as one of the city's weaknesses), supporting development of human resources and creating an innovative cultural programme (ECoC 2016 bids 1, p. 11). Recapitalisation and modernisation of cultural, sports and leisure infrastructure, along with revitalisation of degraded areas, revalorisation of monuments, turning city towards its rivers and water corridors and creating "an emotional centre of the city" were to contribute to the objective of improving tangible assets of the city. As far as creative industries were concerned, their support was foreseen with such tools as trainings and promotion of good practices. The quantitative indicators were set up to measure a long-term change, including the decrease of people not interested in culture by 20%, raise of number of entities in the creative sector by 10%, increase of urban cultural, sports, touristic and leisure space by 30%, etc.

Gdańsk

Gdańsk wanted the title because it needed a new vision that would unite its residents and give them a feeling of solidarity (ECoC 2016 bids 2, p. 9) that disappeared during the last twenty years of building a democratic market economy. The slogan "Freedom of Culture. Culture of Freedom" reflected on one hand the creative potential of the city and on the other, its heritage connected with the Solidarity movement. Among the goals set, adapting to the post-industrial model of economy, strengthening metropolisation processes and boosting cultural life of the city seem especially pertinent for the present discussion. Concerning the first issue, the role of culture was highlighted, in particular regarding the process of increasing attractiveness of the city, that will draw investors, new inhabitants, including creative class, and tourists (thanks to cultural and creative tourism offer). Attention was also brought to the links between culture and creative sector, science and new technologies. Out of several thematic lines, two of them are worth to mention in this context: Network Society (projects about cooperation in the world wide network and cyberculture) and Creations (innovative projects based on new technologies and new trends in culture, projects connected with the creative sector and science).

The most wanted effect was an increase in social participation and residents' greater sense of belonging. In the long term sustainable relations between culture and socio-economic aspects of the city's development as well as the image change of the post-shipyards areas were listed as the ECoC results. New jobs in the creative sector, new technologies, new tourist products were also counted on (ECoC 2016 bids 2, pp. 43-46).

Łódź

Participation in the ECoC contest was supposed to serve in bringing out Łódź's potential and

make the city, just like in the 19th century, “a promised land”¹⁷, “in which promises of a better tomorrow are to be fulfilled thanks to culture and creative industries”, “[n]ineteenth-century heritage and avant-garde traditions would be combined with the artistic energy and entrepreneurship of modern Europe, giving endless opportunities for development and creative action,” and, “[i]ts greatest strength will be active and CREATIVE people” (ECoC 2016 bids 3, pp. 54-55). Preparations for the competition were meant to change the city at various levels, wake up residents, authorities and institutions and give a new impulse for development. The restricted ® symbol was used to signify the cultural and creative sector, which played a central role in the vision of “®evolution of imagination”, that was going to happen in the course of ECoC implementation.

The implementation was hoped to result in a transformation of cultural life and cultural offer (e.g. more and better cultural events, including those prepared by foreign artists, profiled events targeted at specified audience), cultural management (e.g. more competent and skilled employees in the culture sector, more effective spending of financial resources, increased budgets of cultural institutions), city infrastructure, with focus on renovation and revitalisation of post-industrial urban tissue.

Apart from the aims related to the artistic events (e.g. creating a high quality artistic programme) and cultural policy (e.g. introducing a policy based on the newest trends and research), Łódź set out also goals of changing the quality of urban space through revitalisation and investments, transforming the city’s image, attracting tourists and making Łódź the creative centre of Central Europe. It was hoped that that civil society would develop, social capital would grow and creative sector would offer new employment possibilities.

Poznań

Preparations of the ECoC bid in Poznań were inspired by Shakespeare’s “Tempest” – “We will bring about a storm. Just like Shakespearian Prospero, we will summon the elements and make them obey us. We will throw their combined energy onto the city to move it and to cause anxiety. And when the tempest ends, Poznań will be completely different” (ECoC 2016 bids 3, p. 11). Poznań was to be a creative metropolis, a leading one in design creative industries, a centre of knowledge, culture, life-long learning, tourism and sport, with high quality of life, attractive urban space and architecture, and a society that was to be coherent, enthusiastic, creative and eagerly participating in the life of the city.

Attention was paid to the need of strong economy in the city. Poznań’s economy was based on industry – the challenge was to make it a knowledge-based industry, exploiting the creative and intellectual potential of the residents. “Workers should be replaced by creators” (ECoC 2016 bids 3, p. 78). Among tools to achieve the goal the following ideas were enumerated: establishing a regional chamber of the creative sector, that would serve, among others, a lobbying role, and creating an incubator for art related initiatives, Inkubat/ART, that would produce innovative ideas for the creative sector and act as a catalyst for competition among organisations active in the creative milieu. To be successful in the new, post-modern world, a *homo faber* needed to become a *homo creator* (ECoC 2016 bids 3, p. 121).

The bid included also an architectural and town-planning dimension. Apart from an equal distribution of cultural activity, also in marginalized areas, the focus was put on infrastructural projects, including adapting post-industrial areas of old printing house or a gas plant for cultural purposes.

Szczecin

By bidding in the competition for an ECoC title Szczecin wanted to confirm the culture’s

¹⁷ See: W. Reymont, *Promised land*, New York 1927 – a novel by a Polish Nobel Prize Winner about a Pole, a Jew and a German founding a textile factory in 19th century Łódź, which at the late 19th seemed a promised land, due to its fast development and modernity.

great binding power and create a common cultural area in the Polish-German borderland. Moreover, the vision was to show how “Europe 2020. Strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth” could be implemented on a local level with culture used as a tool for revitalisation of marginalised areas and a gate to the technology world of tomorrow (ECoC 2016 bids 4, p. 22). ECoC proposal included actions in the field of cradle-to-cradle design, social inclusion and promoting new values in consumer and social behaviour. For the residents it was especially important that ECoC 2016 foresaw more access to culture, active participation in developing urban cultural policy, equal chances for inhabitants of all neighbourhoods and broadening the potential of creative industries. New institutions were to come into being, including Museum of Technology and Transport – the Art Depot and a centre for contemporary art – Trafostacja Sztuki (in a renovated historic transformer facility). The hope was that culture would become an inspiration for reforming strategic urban management and policies, at the same time starting to be a trigger for the city’s development.

Warsaw

Contrary to common opinions, a SWOT analysis showed that the cultural life of the Poland’s capital city, especially on the demand side, was relatively weak, the level of residents’ identification with the city – low, international cultural cooperation leaving a lot to be desired, and the expansion of the creative sector, the strongest one in all Polish cities, not translating into a better quality of life. Therefore, the most important goals of the bid included a deep social change based on culture and opening the city towards Poland and other countries. It was hoped that ECoC would regenerate the social fabric and urban tissue, increase the quality of life, diversify the economic base and give a sense of pride to the citizens (ECoC 2016 bids 5, p. 4). Among the most important issues raised were the quality of the public space and architecture, as well as support for the creative sector.

Regarding the last issue, Warsaw wanted to use its position as the capital of business in Poland to transform itself into a creative centre, important on the European level. One of the priorities was to integrate the sector and to build a platform for cooperation to benefit from synergy effects. A network of small centres of creativity, including a venue for residents’ projects, was envisaged, together with a centre for developing creativity and empowering residents of one of the forgotten districts – Muranów. One of the most important projects was the Warsaw Creative Centre to be established in a revitalised municipal building in the Praga district. The idea was to combine functions of an incubator of entrepreneurship, an exhibition space, drop-in facilities for the city’s mobile creative workforce, and a home for the growing sector. Moreover, financial help for young creators, via a system of grants, was also planned, together with capacity building training projects (ECoC 2016 bids 5, p. 45-46).

In the long-term ECoC implementation would result in changing the city. In the area of “a competitive city” – it included diversifying the economy by increasing the role and professionalisation of knowledge and creativity-based industries and attracting creative individuals to Warsaw (ECoC 2016 bids 5, p. 113).

Conclusions

The ECoC competition in Poland in 2016 brought substantial changes to the urban cultural policy of the candidate cities. Thanks to the “City and Citizens” dimension of the ECoC initiative, it gave voice to the residents of the cities, artists, creators. Most importantly, however, it raised a discussion about culture in the contemporary world and its role in socio-economic development, also on a more formal way. The new paradigm on the relations between culture and socio-economic development was welcomed. Although, it might be argued that not all the cities benefited to the same extent, which is undoubtedly true, the transformation has begun. A true revolution in thinking about culture can be found in Poznań, Bydgoszcz or Łódź, where regional congresses on culture took place, ending with so-called

pacts for culture (documents on cooperation for culture between civil society and local authorities). Many of the cities, such as Toruń, Gdańsk or Katowice established new cultural institutions¹⁸, based on the ones that had been charged with bidding for ECoC 2016 title, whose role was to implement the most important elements of the bids.

The above-described cities, that focused especially on issues related with the concept of creativity and creative sector, did not abandon their visions. For one thing, most of the foreseen infrastructure projects (e.g. revitalisation of the 100 year old power station EC1 in Łódź) were put into practice, as they were parallelly (or even beforehand) applied for in the calls for projects co-financed by the EU structural funds. The strategic documents of these cities include culture and creative industries on a scale not seen before – e.g. Integrated Development Strategy for Łódź 2020+ indicates support planned for creativity and knowledge-based economy, especially creative industries, active in fashion, design or film production (Other official documents 1).

An in-depth analysis of the implementation of the ECoC proposal did not lie within the scope of the paper, but from what is available one could venture a claim that Polish big cities entered a new path regarding employment of culture for socio-economic purposes. It remains to be seen how the decision-makers will make it benefit for the cities' development.

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CONCEIVING A (NEW) DEFINITION OF HUB FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRANSNATIONAL NETWORK FOR CREATIVE COMPANIES

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Abstract

This paper is focused on the conception of a possible definition of an HUB is (and what it would be). This definition was conceived thanks to a mapping activity of hubs, incubators, service centers and similar institutions carried out within the European project Creative Companies in Alpine Space (CCAAlps). One of the final goal of the project is that of creating a network of HUBs within Lombardy Region and also internationally, among the Lombardy Region and the other partner regions. The theoretical framework of this activity of the project is the importance of localization and networks for the development of Creative and Cultural Industry sectors and therefore the enhancement of territories from a social and economic point of views.

Key Words: localization, hub, Creative and Cultural Industry, territorial development, service design

Introduction

Creative Companies in Alpine Space (CCAAlps) is a European project that promotes the support and the development of CCIs (Creative and Cultural Industries). It is financed by the Alpine Space Programme of the European Union and it is aimed at developing the competitiveness and the attractiveness of the Alpine Space Area, by strengthening the relations between urban and peripheral areas. One of the main objectives of the project is to create a transnational network among HUBs that are present in the territories of the partners' Regions, enterprises and other stakeholders. In order to reach this goal previous studies has been carried out.

In particular, the mapping activity of hubs, incubators, service centers and the like we want to present here, became part of the activities provided by WP4 and WP6. A transnational model should be created to implement the hubs at a local level, containing a set of criteria that all the partners must respect, about not only physical spaces, but also services the hubs must provide.

Using this mapping, we intend to explore and understand the local and international scenario. 80 cases coming from different countries and cultures have been selected to create a very heterogeneous reference model, in order to define a minimum service packet, which can be compared internationally, and not only at the European level. Before describing the methodology and presenting the mapping done, a first theoretical overview of this theme is needed.

Hard Factors and Soft Factors

The theoretical arguments about creative companies have their own sound basis on the localization theories. Places, and especially towns, play a major role in privileging attraction and development of these specific economy sectors. So a town can be considered “creative” if it pays attention to many characterizing factors, promoting the creation and development of some market niches. Charles Landry proposed a functionalist approach taking into account not only the so-called hard factors, which he called “concrete factors” (2000:105), but also the soft ones, called “intangible factors” (2000:105). On the one hand the “hard location factors” refer to the presence on the territory of important resources including man power, available spaces, accessibility, taxation and tax incentives, proximity of some services connecting the central business areas to the global economy network, such as airports, financial centers and telecommunication networks; on the other hand the “soft location factors” refer to more intangible available elements, such as life style, the presence of a vital social community, diffusion of different ways of thinking, composition of population, workplaces, entertainments, etc., the authentic nature of the place, the quality of life in general (Florida, 2002; Musterd, et al., 2007; Anzoise and Sedini, 2011).

According to Landry (2000), towns look more like organisms than machines and it involves the construction of elements going beyond infrastructures. So the aim is to satisfy the citizens completely. This goal can be achieved through a certain values system, lifestyle and identification with the town.

“This must be the place”. The Importance of Localization

CCAIPs project is aimed to create a virtual meta-cluster and a real network of hubs. So this double objective becomes explicit in the local nature of the hubs cluster development, on the one side, and in the international nature of the development of the virtual cluster and best practices sharing on the other side.

These aims are integrated into the theories linked to the importance of localization.

The concept of cluster has been proposed in '90 by Michael Porter in order to theorize the nations competitive advantage, in specific industries, deriving from the economic and industrial activities localization in general. In his concept of cluster, Porter took into account other famous theories denoting the environment and the spatial collocation as one of the basic elements of a specific business sector development (Marshall, 1890; Weber, 1909; Perroux, 1955; Becattini, 1979).

The adoption of the clusterization approach in urban policies is dealing more with the facilitation of the interaction between potential and existing companies, the possible cultural consumption and the inspirations of the local politic regime, than with the Porter's theories.

At a local level, the strategies to create creative clusters have always been associated to special sectors, such as cinema or fashion, or had dealt with putting together physically working cultural activities.

But it is required herein to try to define more precisely the concept of hub, which has its roots in the concept of cluster surely, but differentiates from it for some fundamental important elements. Furthermore, the word “hub” often is used as a synonym of incubator. So it is deemed crucial to define these two terms to understand the differences between them.

Basically, the incubator is identified as a company facilitator providing a series of

resources supporting a business, start up especially. So their role is to accompany the intuition of one or more subjects, from the idea to the creation of a company through an evaluation process facilitating the integration and factual realization of the idea itself. So, “the company incubator is an institution allowing to integrate new companies into its structures at least costs and trying to encourage the entry of these companies to the market, creating a support network to help them to achieve an economic autonomy” (De Luca, 2005).

The definition of hub is a point at issue, because there is not only one shared definition. Particularly, we talked about the hub in the industries of the creative economy and knowledge, identifying the towns themselves as real attractors and incubators of the so-called creative class, or rather the creativity and knowledge workers. But the hubs are considered more and more as virtual or physical structures. The main difference between a hub and a cluster and between a hub and an incubator is the physic localization in a place dedicated to the working activities development. The hub allows its clients to access to information about a specific business, industrial and cultural field and to any relevant market opportunities. According to its literal definition, a hub is the central business area of a group of activities, the pivot from which many bodies sort out, which can stand on their own two feet thanks to the support of the hub.

Usually an entity as a hub is identified with specific activities put inside the large creative economy and knowledge panorama. There are many reasons, but maybe the most noteworthy is the need to interface with different experiences and to answer to questions to which it is difficult to find an response because of the relative youth of the businesses, ascribable to the knowledge and creative field.

Defining and Mapping the Hubs

In the framework of the project CCAIps was necessary a first reflection upon the concept of hub, which has been resolved giving an operational definition, useful for mapping the hubs, already existing in the territory falling within the competence of each partners. Considering the preambles expressed in the previous paragraphs, it is needed a theoretical definition of hub, allowing to translate the theoretical assumptions in project elements to start up the hubs or the network of hubs.

To that end, 80 national cases were mapped. The goal of this activity is to study and analyze the existing scenario concerning the structure typologies which manage and provide services, to give space and support to the entrepreneurial activities. The attention did not concentrate on the creative business activities only, but also on the bodies dealing with the not creative activities. Integrating other types of work can be very useful, because observing the organizational processes, supporting a not “sector-specific” company, can encourage the conception of similar tools and methods, adapted to the characteristics of the activities the cultural companies carry out.

The aim was to answer to the questions emerged during the analysis step for the creation of a hub or a network of hubs:

- What are the most widespread services and are there some very innovative ones?
- Are there some very interesting organizational modalities?
- How much important is the presence of strong roots in the territory?
- Among the industries of creativity, what are the most “followed” ones?

- Why this case can be interesting for the development of our hub?

A specific methodology, which the selected cases can be analyzed with, derived from these questions.

Methodology

The analyzed cases were mapped taking into account different criteria. Four analysis categories were identified:

1. Typology
2. Focus
3. Territorialization
4. Activities and Services

Hereafter we will explain how they have been used in an operational way. The first criterion corresponds to the “Typology”. We tried to answer to the question “What does a hub look like?” We identified 7 kind of organizations, centers, and spaces which can recall what is identified as a hub somehow.

- a) Incubator: is an organization which accelerates and makes systematic the process of creation of new companies giving them a large range of integrated support services (definition by the European Community).
- b) Services Center for Companies: public or private structures supporting the technological innovation and the know-how transfer at a local level, through training courses, consulting services, marketing, etc.
- c) Virtual Platform: is an on-line place where you can find information, answers to specific questions, concerning your own sector and eventually you can have a space to present your company and the relevant activities.
- d) Development Agency: is the union of many private and public bodies, whose aim is to promote the territory development where it is created and working.
- e) Co-working Centre: is a physical space providing shared tools where people go to work for the time they need.
- f) Cluster: is a group of companies, connected economic agents and institutions near one another, which became able to develop surveys, services, resources, providers and specialized know-how.
- g) District: is a group of companies, SMEs usually, located in a specific area and with a historic identity, specialized in one or more production steps and integrated through an economic and social relations network.

Secondly, since not all the mapped cases are interesting for the creative companies, we underlined what is the main “Focus” of their company support work:

- a) creative economy industries¹⁹
- b) not creative economy industries
- c) the above two industries mixed

A third element was “Territorialization”. We analyzed how much strong are the roots of the considered agencies, clusters, hubs in the territory. Two cases have been identified:

- a) The target of a case having roots in the territory is the social economic development of a specific area (region, province, town, district)
- b) A case without roots in the territory has a widespread identity (for example a national

¹⁹ We referred to the definition provided by KEA (2009) to identify the creative economy industries: Visual arts , Performing Arts, Heritage, Movies and Video, TV and Radio, Video Games, Music, Publishing, Design Architecture, Advertising, PC and MP3 player manufacturers, Mobile Industry.

identity) and is not strictly linked to the territory development.

Finally, ten typologies of “Activities and Services”, considered as priorities for the hubs, have been identified. Each analyzed case has been classified according to the presence and supply of activities and services. If any, the mark was 10. The cases able to offer all the identified activities and services have been classified as 100% HUB.

- a) Physical Space: Co-working space, supplied with offices, conference and exhibition rooms
- b) Virtual Space: Web site where the companies have a dedicated space where information can be found
- c) Promotion/Visibility: Promotion through marketing activities for companies forming part of the project
- d) Tutoring/Training: Lifelong learning, lessons, workshops
- e) Network: Creation of events, supply of a large contacts network, at an international level too
- f) Prototyping/Technologies: Available quick prototyping technologies, 3D printing, analysis and tests, shared production technologies
- g) Information: About invitations to tender, conferences and initiatives which are interesting for the companies forming part of the project
- h) Know-how: Guidance desk, business consulting, supply of data and best practices
- i) R&D: Research activities into the hub, involvement in research and results publishing projects
- j) Originality: Special distinctive features of the project in question

The cases have been mapped and classified using the following format:

NAME	Danish Design Centre		
Where	Copenhagen - Danemark		
Contacts	http://en.ddc.dk/		
Typology	Services Center		
Focus	Creative	Not creative	Mixed
Sector	Design		
Roots	Yes	None	
SERVICES/ACTIVITY			
Physical Space	Yes	None	
Virtual Space	Yes	None	
Promotion and Visibility	Yes	None	
Tutoring and Training	Yes	None	
Network	Yes	None	
Prototyping	Yes	None	
Information	Yes	None	
Know how	Yes	None	
R&D	Yes	None	
Originality	Creation of the Danish Design Prize		
% HUB	40%		

The Mapping

Provided that the analyzed cases have different aims, as well as a varied organizational structure, we tried to summarize the minimum requirements to create a hub, identifying its original features, the innovative activities, and the uniqueness.

It is interesting to see that institutions tend to charge of the hubs structures. The most significant cases are the Chinese and Finnish ones: both countries have planned to create big multifunctional hubs during next ten years, where huge flows of creative people can be gathered.

Most creative activities gather around the big towns or towns that have an innovation and creative background. Often these initiatives are promoted by permanent or temporary municipalities, as towns revitalization factor (Liverpool, Cape town) or as an invitation to invest (Toronto, Auckland). The offer to other cultural disciplines, such as the different kinds of art, literature, new media, advertising, and music is poorer.

A first survey offers a complex overview of the current situation of the hubs, which will be presented using the results of this analysis in a following part of this chapter. The analyzed cases are 80, selected in 24 countries. The criteria selected for the data analysis are based on the need to obtain complex information from schematic data. The collected data are interesting both from the point of view of each case and as a whole. On one hand, the data concerning each case describe defined organizations, allowing us to identify the best practices; on the other hand, as whole, they give us the idea of how much diversified and heterogeneous is the universe we are going to study.

It is not possible to deduce qualitative data from the quantitative and exact information collected. So in this analysis phase we cannot make judgments about their effective utility. The data have been analyzed following the categories identified for the mapping in addition to other key categories.

- a) Territorialization: we should indicate the geo-localization of the analyzed cases. Secondly, we should see statistically if they can be deemed rooted or not in the territory.
- b) Typology: the mapping involved also some realities not identified as hubs in the strict sense of the word, whose definition is even quite controversial. So some incubators, service centers, virtual platforms, development agencies, co-working centers and clusters, have been mapped. In this section of the document we should describe the percentage distribution of the cases according to their typology.
- c) Focus: we should observe which of the studied cases show a creative vocation, and which hold dissimilar sectors. Moreover, we should observe the creative or mixed trend according to the cases typology.
- d) Sectors: here we consider the statistic distribution of the sectors represented by the cases under examination.
- e) Services/Activities: based on the previous studies and on the developing of focus groups, we defined 10 services and activities that a hub (or the like) could or would have to hold in order to be considered a pole of excellence. In this section, we should observe the statistic percentage of the presence or absence of these activities in our sample.
- f) Services/Activities Based On Typology: we analyzed the data about the services and activities offered based on each typology.

The analysis, which follows, has been conceived to satisfy the needs of different hubs, included CCAIps partners, having different characteristics from one another. The analysis

allows them to identify themselves in a specific typology and use it as an individual guideline.

Territorialization *Where Are the Hubs and Why?*

Countries

The countries under examination are 24, of which half are European. Italy is where we selected more hubs, followed by U.S. and England. Most of these hubs are concentrated around the great built-up areas where often they are connected to municipal town planning schemes for the development and revitalization of the city centers. Moreover, we must underline that it's easy to find organizational types of different hubs (incubators, service centers,...) in the big metropolis.

Roots

On one hand, a hub is deemed to be rooted into the territory if its aim is the social and financial development of a specific area (region, province, town, neighborhood); on the other hand, a hub with a diffuse identity (e.g. national) and not strictly linked to the territory development is deemed not rooted. The analysis highlights an equitable percentage of rooted/not rooted hubs, with a slight majority of the first ones. The focus on the territory is one of the factors that encourage the hubs development; this data is confirmed by the service centers, development agencies, and co-working centers. These categories covering 75% of the offer, have a local impact too especially.

Typology *What Does a Hub Look Like?*

The sample pointed out that the most mapped typologies of hubs are the development agencies (35%), followed by the incubators (26,5%) and the services centers (13,8%). It is significant to notice that these three categories have in common the interaction between public and private structures, creating a channel between companies, institutions, and users of the service. Moreover, in these contexts it's possible to meet professionals coming from other areas of expertise, enlarging their contact network.

Focus *Creative or Not Creative Hub?*

According to the analysis, all the typologies of hubs have dealings with creativity, even though a good percentage of them are also engaged in projects not linked to this field today. The heterogeneous composition of the hub allows different sectors to share successful strategies, the cooperation development, and the procurement of information and skills.

Analyzing the focus based on the typology, we noticed that the service centers and virtual platforms are focused on creative sectors especially. On the contrary, the co-working centers have a mixed focus; an equal percentage of development agencies are in both categories.

This analysis pointed out that the service centers and the virtual platforms direct their activities to more selected and specific sectors (the creative ones), and the co-working centers give way to the interactions between different sectors, and consequently to the casual creation of professional relationships between the members.

Sectors *The Creative Universe*

The sectors emerged from the mapping are 11, of which 7 recognized by the European Commission as part of the so-called creative economy:

- Advertising

- Architecture
- Art:
- Design
- Digital Industry
- Media

The European definition excludes the sectors of agriculture, social innovation and biomedical sciences, which have been included in the analysis not only because they are very innovative and need innovation, but also because partly characterize the large sector of the knowledge economy, which, in wider perspective, is an appendix of the creative economies. So they could represent a suggestion to enlarge the usual subjects of the hubs. So the other four sectors, which are not part of the definition by Kea, have been detected during the mapping.

- Mix: Actually, this is not exactly a section, but it means that the mapped hub holds many creative and not creative sectors.
- Science: In this section, we included the Biotechnology, Healthcare and Biomedical sectors. We deemed useful to include them and dedicate a special section to them, because they represent a very innovative, developing branch of the knowledge economy.
- Social Innovation: This section gathers the organizations that try to answer to any kind of social needs, especially development, wellness and empowerment of all the civil society. So, for example, we talk of services and activities concerning the innovation of public services, such as education and healthcare, social entrepreneurship, focusing also non-market activities.
- Fashion: We decided to highlight the fashion sector without assimilating it into the general “design” sector. So, in this section we can find each stylist and fashion house, including more professions, from buyers to stylists.

The most present sector in our sample are the Design and Digital Industry ones, which represent 50% of the mapped cases.

Services/Activities A Varied Offer

The analysis shows that the most spread services are the sharing's and networking's, the existence of an info point (or the like) and the offer of know-how, followed by the activities of promotion and training. We deemed important to bring attention on the lack of original and innovative services (only 32%) which can differentiate the proposal offering a more appropriate choice to the different needs.

Another datum to be implemented is the prototyping one. It is a significant lack if we consider that the most developed sector is the design's, a work which requires working places and tools especially dedicated to this activity. Note that the prototyping services need more investments to be activated, so they are the most difficult to be implemented.

Physical Space

If we exclude the virtual platform, all the typologies have an available physical space dedicated to the end user. Starting from the co-working centers, 75% of the incubators and clusters offer some spaces too. These three typologies offer many use formulae. The co-working centers have different price ranges depending on the number of additional services they offer and on the available space. Usually, the incubators and clusters offer some spaces to selected people for their projects, with financing formulae to develop their ideas.

Virtual Space

All the kinds of hub offer this service, starting from the virtual platforms which offer a complete range of services: the possibility of having their own card in their database,

registering as a user, receiving the newsletter, publishing their news and events, being reachable during the activities organized by the platform, being supported and published on the web site, loading their résumé.

Promotion and Visibility

Web platforms offer the best service. It depends on the nature itself of the platform, where the promotion of the subscribers and the events linked to them has a great importance. Anyway, in this case all the typologies of hub offer a good service, with an average of 72%. Generally this service is available on-line, and it can be displayed on the home page of the website, or in other cases on the organization of festivals, events and initiatives where the creative people are invited to present their projects to the public or to the companies.

Tutoring/Training

Especially the service centers (82%) and the development agencies (64%) offer this kind of activities, including the organization of lessons, workshops, seminars, conferences. In the case of the development agencies, these activities are usually linked to the projects they finance. Instead, the service centers offer local development courses in the field of technological innovation, support to companies and favor a more horizontal transmission of knowledge in the local business.

Network

The networking activity is one of the most spread, including development agencies (89%), co-working centers (90%) and incubators (86%), almost with the same percentage. They are the organizations that most favor the creation of large contact networks, thanks to the cooperation between different companies inside these structures, or to the creation of meeting events, such as workshops, conferences, drinks, organization's database availability, etc.. Generally, all the typologies offer this service, which is one of the basic facilitation to develop their own activity.

Prototyping

The prototyping service is the least represented. In fact, in all typologies of hubs, the percentages are under 50%, even though we should stress that for example the virtual platforms don't need this kind of service. The clusters, just because they are formed by different satellite structures, are the typology offering the possibility of using prototyping tools most than others (50%). Without any doubt, this is the service to be implemented in the offer, in fact 43% of the analyzed sectors need structures able to realize prototypes or to have spaces to produce them. The possibility to exploit prototyping services would favor the development of self-productions.

Information

This is the most present service in all the typology of hubs. Usually, information about events, calls, financing, etc. can be found on the home pages of the company web sites, or in the dedicated sections. In other cases, the information can be found through a dedicated counseling service.

Know-how

Incubators, service centers and development agencies are the typologies that offer this kind of service mostly. This service includes an orientation desk, a business counseling, the supply of data and best practices. The know-how is developed especially by the organizations that work together with the creative people to develop the project. In the case of the incubator, a certain

number of hours of counseling is guaranteed, but other solutions are provided too, such as the purchase of packets by the hour.

R&D

The results about research underline that the clusters (75%), service centers (73%) and development agencies (71%) are the typologies of hub which do R&D more than others. Actually, the virtual platforms do R&D more than the others (83%). This result could depend on the fact that they allow to spread the results and to publish them more easily. We suppose that research, which has its own space on the virtual platform, must be considered mostly an activity carried out by each user who takes part to the platform, and not a collective activity of all the on-line users. On the contrary, some typologies of clusters, service centers and development agencies can hold some centers that do research. This is possible also because a large number of the described cases have been produced by public-private partnerships, which often involve the presence of schools and universities in the “public wing”.

Originality

This category gathers all the innovative ideas which are different from the services and activities described till now. Especially the clusters and co-working centers are working a lot on these innovations. The originalities are based on four basic factors especially:

1. Money to start: Financing for start-up, innovation, etc.
2. Office Q.S. (quantum sufficit): Evolution of the co-working space conceived as a series of services which can be used according to the needs
3. The idea house: Proximity as a facilitator to manage and start up ideas
4. In the window: The distribution phase is more and more important for the creative companies too. This kind of originality is based on the presence of available sale showrooms and showcases.

Services/Activities Based On Typology *Union Would Be Strength*

We can argue that the development agencies and the clusters are the typologies that offer the greatest number of services. Anyway, no one of these typologies is complete by itself. On the contrary, each one guarantees a high performance for two or three services, but is lacking in the others. The aim of the scenario where we have to work is to find some kinds of partnership able to create a system with the different typologies described hereafter, in order to build a system able to fill their weaknesses and integrate the offer to satisfy the users' needs at best.

Conclusion

In the following pages we will draw the inferences of this first mapping, carried out to define in a more operative and satisfactory way the hubs as a building holding (physically and virtually) different - creative or not - businesses.

The analysis studied ten types of services, which the mapped organizations supply. Now, we want to verify if the CCIs needs are appropriate to the offer. This first comparison was done making reference to the results obtained realizing a focus group with the creative companies. Once the data of the mapping done by all the partners are available, we should do a verification extended to all the project partner countries.

Network

The need the creative companies expressed mostly, was the need of a network, but it seems

this is the service the mapped hubs offer most. Networking is a crucial skill to be successful in a local market. When we talk of network we refer to the so-called “social” network (but not in the digital meaning of this term). With reference to the work by Granovetter (1973), we can say that the social networks influence the economic performance for three main reasons (Granovetter, 2005: 33):

1. social networks affect the flow and the quality of information
2. social networks are an important source of reward and punishment, since these are often magnified in their impact when coming from others personally known.
3. trust, by which I mean the confidence that others will do the “right” thing despite a clear balance of incentives to the contrary, emerges, if it does, in the context of a social network.

We remark that the expressed needs concern the network mainly. Network is a facilitated open relationship with many public or private subjects. The mapping highlights a correspondence between demand and offer. CCIIs are constituted mainly by self-employed professionals and small and medium enterprises which work on a per project basis usually. It is for this reason that developing connections and relations with other creative people, companies, public bodies, is extremely important (Chapain, Comunian, Clifton, 2010).

Internationalization (Promotion)

Internationalization is one of the most expressed needs by CCIIs. So the internationalization of the strategies is part of the most general promotion activities, which are very important for the hubs, according to what rose from the mapping.

Internationalization strategies consist in detecting the partial placement that allows the company to optimize its results.

The report “Going global” di KPMG Advisory (2011) underlines that the European nations are the main end market of the Italian products. Germany is our first market (13% of total exports), U.S. the fourth market, (6% of Italian exports), and the first end market of the emerging countries is China (2% of total exports).

Anyway, as underlined above, in this case the term internationalization does not refer especially to the strategies concerning for example the location of some production process or the increase of the number of exports, but to the international visibility - so to the international promotion - of a company. The First of all the CCIIs internationalization includes judicious marketing, communication and promotion strategies of the products in the foreign markets.

Knowledge Sharing

CCIIs underline the importance and the need of sharing information and knowledge. This kind of need does not correspond exactly to some activity or service we identified through the mapping, but partly it corresponds to the network, information and know-how services. "Knowledge sharing" underlines that often CCIIs need to cooperate with other CCIIs for projects and works. Research, usually entrusted to individual professionals, could and must be facilitated inside the hubs, at least in the CCIIs held by them - so during meetings, workshops, events, social breakfasts, drinks, etc. Besides physical and virtual spaces where the profiles and business of the CCIIs held by the hubs are presented.

A (new) definition of Hub

To design the European hub network for CCIs we have to transform this services in guidelines. The first step is to do a theoretical definition of “hub for CCIs”; then this definition must be analyzed carefully, so each detail can be considered a guideline according to which the CCALps partners have to work.

The analysis, which aim was to find a better definition of the concept of hub, revealed a varied situation of the organizational models that are near its definition. A first operative definition adopted by the group of CCALPS partners identifies the hub as “the business park of many businesses, pivot from which many enterprises bends, which, thanks to the support of the hub, are able to stand on their own feet”. Once ended the analysis, this definition of the extremely complex structure of the hubs appears exhaustive only partly.

A hub is:

- a. a single element or an association of subjects cooperating each other.
- b. a physical and virtual subject. So it has an impact not only on the territory, but also in the virtual space, to favor the accessibility of the CCIs, the communication, especially for who do not know this organization, the promotion and visibility for who already are members of a hub (CCIs). So, a hub is a link between the local dimension and the global one.
- c. It is a dynamic, not static, organization. So, a hub has to adapt itself to the most specific needs too. It must be listening the companies' desires and needs constantly. It must have a service portfolio able to adapt itself to the changes. It must be open to the emerging sectors of the creative companies and to the culture and heritage sectors.

A hub is a switch centre for the CCIs, a promoter of change, cooperation, exchange, development, and start-up of innovative processes.

The importance of localization together with that of personal and professional networks are at the basis of our research actions. Therefore, from one side we are taking into consideration the regional level and from the other side the international level, in order to shape those networking dynamics (Landry, 2010) able to favour the establishment of a so-called creative field (Scott, 2006).

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FROM CREATIVE CITIES TO CREATIVE TERRITORIES: LOMBARDY'S CULTURAL DISTRICT PROGRAM

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Abstract

Both professional and academic debates in cultural planning acknowledge the challenge of creative place governance. The question is recurrent in literature: what policies and policy instruments can stimulate the cultural ecology of creative places by fostering collaborations and integrating creative activities and local development? This research aims to contribute to the debate by exploring how funding, evaluation, and technical assistance shaped collaborative governance in a Cultural District program in Lombardy, Italy. The findings discuss the challenges of fostering horizontal connections among local networks, the importance of leadership in navigating the transition from hierarchical to more collaborative forms of governance, and how unequal participation in decision making leads to significant differences in actor commitment.

Keywords: cultural governance, collaborative governance, cultural districts, creative place-making

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed a global surge of political interest in the role of creativity in local and regional development (UNESCO, 2006; UNCTAD, 2010; Council of The European Union, 2007; European Commission, 2010). An increasing number of cities and regions have been focusing on 'creative city', 'creative region', and, more recently, 'creative rural place' approaches in their economic development strategies as part of this global trend (Evans, 2009; Grodach, 2013). To foster and maintain the "broad ecosystem which nurtures and supports creativity" (Florida, 2002, p. xxi-xxii), policy needs to work across both the subsidized and commercial sectors, encouraging partnerships and collaborative alliances (BOP, 2006; European Commission, 2010). In following this guideline, policy-makers have been looking for answers about what partnerships need to be put in place to better integrate cultural and creative industries into strategic regional/local development in Europe (European Commission, 2010, p. 14).

We elaborate on this question narrowing it to the role of cultural governance, a less researched aspect of creative place literature. More precisely, we ask what policy instruments can stimulate cross-sector partnerships and collaboration in creative place-making. To respond to this question, this paper explores how a regional Cultural District (CD) initiative in Lombardy, Italy has shaped collaboration in the governance of local cultural-creative networks.

Italian regions and provinces have been promoting CDs to foster collaboration, streamline cultural spending, and encourage creative entrepreneurship (Sacco et al., 2007; 2008; Barbetta

et al., 2013). CDs are defined as “*geographically clustered networks of interdependent entities defined by the production of idiosyncratic goods based on creativity and intellectual property*” (Santagata, 2002, p. 11). While they can develop spontaneously, CDs are often supported by policy initiatives taking the form of “territorial cooperation”, initiated by the State, which bring together local policy networks and cultural institutions (Hinna & Seddio, 2013, p. 46). The emergence of CD policies in Italy reflects a newly developed interest in the role of culture in economic and social development and an on-going process of administrative decentralization (e.g.: Santagata 2009; Casoni & Fanzini, 2011; Bolici et al, 2012; Zan et al., 2007). Traditionally concerned with the conservation of heritage and the arts (Bodo, 2012; Belfiore, 2004), Italy’s cultural policy apparatus has started to officially consider the economic and social valorization of culture as of 2004 (Legislative Decree 42/ Jan 22 2004). In addition, CDs were conceived in many regions as alternative cultural governance solutions that enabled inter-municipal and public-private cooperation to confront administrative decentralization and privatization of cultural infrastructure (Zan et al., 2007; Ponzini, 2010; Le Blanc, 2010).

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, we draw on Ansell & Gash’s (2008) collaborative governance dimensions to assess to what extent Lombardy’s CD program managed to implement a collaborative governance process in Cremona Province, one of the areas participating in the program. The Cultural District of the Province of Cremona fits the definitions of collaborative governance provided by Ansell & Gash (2008) since (1) it is initiated by public institutions (Province of Cremona); (2) it is focused on the public management of cultural activity in the province; (3) it includes state and non-state actors from the private and non-profit sector and (4) the participants are engaged in decision making. The framework allows us to contribute an understanding of how the micro-dynamics of collaborative governance of creative places work. Second, we examine the relationship between program instruments (financial incentives, transparency rules, and technical assistance) and the dimensions of the collaborative governance process.

The paper is organized in five sections. The first traces the evolution of cultural governance towards collaborative forms and explains the conceptual framework of Ansell & Gash (2008) for collaborative governance. The second contains the methodology. The third describes the context and features of our case study, the CD program in Lombardy. We present the program’s process instruments, and describe one of the cultural districts implemented in Cremona Province. The findings compare the results of the program in Cremona against the collaborative governance framework (Ansell & Gash, 2008) as an ideal type. This allows us to assess how the program results differ or match the ‘ideal’ process of collaborative governance. Finally, the conclusions discuss the implications of the findings for collaborative governance theory and the policy instruments that stimulate partnerships and collaboration.

Cultural governance as collaborative governance

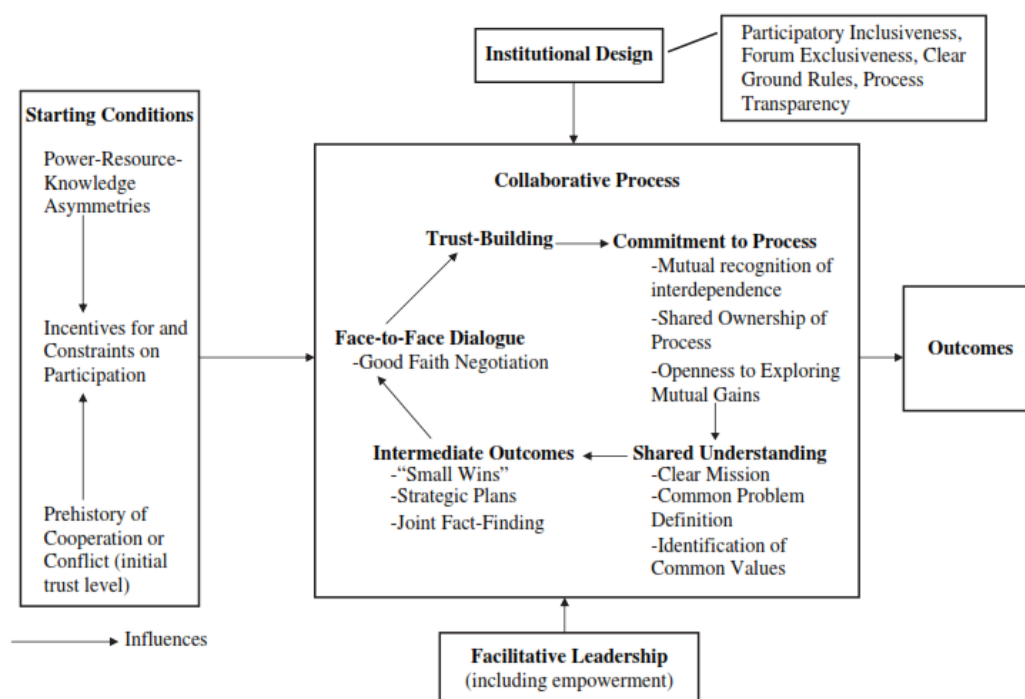
During recent decades there has been a notable shift “from the government of culture to the governance of culture, [...] characterized by a tendency towards an enhanced collaboration between public authorities [...] and private actors” (Čopić & Srakar, 2012, p. 6). The emergence of collaborative forms of cultural governance can be traced to two major types of changes in the context and content of cultural policy. First, the withdrawal of the state from the day-to-day management of cultural organizations, either motivated by effectiveness and efficiency within a market logic or by the arm’s-length principle aimed at protecting artistic integrity from political preferences (Mangset, 2009; Madden, 2009; Zan et al., 2007), has led to the decentralization of decision making. In turn, this fragmentation has created a premise for partnerships and collaborations across organizational and sector boundaries, in order to pool resources or reduce transaction costs (Stevenson et al., 2010). Second, the enlarging

scope of cultural policy content to encompass economic and social goals has brought new stakeholders in the decision making process. Partners from the cultural and creative industries, intellectuals, academia, NGOs and different professional associations operating in the arts and culture sector can now make stronger policy contributions (Paquette, 2008; Pratt, 2012; Andres & Chapain, 2013). The audience and the civil society also expect, and are expected, to have a role in legitimizing and shaping policy choices (Holden 2006).

However, many of these innovative governance arrangements are initiated by practitioners and seldom analyzed by scholars (Čopić & Srakar, 2012). Moreover, the very notion of cultural governance “is still a concept that defies a precise definition and is not recognized as a distinguished research topic” (Čopić & Srakar, 2012, p. 9). Schmitt (2011) also notes that the existing definitions of cultural governance fail to reflect the multiple layers and complexity the concept of culture has come to assume. Empirical studies addressing cultural governance show that collaboration can overcome fragmentation, hence enhancing legitimacy of the sector in relationship with the civil society and higher tier policy makers; and it can mobilize power and resources, leading to more stable funding and increased visibility (Moon, 2001; Redaelli, 2011). The performance of collaborative cultural governance relies on strategic coalitions between cultural stakeholders, healthy city-county partnerships, and stable funding mechanisms (Moon, 2001; Stevenson et al., 2010). The inclusiveness of these partnerships can depend on policy goals; an ‘economic-driven’ approach, focused on creative industries, can bring more stakeholders to the table; while a more traditional, “culture-oriented” approach may be more restrictive and lead to a more passive reception, but to higher social cohesion (Andres & Chapain, 2013; Yue, 2006).

These relationships deliver useful insights into the specifics of collaborative cultural governance; however they do not provide a comprehensive theoretical background for our analysis. For our study therefore we turn to public administration literature, drawing on the collaborative governance framework articulated by Ansell & Gash (2008). This framework was intentionally designed to be general and over-encompassing of collaborative governance in any sector and at any level, which makes it suitable for testing empirical phenomena in the cultural field.

Ansell & Gash (2008, p.2) defined collaborative governance as “a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets”. Based on a meta-analysis of 137 cases in literature, they were able to elicit a general contingency framework for analyzing collaborative governance. The authors grouped contingency factors in three main categories. Starting conditions describe the circumstances in which new policy initiatives are implemented, examining power and/or resource imbalance between stakeholders, their incentives to participate in such initiative and any prehistory of antagonism or cooperation between them. Facilitative leadership can help mitigate negative starting conditions by building trust to overcome preexisting antagonism, emphasizing interdependencies, and facilitating dialogue. Another crucial set of factors regards institutional design, which should be inclusive of all stakeholders who are affected by the issue, ensure process transparency, establish clear ground rules and ensure the mission of the group is not overlapping other forums.

Figure 1. The conceptual framework of collaborative governance

Source: Reprinted from Ansell & Gash (2008, p.550).

At the centre is the collaborative process itself, described by the authors as “a virtuous cycle’ among the following variables: face-to-face dialogue; trust building; commitment, shared understanding, and intermediate outcomes (Ansell & Gash 2008, p. 558–561). The key dimension in this cycle is the commitment to process, or shared ownership of the process: “even when collaborative governance is mandated, achieving “buy in” is still an essential aspect of the collaborative process” (Ibid., p.560). Similarly, intermediate outcomes are essential in building trust when prior antagonism among parties is high.

This conceptual model represents a good starting point for an empirical analysis of collaborative cultural governance (Andres & Chapain, 2013). In this study, we rely on it as an “ideal type” (Dewey, 1938; Kaplan, 1964) to understand if and how the instruments employed by Lombardy’s CD program stimulated collaborative processes in the Cultural District of the Cremona Province.

Methodology

The distinctive feature of collaborative forms of governance consists in the collective decision making process rather than centralized command or competition (Ansell & Gash, 2008), which implies that they cannot be measured based on cost-effectiveness or operational effectiveness criteria like hierarchies and markets are evaluated (Jessop 2002, 236). The main reasons are that the output of collaborative governance often includes intangible results that are difficult to quantify; and the definition of policy goals is subject to ongoing negotiations, mutual learning and shifting power relations among the network actors, leading to unclear and competing goals (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009).

A frequently chosen solution to the problem of assessing collaborative governance arrangements is to seek to understand the conditions under which stakeholders acted collaboratively. In other words, most studies in the collaborative governance literature

evaluate ‘process outcomes’ rather than policy or management outcomes” (Ansell & Gash 2008, p. 549). To investigate how Lombardy’s CD program tools stimulate collaborative governance in Cultural Districts, we follow a similar approach. We use the conceptual framework elicited by Ansell & Gash (2008) as an ideal type (Dewey, 1938; Kaplan, 1964) to understand if and to what extent collaborative governance dimensions and relations were fostered by Lombardy’s CD Program in Cremona Province.

Based on the research questions, a qualitative research design was chosen, built on a case study approach (Yin, 2003). The case in question is Lombardy’s CD Program and the unit of analysis is one of the CDs implemented with the help of the program: CREARTE, in Cremona Province. We chose CREARTE from among the 6 CDs implemented by the program because it is headed by the Province, which traditionally occupies a hierarchically superior position in relationship with the rest of the actors involved. One of the well-known obstacles to collaborative governance is the resistance of higher-tier governments to share power with local communities (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003), and we wanted to understand if the program instruments had a role in overcoming this obstacle.

The data were gathered in 2012 and 2013 from several data sources: qualitative data from semi-structured interviews, publicly available data from Web sites, press materials, publications, and documentation provided by informants. Additional observational data – about 10 hours - was collected during three monitoring and evaluation meetings that reunited representatives of the Cariplo Foundation, evaluators, and CD representatives.

We conducted a total of 23 interviews: 18 with informants in the Cremona Cultural District, and 5 interviews with Lombardy’s CD program initiators, evaluators, and their consultants. Informants included public officers, cultural operators, academics and business men. The interviews lasted between 20 and 120 minutes and resulted in 203 transcribed pages of primary source material. We mitigated informant bias by cross checking information and by gathering several hundred pages of secondary and observation data about the CD to triangulate the interview data.

Lombardy’s Cultural District Program: process and instruments

The initiative ‘Cultural Districts – Drivers of Economic Development for the Territory’ was undertaken in 2005 by the Cariplo Foundation, a major banking foundation in Lombardy. The program targeted the non-metropolitan areas of the Lombardy Region, providing support for the start-up of Cultural Districts, intended as collaborative governance networks with a long-term, culture-led revitalization strategy for a specific sub-regional area. The program did not encourage a particular form of organization for the CDs, but required the inclusion of relevant cultural actors, economic players, educational institutions and local administrations in their governance arrangements. The goal was to 1) incentivize long-term visions; 2) promote better communication among the actors in the cultural sector; 3) support the dialog among the cultural, administrative and productive systems; 4) reinforce quality-oriented decisional processes 5) plan the sustainability of cultural initiatives (Fondazione Cariplo, 2011).

Table 1. Operationalization of conceptual framework. *Source:* Authors

Elements of Conceptual Framework	Ideal type categories	Evidence	Sources
<i>Starting conditions</i>	Power/resource imbalances compensated by strategy of empowerment and representation of weaker stakeholders	Description of the planning process	CREARTE feasibility study, Province of Cremona website
		Interviewees mention being represented in the process	Interviews with partners, associates, and leadership
	Incentives to participate	Mention of program incentives, motivation	Program documents
		Mention of personal/organizational incentives, motivation	Interviews with partners and associates
	Prehistory of antagonism compensated by high degree of interdependence	Mention of conflict or disagreement	Interviews with partners and associates
<i>Facilitative Leadership</i>	Presence of a an honest broker or an organic leader to compensate for distrust or power imbalances	Interviewees recognize witnessing/ performing mediation	Interviews with partners, associates, CD leadership
<i>Institutional design</i>	Inclusiveness	Feasibility study Online information Articles	Cultural District Website Press
		Interviewees mention being represented in the formulation of objectives and the planning process	Interviews with partners and associates
		Observed presence in the decision-making meetings	Observation notes
	Forum exclusiveness	Mention of participation in competing collaborations	Interviews with partners and associates
	Clear ground rules	Interviewees acknowledge rules and protocols	Interviews with partners, associates, CD leadership
	Process transparency	Interviewees mention access to information through formal and informal channels	Interviews with partners, associates
<i>Collaborative process</i>	Face to face dialogue	Interviewees mention the organization of and participation in face to face meetings	Interviews with partners, associates
	Trust building to compensate for prehistory of antagonism	Mention of steps that build trust among partners and associates	Interviews with CD leadership
	Presence of commitment to the process (ownership of the process)	Interviewees acknowledge current and future interests in the CD, role in the CD outcomes, have plans for future involvement, and perceive advantages as outweighing disadvantages	Interviews with partners, associates, CD leadership
	Achievement of shared understanding and common mission	Interviewees have knowledge of CD objectives, and their strategic role	Interviews with partners, associates, CD leadership
	Achievement and demonstration of intermediate outcomes	Interviewees acknowledge intermediate outcomes	Interviews with partners, associates, CD leadership
		Monitoring and evaluation reports	Documents from CD, partners

The process for developing CDs involved four phases: a regional cultural mapping exercise (2005-2006) involving local community leaders, for raising awareness about the purpose of the program; a tender that called for feasibility studies for CD from local communities (2007); evaluation of feasibility studies and selection of six CDs to be co-financed (2008-2010); and finally the implementation phase (2010-2014). The program will be monitored until 2014.

Since the program was initiated by a non-profit organization, there were no coercive instruments available to mandate long-term planning and collaboration among local administrations and other actors. Instead, the program employed the following tools:

- **Technical assistance:** during the second phase of the project, the Cariplo Foundation asked the community leaders interested in participating in the program to draft a feasibility study for their idea of a CD. The feasibility studies had to carry out a detailed analysis of available resources, to provide a detailed description of the strategy of intervention comprising specific projects, a communication plan, a governance and a financial plan. The Foundation assisted the drafting of feasibility plans with detailed guidelines and feedback. After the completion of the studies, a subsequent selection process led to the co-financing and implementation of 6 CDs. The evaluation criteria considered the quality and exhaustiveness of the feasibility studies as well as the quality of the strategy proposed. The strategy was judged on the ability to build on the local potential to consolidate and diversify an area's cultural offer; and to demonstrate the long-term institutional and economic sustainability of the public-private partnerships envisioned.
- **Funding (2010-2014):** the program provided funding for the implementation of the 6 CDs – up to 4 million Euro for each, or 50% of the total costs, totaling 20,2 million Euro. This amount was matched by the 6 districts with 44,6 million Euro raised locally, mostly from public sources.
- **Monitoring and evaluation:** Each CD is undergoing a regular monitoring of the implementation process, with the organizations benefiting from Foundation's funding having to report progress every 6 months. In addition, the Foundation hired a consultant for regular outcome evaluations.

CREARTE: The Cultural District of Cremona Province Established in 2011, CREARTE covers the entire provincial territory and is headed by the Provincial institution itself. Situated in the Southern area of Lombardy, the Province of Cremona is predominantly agrarian, with urban nuclei of between 324 and 72 179 people. The main poles of the provincial territory are marked by the cities of Cremona, the seat of provincial government; Crema, the most industrialized area; and Casalmaggiore, third in population size but second in area. Primarily employed in commercial, construction and manufacturing activities, the Cremonese work in predominantly small enterprises with an average of 3,7 employees. The area is famous for its music, violin makers, as well as for theater and for the world-class pipe organs manufactured in Crema. The town of Cremona has self-proclaimed itself “City of music and of the violin”, and in 2012, the craft of Cremonese violin making was designated World Heritage. Musical instrument fairs, as well as music festivals and theater festivals manage to attract several tens of thousands of international visitors every year, particularly around the municipalities of Cremona, Crema, Casalmaggiore and Romanengo.

The CD aimed to enhance the area as a creative territory by improving the functioning of the cultural system with the help of a collaborative governance approach.

Table 2. Goals of the CREARTE Cultural District

Governance goals	Creative place-making goals
Building a clear and recognizable role at provincial level Functioning as a catalyst for organizational, creative and financial resources Capacity building and development of skills and expertise Functioning as a locus for exchange and coordination between various territorial entities Streamlining public bodies operating in a disconnected fashion across the territory Operating in a clear and transparent manner Ensuring flexibility to accommodate evolving conditions.	Economies of scale and scope Integrating cultural industry, heritage and natural resource systems Augmenting the quality and quantity of the cultural and touristic services and accessibility Promoting local heritage and exploiting local knowledge through new technologies, research and entrepreneurship

Source: Authors, based on data from Fondazione Politecnico di Milano and Cremona Province.

The implementation of these goals commenced with a “start up phase” between August 2010 and end of 2013, financed with 9 million euro, of which 2,6 contributed by Cariplo Foundation. This phase was organized around punctual projects or ‘actions’, and is jointly monitored by the Province and Cariplo Foundation.

Table 3. Composition of the CREATE District

Actors	Sector	Role		
		Leadership (control room)	Implementing partners (benefitting from funding)	Members
The Province of Cremona Dept. of Culture Dept. of Tourism Dept. of Education	Public Administration	X		
The Music District	Business associations	X		
Chamber of Commerce	Public Administration	X	X	
Theater Network	Culture	X		
Museum Network	Culture	X		
Library Network	Culture	X		
Musical Network	Culture, Research/Education	X		X
Association Friends of Casalmaggiore Intl. Festival	Culture		X	
Casalmaggiore Municipality	Public Administration	X	X	
Crema Municipality	Public Administration	X		X
Cremona Municipality	Public Administration	X	X	
Scandolara Ravara Municipality	Public Administration		X	
Pizzighetone Municipality	Public Administration		X	
Romanengo Municipality	Public Administration		X	
Castelleone Municipality	Public Administration		X	
Motta Baluffi Municipality	Public Administration		X	
San Giovanni in Croce Municipality	Public Administration			X
Piccolo Parallelo Association	Culture		X	
Terre D’Acqua Association	Culture		X	
Franco Agostino Theater	Culture			X
CR Forma	Public administration		X	
Milan Polytechnic	Research/Education			X
Comics Center of Cremona	Culture			X
Cremona Diocesis	Religion			X

Source: Authors

Findings: Collaborative governance in CREARTE, the Cultural District of Cremona Province

Starting conditions. Power and resource disparities: from hierarchy and competition to statutory partnership

In CREARTE, stakeholders were initially identified based on their interest to participate, either as proponents of specific projects, or simply as members. However, the change of provincial government in 2009 led to a reassessment of the financial viability of the proposed projects and to the subsequent cancellation of all but 11 of them, eliminating many of the projects that relied on co-funding by the Province. Thus, while the planning of the startup phase received input from partners and members, the allocation of funding was eventually conducted in a “top down fashion” because of the inherent reliance of the funding system on local administration budgets. “The actors were not involved in the definition of objectives: the CD, in fact began as a political project and, therefore, the very objectives of the District have been defined by the political parties. The first phase was in the hand of the counselors, then the forum was extended to all the cultural actors of the area” (leadership member).

History of antagonism or collaboration: path dependence and established networks

All interviewees reported prior collaborations. For example, many municipalities in the Province were part of a more ample sub-regional touristic network that included other provinces in South Lombardy. Similarly, several were involved in the Local Action Group Oglio Po, established by LEADER+, which includes culture as one of the directions of action. Such networks created precedents of collaborative exchanges across jurisdictional boundaries, providing public administrations with inter-organizational experience and prepared them for being able to “integrate” and “think cross-sector”, which “marries well with the interdisciplinary aim of the CD” (CD partner). Another network that emerged as relevant to prior collaborations is the provincial Library Network, based on a common catalogue and inter-library loan system. Several cultural operators participating in the CD reported collaborating with the Library Network to advertise cultural events; and interviewees representing educational institutions mentioned organizing training events with its support.

While none of the participants reported prior antagonism with other members of the CD, it was pointed out that relatively little collaboration took place within the boundaries of the Province: “we’re all in the habit of working each one his own garden” (CD partner). During the interviews, most respondents cited historical rivalries between Crema and Cremona going back to the Medieval Ages, to explain a fragmented identity and its effects on their collaborations. Similarly, historically stronger connections between the chamber music festivals in Casalmaggiore and Parma’s classical and rock music scene, or with Mantua’s lavish Renaissance theaters, hampering networking with local actors.

Incentives: funding, political representation and broader visibility

Interviewees reported different motivations for participating in the CD. The most frequently mentioned by the partners were the financial incentives. Other members, such as representatives of professional associations, emphasized their interest in gaining broader visibility, and monitoring eventual opportunities for their organization. Cultural operators also referred to broader visibility and the opportunity to network towards expanding and diversifying their offer. Public officials mentioned technical support and increased capacity in addition to financial incentives.

Facilitative Leadership: between great expectations and future insecurity

The CREARTE leadership is constituted by a collective Control Room coordinated by the Province of Cremona, therefore following a fixed leadership model (see Table 3). The Control

Room interacts regularly with a Members Assembly which “provides guidance, advice and monitoring” (CREARTE, 2011). In the interviews, however, the CD leadership was strongly associated with the Province of Cremona as a higher-tier level of government. “It was mandatory to identify an authoritative subject that could pull strings and ears when necessary, and that could only be the provincial administration, because they are the ones who receive funding and must reporting back on the use of funds” (CD partner).

The main critical aspect related to the leadership of the Province is circumstantial and was pointed out by a majority of respondents. In early 2013, the Italian government passed a bill to amend the constitution and abolish the Provinces altogether, transferring their responsibilities between the Regions and municipalities. Almost half of the respondents expressed concern with the measure and with the way it impacted the CD. The uncertainty brought in by the law led to slowing down the activity: “the meetings don’t take place anymore” (CD partner); “the activity so far was mainly about communication, a situation worsened by the fact that, as of today, the future of Italian provinces is unknown” (Control Room member). But most importantly, it brought complete uncertainty regarding the future, defeating the very purpose of the program: “The possibility to plan for the future fails” (CD partner); “The abolition of the Province would be a disaster for us” (CD member); “as of today, the future of Italian provinces is unknown and hence long term planning is difficult” (CD partner).

Institutional Design

Clear ground rules and transparency: learning transparency and responsibility

The institutional design of the CD is resting on the CREARTE Charter, signed by all CD members. The Charter defines (1) the role of the CD in planning and coordinating cultural and related activities in the provincial territory; providing technical and bureaucratic assistance; (2) principles of transparency, democratic and collective decision making, of sharing rights and responsibilities, and simplifying institutional and governance processes; (3) the governance model and the methods of formal coordination between the various entities. The Charter stipulates that the collaborative planning and implementation of the CD projects are enacted through agreements between the public and private members of the CD drafted with the support of the Province, which include quality standards, control and financing duties borne by the parties. “Being a member of the District involves not only benefiting from the services provided by the District Office, but also sharing the contents and principles of the Charter and assuming the expected obligations, including the participation to the Cultural District Members Reunion” (Province of Cremona website).

The transparency and monitoring rules required by the Cariplo Foundation and instituted by the CD were perceived as the main burden, albeit justified, by the CD partners: “There is a burden of work from the point of view of reporting, but I think it is right to be so for the beneficiaries of public funding” (CD partner); “The monitoring required by Cariplo requires compliance with additional rules in comparison to other forms of financing, but at the same time it provides the stimuli to continue even after the project” (CD partner).

Inclusiveness: the challenge of diversity and size

Inclusiveness is addressed in Art.5 of the CREARTE Charter, which specifies that the CD “will guarantee the broadest possibility to the submission of proposals and projects [...] by all public and private members” and “the invitation to the presentation of the projects has to have maximum publicity well in advance” (CREARTE 2011, p.11) .

By bringing together the existing cultural and business networks (i.e.: the Theater and the Museum Network, various SME networks, the Luthiers Consortium etc.) as well as independent cultural organizations and departments the CD was able to represent a relatively diverse creative economy, based on violin craftsmanship, commerce with musical

instruments, theater, classic and jazz music, musical education, musicology and sound engineering research, and cultural tourism. “The District was built in a very complete and intelligent fashion, with the most important counterparts of the Province, and it’s very well structured, for which various groups can work independently but also contribute to the same theme” (Control Room member).

This diversity was perceived as a challenge by interviewees: “I have to say that I understand how it’s not easy to put together all these different experiences and find ways to connect them” (CD partner). The high number of cultural actors and the impossibility of involving all of them directly also emerged as a challenge. The “nested” organization of the CD in thematic sub-networks and clusters allowed for vertical coordination but did not facilitate horizontal interactions easily: “For now there is little interaction between the networks, which remain a bit separated. And there are more separate meetings than joint meetings” (Control Room member). This was thoroughly confirmed by interview data: peripheral actors admitted participating intermittently to meetings and had a weaker understanding of the CD goals and of their strategic role in the network.

Forum exclusiveness: in need of a niche

The exclusiveness of the CD was contested, if indirectly, by the interview data coming from respondents outside the public sector. Cultural operators mentioned alternative venues for achieving their many goals (i.e.: already established extra-provincial networks for gathering audience and gaining visibility, funds etc.). This perception went hand in hand with the uncertainty about the role of the CD: “It remains to be seen if the CD wants to remain a window for what is going on in the territory or to find a direction of its own” (Control Room member); “the relationship with the CD could be fruitful, but everything has to start from their will to find out what they want to do” (CD partner) and about its effects on business: “In our activity, you cannot see the presence of the district yet, at least that’s what I think. We see it in the institutional rules, financing, etc., However, at the real level of our audience, I do not see it” (CD partner).

The exclusivity of the CD was on the other hand confirmed with regards to having access to funds from the Region and Cariplo Foundation, as well as with promoting business locally.

Collaborative Process: Prudent engagement

Our findings confirmed the cyclic relationship between face to face dialogue, trust building, development of commitment and shared goals, and the achievement of small wins or intermediate outcomes, as proposed by Ansell & Gash (2008). All participants reported participating in face to face dialogue, albeit not on a regular basis and not with an equal strength: “Typically there are actors who are always in the meetings, but remain in the shadows and don’t advance any proposals” (Control Room representative). Most cultural operators mentioned being volunteers and lacking the time to participate in the formal meetings, which are called by political actors according to their schedule. Both formal and informal meetings were mentioned, together with informal communication by email and phone. These meetings helped participants meet each other – many for the first time, and gradually built trust and understanding of potential interdependencies “A second line of the CD activity, indirect and involuntary as it is linked to the meetings for other objectives, was getting to know the other partners involved, and the chance to start thinking together about the District” (CD member). Gradual trust emerged from “the feel of being involved in something collective” (CD partner).

However, the threat that the Province would be abolished and limited participation in the decision making process created a strong obstacle to actor commitment. Respondents exhibited strong motivations for participating in the CD, but a lack of vision for future involvement. Partners lacked an understanding of their strategic role in the District picture:

“My organization is available; I look forward to signals from the district, I can’t solicit them” (CD partner). Partners also lacked a perception of interdependencies with other actors when they spoke about their participation. A vision for the CD role and ownership of the process were exhibited mostly by the members in the Control Room.

While all interviewees exhibited a general understanding of the CREARTE Charter and the CD mission and objectives, there were discrepancies between the role the Control Room is able and willing to assume and the expectations of the other participant actors. On one hand, the control room perceives itself as a facilitator: “the Control Room is not a stand-alone entity; it is conveying [to all] what happens in the CD” (Control Room member). On the other hand, CD partners perceive leadership as responsible for ensuring funding, initiating collaborations, interactions and networking. Overall, members outside the Control Room think the CD is responsible for future collaborations “Keeping the territory tied in a series of actions that intersect each other is really the key for the future of the District” (CD partner).

The attainment of intermediate outcomes was accompanied by great recognition for the role of the CD in obtaining material, relational gains, and technical support. “Thanks to the CD, we now have a lab for applied acoustics, which is fundamental for carrying on our mission” (CD member). “The Cariplo contribution brought to us by the CD was fundamental, because this quadrennial 2010 to 2013 we had the opportunity to grow, especially in terms of public participation, and organization of concerts. This for us is extremely positive. From next year we have to stand on our own legs again, because we will no longer have this important contribution, but we have already established and consolidated a series of relationships, including local financial contributions, which will allow us to stand on our feet” (CD partner). “We brought the ideas, which benefited from technical support from the provincial administration, without which the dialogue with Cariplo would have been impossible” (CD partner).

Conclusions

Assessing the collaborative governance dimensions in the CREARTE CD allows us to discuss several implications of the tools and instruments employed by Lombardy’s CD program on collaborative governance in creative place-making.

First, funding is a necessary, but not sufficient tool in mandated collaboration. Our analysis showed that collaborations rely heavily on existing networks and display a considerable degree of path dependence at the local level. Proximity and the search for attractive settings were also mentioned among the factors that stimulate partnerships. However, many local cultural operators in the Cremona area have long-distance, international collaborations founded on personal networks, which offers them a great degree of independence from the local context. One-time financial incentives can help bridge some of the existing barriers to local collaboration. However, in the lack of continued, stable funding, it is the capacity and the relational capital developed by local actors that become the most important gains, confirming the cyclical nature of the collaborative process as described by Ansell & Gash (2008).

Second, Cariplo Foundation’s transparency rules enforced through regular monitoring and evaluations were perceived as a burden by actors, but they also valued them as ‘just’ and ‘fair’, maintaining a good level of accountability among partners. But overall, the institutional design of the CD was not enough to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the parts. Personal responsibility and actor commitment were exhibited mostly by the members in the Control Room. This suggests that, for the other members, the limited participation in the decision making process undermined the understanding of their strategic role in the District picture, and a perception of interdependencies with other actors. According to Ansell & Gash (2008, p. 17), collaborative governance shifts ownership of decision making from the agency to the stakeholders acting collectively, as opposed to the typical adversarial or managerial process,

where it is the agency that is ultimately held responsible for policy outcomes. In the CREARTE District, the size of the network and the variable availability of participants made it difficult to involve all in decision making, which yielded marginal and less committed actors.

Third, the technical assistance provided by the Foundation during the elaboration of feasibility studies helped the Province of Cremona gather a good understanding of the responsibilities and peculiarities of their role as ‘facilitating leader’ of a collaborative arrangement. However, the transition from hierarchical and competitive modes of governing to collaboration is likely to start off with power imbalances that will influence the process throughout. For example, the dominance of the political actors over cultural operators is, for once, likely to be inherent, as the latter depend on public funding. The high number of volunteers in the cultural sector also means reduced resources to participate, which is a difficult issue to tackle. Moreover, this transition phase places massive expectations on leadership, which emerges as a crucial and very delicate task. On one hand, leadership that coincides with a higher-tier governmental institution risks too much overlap with the traditional hierarchical governing structure and, by funneling most resources and responsibilities through one institution, risks to yield primarily vertical collaboration. On the other hand, the weakening of the leadership can be destructive. In our analysis, the uncertainties related to the future of the Province of Cremona as an institution affected its ability to position itself and consequently to establish exclusiveness as a forum; it affected its ability to fulfill expectations and, subsequently, it undermined the actor’s commitment to an ongoing collaboration process. Eventually, this uncertainty weakened the very purpose of Lombardy’s CD program – that of planning for the future.

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HOW TO GOVERN THE CITY IN A COMPLEX REALITY?

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Abstract

In an article the authors try to find an answer on the question: how to efficiently govern a city in nowadays complex and multidimensional reality of social sciences. The solution is to create an “adaptive public administration”. It should have the ability to recognize the public needs and socioeconomic conditions, and to flexibly adjust the public policy to the complex situation, learning continuously from this process at the same time. It is time to finish with vertical logic of public administration. The priorities while dealing with public policy’s issues should focus on simplifying the public problem, and immediately after that the decision makers ought to re-composite in a new mode using a patchwork style of policy and management.

Keywords: adaptive public administration, deep complexity

Initial assumptions and thesis

Nowadays the words „creative” and „innovative” are used in many contexts and situations. The problem we diagnose states, that there are vast amount of research articles and thesis about creative and smart cities, but hardly anyone can say that idea itself has been successfully implemented. We can rather find some hallmarks that, if we analyze them together, show desired social construct – a creative and smart city. Those significant signs for all proponents of mentioned idea are inter alia Gay Index, Bohemian Index, representatives of creative class or revenues from creative industries. In our opinion all those indicators don’t describe a creative reality but more likely show rather a complexity of social, economic and political systems that we are dealing with in today world. The question that has to be asked by all interested in the studies on the cities is “how the city should be governed in a complex socio-economic reality” and “how the policy making should look like in order to find effective results among huge number of variables and alternative solutions”.

Our observations based on practical experiences from the NGO environment have brought one basic conclusion. All theories *a priori* and without deeper consideration assume, that each of the municipal actors – the authorities, public administration, the entrepreneurs, the citizens – are capable to adapt quickly to the constantly changing outside reality. Moreover, those actors in many analysis and research are not considered separately from each other because of the logic of operation contiguous to their activities. While politicians, entrepreneurs and citizens in order to function, they should demonstrate the creativity of goals and strategies. In the case of public administration it is impossible. Thus we put the thesis saying that, in order to implement the ideas of creative cities, an “adaptive public administration” should be created.

The theoretical considerations are very inviting and bring an intellectual satisfaction. Nevertheless we have to remember that every scientific theory should be empirically verified. Bearing in mind a very practical dimension of the municipal studies in our opinion every theoretical proposal should at least bring in the conceptions that are capable to be implemented by the local and regional authorities. We believe that theoreticians and practitioners operating in the public sphere are interested only in those concepts, which can

be used in practice, that can change a city environment in real manner. Thus in the forthcoming sections of the article we will analyze through the assumptions of three main theories of public administration in order to show that they don't respond to the complex reality of social, economic and political system management. In third section of the article we will present the organic conception that helps to embrace the complexity of all municipal organism. This will allow us to answer the question – why the theories on creative and intelligent cities are 'apactical'? In fourth section we will present our idea of "adaptive public administration" which should be a solution for all governing the cities interested in public policy making. The last section focuses on the presentation of the idea of *Creative Multilevel Hub* which is a practical explication of public administration activities that aim at quick and effective adaptation to constantly changing social environment around it.

The logic of public administration

The world is changing in a remarkable speed. So do the environment for public services and public administration. Since the end of the 19. century we have witnessed three revolutions (Szczerski, 2004: 282-317). A hundred years ago we could have seen a dawn of the traditional **Weberian public administration** (WPA), where the government was responsible for delivering all public services and where citizens were treated as supplicants. This paradigm has been reigning till the shift of the 70/80's, when a few Anglo-Saxon countries implemented the idea of **New Public Management** (NPM), where public administration is to some extent (vertically) marketized and people are considered to be customers (Grosse, 2011: 82-99; Gruening, 2001: 1-25). This new paradigm spread all over the world especially after the fall of Communism in the early 90's. However, in the last 20 years we have observed many market inconsistencies and failures so that now we can say: "Pure market doesn't work well" - the idea of almighty competition is not matchable with the idea of democracy. Because the democratic world believes in equity, the **Public Governance** (PG) has been introduced. Its main characteristic is based on cooperation between the authorities and citizens (Papaj, Czyż-Gwiazda & Lisiecka, 2011; Lee, 2003, May). One might advocates that it is simply return to the beginning of the Greek politics and Aristotelian republican virtues.

But it is not. We all live in the era of **deep complexity**. Before we explicate this term it is necessary to understand what is a complexity of system itself. Referring to the explanation of David Colander who adopts the definition of "complexity" proposed by economical behaviorist Herbert Simon: "Roughly by a complex system I mean one made up of a large number of parts that interact in a non-simple way. In such systems, the whole is more than the sum of the parts, not in an ultimate metaphysical sense, but in the important pragmatic sense that, given the properties of the parts and the laws of their interaction, it is not a trivial matter to infer the properties of the whole" (as cited in Colander et al., 2011: 359).

Beside the general definition of complexity David Colander distinguish also two other kinds of complexity: dynamic and computational. The latter one defines the system which is so complicated, by the presence of different actors and interconnections between them, that cannot be counted. Such system is unable to become formal. The idea of dynamic complexity, which according by David Colander is commonly used in economics, refers to the system that "(...) endogenously does not tend asymptotically to a fixed point, a limit cycle, or an explosion" (as cited in Colander et al., 2011: 360). According to Rosser and Horgan, cited by David Colander, dynamic complexity involves four approaches based on nonlinear dynamics, i.e. cybernetics, catastrophe theory, chaos theory, and 'small tent' (as cited in Colander et al., 2011: 361). The latter theory implies that in the society and economy we can find many small groups (the tents) which consists of relatively

homogenous actors. This ought to be a respond to the problem caused by the coordination of small tents acting inside a system characterized by the 'big tent'.

Summing up, we can describe the term 'complexity' after David Colander as a combination of six characteristics (Colander et al., 2011: 361):

- (1) dispersed interaction among heterogeneous agents;
- (2) no global controller in the economy;
- (3) cross-cutting hierarchies with tangled interactions;
- (4) continual adaptation and learning by evolving agents;
- (5) perpetual novelty;
- (6) out-of-equilibrium dynamics with no presumption of optimality.

Although in the traditional approach policy makers found really complex issues, they were reducible due to the low level of interactions between stakeholders and interconnections between them and the challenges. Currently the number of interconnections between different elements of one single policy, i.e. stakeholders, challenges, environment, etc., is getting higher and higher. As a result, policy problems can no longer be reduced to elementary issues – we are facing growing irreducibility, both in the cognitive as well as in the practical dimension. In other words, the problem is so complex that it cannot be solved in the satisfyingly way (practical complexity) and cannot be structured cognitively (cognitive complexity).

Prof. Robert Delorme proposed eight elementary dimensions of complexity. Considering different objects, less or more complex, Delorme tried to present the path from the object to the situation where it plays some role.

1 Object	2 Purpose	3 Operator	4 Field	5 Level of aspiration	6 Cognitive/ substantial reducibility	7 Practical/ procedural reducibility	8 Character of situation
Brain of a sheep	Description	Butcher	Butchery	Given by 4	+	+	NCX (non-complex)
	Description	Neurophysiologist	Neurophysiology	Given by 4 but variable according to level of difficulty addressed	+ (if 5 low) - (if 5 high)	+ + -	NCX NCX CX (complex)
High-risk technology and high safety systems	Production and safety	Management Front-line operators	Industry Transport	No major accident	-	+ -	NCX CX
Precautionary principle	Production and safety	Public authorities	Environment Public health Public policy	No major accident	-	+ -	NCX CX
Public expenditure and the role of the state in the economy (RISE*)	Description Understanding Explanation Representation	Economist	Political economy Economics	Meeting scientific standards given by 4: 1) Through doing away with RISE 2) Through not doing away with RISE	+ -	+ -	NCX CX

* Regime of interaction between the state and the economy. Source: (Delorme, 2010: 150)

The Delorme's table presents only few examples but enables us to grasp the process of defining the complexity of the situation. However, it does not recognize however the problem of actors' rationality. The problem which the modern social sciences have to face is the fact that there are numerous actors which behavior can no longer be described as rational. In fact, we are facing **bounded rationality** that is dependent on many **psychological, sociological, political, historical and economic** factors. Moreover, we are observing the growing number of interactions between single agents as well as temporary and non-temporary groups of agents. As a result the interactions between single agents and transient group of players are unpredictable which leads to the appearance of the **emergent effects**. Moreover, the reality is affected by **contingency**.

All major systems and subsystems responsible for organizing a political life and governing a public sphere come to the point, where on the one side they are encourage to cope with the deep complexity and on the other side they are forced to stabilize themselves. This place is called "the edge of chaos" (Cleveland, 2005, November: 3-4; Waldrop, 1992). The system standing at "the edge of chaos" should be arranged in such way that all their components are robustly placed and are not overcome by contingency, unpredictability and differentiated activities of other actors and their decisions. Evolution of the systems to "the edge of chaos" should provide them a state of dynamic stability, which allows to be more adaptive, spontaneous and highly responsive to the turmoil within and outside the system. If the systems are not able to achieve such form, the result is a static equilibrium which eventually leads to the disturbance of homeostasis and the entropy.

Interesting remarks for decision makers, which refer to the arrangement of the systems in such way, that helps to avoid their disintegration, are brought by the complexity theory. It presents the concept of complex adaptive systems, which "(...) involve a great numbers of parts undergoing kaleidoscopic array of simultaneous interactions" (Holland, 1992, Winter: 19). This means that system embrace a vast number of autonomous and heterogeneous actors that freely make any number of choices. Despite individual decisions actors of the complex adaptive system share common rules of decision-making which help to connect the structure without any centralized control authorities (Cleveland, 1994, March: 1-2).

What makes such systems adaptive refers to the three specific features i.e. evolution, aggregate behavior and anticipation. First characteristic bases on the general Darwinian idea that individuals adapt to the changing environment by development of those features that allow to successfully survive other of their kind. Second characteristic – aggregate behavior - is not a simple sum of actions but an ability that emerges from individual actions which help to distinguish one system from another. An anticipation finally is contribute to the process of adaptation to the changing circumstances (Holland, 1992, Winter: 19-20).

Above description of the complex adaptive systems suggests that most of the systems nowadays are complex ones. This means that a public administration can't escape from the challenges brought by them. Place where the "fourth revolution" of the public administration should occur is a city and its local government.

The complexity of the city

Many times the city or the metropolis can be described as one of the knots in the network consisted of other urban areas. The city as well can be explained also in the terms of "creative" or "smart", which should highlights one of the features that influences other municipal spheres. Finally the city can be seen in technical terms, which is typical for town-planners observing the cities through their functions. In this perspective we are

talking about internally differentiated metropolitan area consisted of the core and suburban zone.

Above theories evolve from one common point, assuming that surrounding environment consists of constantly changing conditions and relations. Thus, the system and its subjects have to present a high level of adaptability. On the basis of mentioned theories we can state, that a city is a complex, multidimensional and differentiated organism. A crucial challenge in this case is to conduct integrated public policies in everyday management and development of a city. Remaining by the metaphor of the organism every actor and element building a city have to possess a specific role, which define a need of their existence (or many authors referring to the city as organism see Samaniego & Moses, 2008, Summer: 23-23). Institutions and social groups are the organs, that run the life of a city. The citizens and their activities create a bloodstream. Thanks to the people the capital and ideas are transfer from the one point to another. Like the red blood cells, which transport the oxygen and nutrients. They are causing the institutions work and gather the social groups around problem in the city space. The municipal authority is a brain that determines the action of other parts of an organism. So what is a public administration in this story? It is a nervous system. Thanks to it the municipal authority can transfer commands to other actors in a city. Its efficient work maintains coordinated activity of the other organs inside the municipal body. Like it is in the case of human body the paralysis of the nervous system many organs work involuntarily and the body itself can move, the same situation we can observe in the case of the city. When the public administration functions improperly and has low degree of adaptability then we are witnesses of the entropy of the city organism.

How to create an „adaptive public administration”?

Therefore, the key issue for public administration in this time is not the choice of the most efficient way to provide public services, but **the ability to recognize** the public needs and socioeconomic conditions, and to **flexibly adjust** the public policy to the complex situation. The public administration has to **learn continuously** and **should be no more vertically divided**, because naturally it wants to simplify the reality within its vertical departments - education, health, transportation, public security, culture, etc. Due to the existence of deep complexity, what we can and should do while dealing with public policy's issues is to simplify the problem in the first step, but in the second one try to combine it in a new mode. In other words, the decision makers ought to defragment the public problem, but only for its immediate re-composition. The public administration should work in such a **patchwork style** in order to avoid giving easy, but incorrect answers. For example, if there are a lot of homeless people in our part of the city, the easy answer is to build there a reception centre. In the new approach, the city authorities before they undertake actions, they will ask: Why there is a lot of homeless people? Why do they live in this part of the city? Why do they resign from living in other parts? What problems do they generate in this area? What are other problems of this area? How these people can be “used” (in the positive sense) in the development of this area? etc. By answering these questions the public administration together with the local community is able not only to solve this particular problem, but to create the coherent development plan for this area.

Accordingly to the above-mentioned evolution, we have to **re-conceptualize the structure of public administration** and public policy programs, not only at the national, but also international level. This is especially viable for European Union which operates somewhere between those two levels. There are institutions, such as Council of European Union, that act within the classic intergovernmental logic. But at the same moment there are European Parliament and European Commission that cannot be named as intergovernmental institutions - they are truly international and work in the logic of the

national state. From this perspective, there is probably no more complex structure than EU and therefore the common European public policy might be a leader of change.

As a matter of fact, EU support initiatives already follow it - let remind us the Framework Programme for Research and Innovation that crosses the vertical borderline between the academic and business sector. This programme works as an umbrella for dozens of multidimensional projects that undertake various actions. So should the public administration - it should **create a pace for horizontal cooperation** aimed to solve complex problems. We do not need administrative clerks that decide whether to deliver public services through the public sector (as in the Weberian style) or private sector (as in the NPM). Moreover, we do not need administrative clerks that go under the water of social consultations (as in the PG). Who we need are responsible and politically legitimate project managers that will be able to prepare a deep, advanced diagnosis of the problems and to make flexible adjustments of undertaken actions, coming from all three paradigms.

Nevertheless, due to the existing vertical division, the public administration of most EU member state (and other countries as well) is not working in such a project style and therefore will not be capable to adopt this new model of support on the one hand, and on the other to respond to the emerging issues, unless we restructure it into **a hybrid model, working concurrently vertically and horizontally**. The simple vertical model of public-private partnership is no longer sufficient.

Above demands are simple to understand when we speak theoretically. In order to put theory into a practice there has to occur a change in thinking of main players that create the public administrations in a given country. Thus a thought experiment is a good method to introduce new terms and categories to the social consciousness.

According to the previous assumptions the public administration works usually in a sectorial (one dimension) and vertical logic of intervention. In practice we can observe the implementation of different public policies which are separately programmed and realized by singular ministry, agency or department in the city council. Hardly ever those policies can be characterized as synergic, sequential and reciprocal. Unusual dynamic and transformation of our social reality and institutions²⁰ demand more innovative approach to the public policies and development. The latter one won't occur if the public intervention is not going to be adaptive and integrated referring to the instruments used by authorities.

In order to activate mentioned potential of public policies, it is necessary to think about them in the categories of nodes. What does it mean to the city, which can be the subject of the public policies' intervention? The idea of nodes allows us to find more than conventional ways to develop every aspect of cities' life. In order to depict this paradigm we can't avoid to understand what is a node itself. The node is a place, where from different directions coincide "the bands" of social and economical problems together with "the bands" of public policies' intervention. Depending on how those "bands" will be bounded, a particular node will have different shape and different utility. A good metaphor of a nodes in public administration and policies is a main bus and train station. This place in every big city integrate in the supra-local and supra-regional scale, most of the public transportation.

In consequence, the idea of nodes, as well as more prosaic relations occurring in the cities between the public policies, authorities and residents should be transfer into adequate and effective management methods.

²⁰ In this article we understand the institutions according to the new institutionalism paradigm. The institutions are not only the formal and legal administrative entities but also procedures, habits and relations, both formal and informal, that are rooted in a culture and traditions of a given society.

Creative Multilevel Hub as an explication of Public-private-social partnership

The new structure of public administration that could on the one hand represents the citizens, and on the other flexibly adjusts to complex problems through **hubs** that connect horizontally different vertical sectors/departments and already existing networks. What should be the framework conditions for starting a hub? In order to achieve public-private-social partnership the emphasis have to be put on providing possibly the most unbounded working environment. Limitless refers either to formal rules of running the company or NGO or to the spatial dimension i.e. inspiring open spaces combining different functions like cafeteria and newspaper kiosk or restaurant/pub with library. Beside open and common spaces there should be also separate part which provides a possibility for working in peace and quiet. Access to this part should be given for every interested company and both formal and informal social initiatives. The hub should be a combination of today co-working centers and technological or entrepreneurship incubators.

The aim of many hubs rooted in different parts of the city should be multi-dimensionally focused on the growth of the city. The hubs are the keystones binding in one place the streams of people, institutions and ideas that come from different levels of the city reality. Thanks to their potential the hubs can be used by the public administration as training zone for diagnosing the broader reasons of the problem (like in the case of homeless people in one part of the city). The hubs can be used also for searching simple and cheap solutions for solving the problem or implementing a given public policy. An advantage of this mechanism is that it is not a top-down order of and public administration but commonly developed solution in public-private-social partnership.

Conclusions

We have tried, through above considerations, answer one very important question: how the city should be governed in a complex socio-economic reality? The answer for this was closed in a thesis saying that and “adaptive public administration” should be created. Nowadays a classical theoretical approaches to the mechanisms of the public administration are not sufficient. The assumptions of Weberian public administration, New Public Management and Public Governance stopped to become matchable to the challenges of the constantly evolving society. That is why we proposed that, firstly, we have to understand the social reality itself. In our opinion it can be described in a good manner by the idea of deep complexity. But it still requires to find a solution to the new problems it brings. What if the actors of modern social reality behave in such a way that they are no longer rational? What to do in a situation when, psychological, sociological, political, historical and economic factors impact the bounded rationality of agents? How to cope with the unpredictable effects of the growing number of interactions between single agents as well as temporary and non-temporary groups of agents?

The theoretical considerations on the consequences and solution are intellectually very tempting. But our ambition was to propose a theoretical idea of a possible solution which is deeply connected to the everyday reality of a public administration on the municipal level. Thus finally we have come up to the concept of a hybrid model of public administration, which through the idea of nodes connects the vertical and horizontal logic its work. A practical explication of above idea of is a Creative Multilevel Hub, which is a real project ready to implement in every city and in every latitude in the world.

Our idea of municipal management development is simultaneously visionary and expedience. Abandoning the sectorial or vertical approach to the social reality leads to the situation when the decision process will be constantly based on asking the question about the city (how to do?) and not on restrain (this can't be done) and looking for the limits, which do not allow undertaking necessary actions.

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THE CREATIVE CITIES IN POLAND. GOOD PRACTICES IN COMPARISON TO WESTERN EUROPEAN EXAMPLES

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Abstract

The processes taking place in the modern economy are determined by two basic phenomena: globalisation and metropolisation. Generally, these phenomena are connected with development of the urban areas, that are included in the global exchange network capacity, but we can draw an observation that its role beyond the impact of the metropolis condemns them for the social and economic marginalization, and so we have to deal with the negative impact of these megatrends. Then, globalisation and metropolisation primarily mean enhancing the share of urban areas classified as metropolitan areas in stimulating development of the area. It is not so much about the dominance gradually in the structure of the economic base, but about the dominance of the driving-forces of development. With these phenomena is related the general trend of the growing importance of knowledge, innovation and technology, which is widely understood by their creativity. This implies the need for the new tools in the area of metropolitan centres management. In this paper author have made an attempt to characterise the metropolitan governance models in Poland and in Europe from the viewpoint of the growing importance of the creativity issue. Secondly, the author carried out the analysis of the future conditions and factors of the metropolis from the viewpoint of the city authorities. The objective of this article is to show different models and systems of city management depending on legal framework according to the country as well as differences between traditions and the manner of understanding how to manage the large city in the creative and effective way.

Keywords: metropolisation, good governance, creative management styles, urban economy.

Introduction

In the present article the attempt to identify development determinants of urbanised areas with particular consideration of effective city management forms have been carried out. In the time of dynamic changes reflecting in the processes of city development, one decade is a sufficient period to claim that prior conclusions on creative-like factors have turned out to be outdated. By no means, strong urbanised centres accumulate in themselves the broad economy, social and financial resources and that learning about the rules to manage cities is a key factor to answer the question about the effectiveness in the use of cities' resource. Subjective and objective complexity of development management brings on such situation where both in planning and implementing sphere it is required to apply different methodological and procedural solutions.

In the analysis of socio-economic development elements, it is essential to note that the development is always a resultant of two passive elements: natural processes, exuberant, difficult to be steered and the development policy. Those two elements are bound to co-exist, because the exclusion of one of them from the development processes would inevitably lead to a catastrophe. For example, if one did not steer the market processes, it would probably lead to the chaos and anarchy, and certainly we would see the phenomena of social stratification and polarisation of economic potential. Social group feeling comfortably under market economy conditions, thanks to their wisdom, smartness as well as skills and abilities to forecast, can become rich, but those deprived of such capacities would be condemned for marginalisation or social exclusion. Therefore, public administration responsible for making

development policy, apart from activities directed to meet collective needs, ought to contribute in its actions to modify imperfect in their nature market mechanisms and to supplement them. Third, public administration is equipped with the task to strengthen development symptoms resulting from natural, slow or exuberant processes. It causes local administration actions calling for the use of (resource) capital stemming from its unique set of development instruments. It needs to be noted that the actions, carried out in order to strengthen the potential, deal with the use of resource but at the same time they can be related to overcome development barriers. Such activities should contribute to the increase in competitiveness of the cities from the viewpoint of their future and present inhabitants. Strengthening oriented activities deal with stimulating development through the set of appropriate instruments of planning.

There are different opinions on the role of public sector in its influence on the knowledge economy; from the passive role, enabling market mechanism to conduct self-diagnosis and self-regulation, to the role of its protector offering developed solutions. Economic role of the government is not diminishing, but the structure of functions and the scope of intervention change. L.C. Thurow claims that it seems that in knowledge society it is a human factor, not the capital, which determines the development. In the information era the winners are the ones who learn how to play a new game requiring new strategies (Thurow, 2006).

Creativity in urbanised space

Creative metropolis is a functional (not morphological) form of settlement, practically being an answer to the challenges of economy in the 20th century. Creative metropolis possesses multi-aspect and flexible material and immaterial capital, constituting the most developed form of the settlement. However, before we define creative metropolis and analyse its nature in theory, it is necessary to define what is the metropolitan centre and city, which are the basic urbanised form of the settlement.

Chronologically, the oldest and most often used in the literature, both by geographers and city planners or architects, is the structural approach to the urban settlement arrangements. It is an approach enabling to define the metropolitan centre (or city agglomeration) and to make its delimitation. The main measures of delimiting the area are: density of population and the indicators of non-agricultural activities. In the beginning of 20th century, in the wake of that provision, the process of delimitation of urban centres all over the world was carried out. In Poland it came to exist in the 50's of 20th century (Zborowski 2005: 62-64). The following approach to the analysis of basic urban areas has hierarchic and functional characteristics and its main assumption is the existence of functional bonds within urban areas. Model "centre-periphery" appeared in the literature in the 50's of the last century and became the object of a number of theoretical generalisations.

Most important notions about the city

One can note that granting the status of the city to particular settlers' unit is determined mainly by quantitative factor. Nonetheless, the term of city is so capacious, that there is a need to categorise different types of cities or rather consecutive stages of their evolution. The city is a unit of settlement arrangement featured by spatial cohesion, relatively big number of inhabitants, thus high density of population, majority of which executes non-agricultural tasks. In the city there are economic, social and spatial processes: exchange of commodities and services, thanks to the existence of market; we deal here with specific dense housing space, communal infrastructure (sewerage, heating and electric lines, public transportation), as well as with urban life style (payable non-agricultural work, need for relaxation, participation in political and cultural events, etc.).

Thus, the city is defined in the aspect of quantitative criteria, while the metropolis is an urbanised form of significant quantitative potential but predominantly of a qualitative one. B.

Jałowiecki also described the characteristics of big city that can be labelled as metropolis: *„In contemporary information economy, the metropolis is exporter and importer of production factors: human resource, capital and innovation. The metropolis is a venue for transnational boards and branch offices, for banks and insurance companies. At the same time, it is a place for public institutions: scientific, educational and cultural that act globally. The metropolis is equipped with infrastructure supporting organisation of international events (congresses, exhibitions, festivals, sport events, etc.) and is connected with the outside world through well-developed plane, car and railway transportation system as well as effective telecommunication infrastructure which enables the information flow. In addition, it is there, where the international media are located and operating”* (Szczepański, Jałowiecki 2010: 32).

In addition, one may list certain unique characteristics of metropolises at different levels, which B. Jałowiecki indicated, labelling them as the features of cities-metropolises, which (Ibidem, p. 35):

- assimilate imported production factors, investments, labour force and commodities and services,
- host international companies, headquarters and branch offices of international corporations, banks, non-government organisations, scientific and educational institutions (schools) as well as universities with a great share of foreign students and diplomatic posts (embassies),
- export production factors: companies, banks and other socio-economic, cultural and academic institutions,
- are directly connected to the international transportation network, system of motorways (expressways), rapid railway and international airport,
- have a developed „infrastructure” and feature intensive communication with abroad through the use of the postal system, telecommunication and flow of tourists,
- have a developed services for foreign customers: congressional and exhibition centres, classy hotels, international schools, high quality office facilities, international law firms, international academic institutions,
- are the venues for international mass media (papers, magazines, radio and TV stations),
- are the regular organisers of different types of international meetings, congresses, exhibitions, festivals, sport and artistic events with international theatrical groups,
- host national and regional institutions in charge of foreign relations and internationally recognised associations, sport clubs, etc.,
- through the use of city public or private institutions, mediated by its own representatives in other cities abroad, the quasi-diplomacy is established. It also done thanks to the membership in international organisations, e.g. associations of twin cities, metropolises, etc.

Creative metropolis is a particular sort of an urbanised space, equipped not only with economic potential in the areas of human resource, spatial and financial, but also with immaterial resources: the capital of knowledge and innovation and the cultural one that can be converted into high level of social capital. One has to remember that creative metropolis has a number of definitions and also stands for a style of city management. The creative city is an object that has brand, and reflects personality. Open city with an open style of management. The cultural place that stimulates creativity of the society. The place where is high supply of knowledge. The place of living for open-minded society. High level of social capital. The place where immaterial potential of the city is significant.

It is appropriate to analyse the context influencing on the present state and socio-economic directions of creative cities development. Obviously, one of such elements is globalisation, which stands for the increase in mobility potential, the increase in rationality of behaviours, competitiveness, knowledge and innovation, therefore implying an open style of city

management. The next element is metropolisation, which stands for growing importance of the cities in the global space. Other important elements are: growing importance of knowledge, culture and capital resources.

The interpretations of the concept of metropolisation that may be found in the literature on the subject are not entirely consistent. Without presenting more extensive review of opinions concerning this notion (and in particular those that pertain to the concept of the metropolis itself) it may be said that in its simplest and most general sense it is assumed to denote the growing influence of a metropolis within a given area. There are three related issues that require clarification. First, it is necessary to explain the expression “growing influence of a metropolis”. To put it briefly, this predominantly refers to the growing contribution of those urban centres that are qualified as metropolises to make the development of a given area more dynamic. This implies not so much the gradually progressing dominance in the structure of the economic base as increasing dominance among the driving forces of development (metropolisation involves processes in functional and not morphological structures). It may, however, also imply that larger territories start to adopt to some extent the models (functions) typical of metropolises. Second, “growing influence” indicates a process. Metropolisation is one of the main contemporary megatrends in the global economy and its spatial organization (among contemporary phenomena such as globalisation and integration). This implies a certain inevitability of the process and its highly spontaneous character. Third, the expression “within a given area” indicates a certain hierarchisation in the spatial structure of metropolisation, since metropolisation may occur at a global, continental, national or regional level. This classification directly corresponds to the hierarchy of metropolises. It is their potential that determines the spatial extent of metropolisation.

Another problem closely related to the issue in question is the interpretation of the “nature” of metropolisation. In a more narrow sense it is described as an increase in the strength of links within networks of metropolises (predominantly those at similar levels in the hierarchy), as reflected in soft transfer (e.g. information transfer, diffusion of innovations) and hard transfer (e.g. transfer of goods, migration of people with the best skills). In this sense, the physical surroundings of a given metropolis do not in practice play any essential role, while from the perspective of the surroundings, metropolisation often has undesirable consequences. In a broader sense, which does not entirely negate the above-mentioned interpretation, metropolisation also manifests itself via processes taking place in a territorially cohesive complex, in which the metropolis is the generator of broadly defined development processes, and in particular the type of development that features the gradual emergence of such activities in the surrounding area that complement the potential of the metropolitan centre, forming synergistic systems. Complementary metropolitan functions may also be decentralised, especially in polycentric systems.

The interpretations of metropolisation processes outlined above offer a very prefatory glimpse into the issue that is widely discussed in the literature. However, it seemed necessary to present them due to the inconsistency between the various approaches to metropolisation before proceeding to the discussion of metropolisation in the context of the contemporary reality in Poland.

In summary, metropolisation may be understood as two processes that need not necessarily be mutually exclusive:

- 1) Increased cohesion in the network of intermetropolitan relations within a given territorial system (global, continental, national, regional).
- 2) Progressive increase in the influence of the metropolitan centre on the surrounding areas, taking on various forms, albeit with a predominant increase in the cohesion of the functional structure of the geographical area.

It is easy to notice that in the latter case metropolisation may to a large extent be associated with the development of metropolitan areas, since it involves the transfer of certain

phenomena and processes to the metropolises' surroundings, generally followed by the subsequent intensification of urbanisation and the relatively fast development of non-agricultural and generally innovative sectors of the economy. While the "native" metropolitan centre of an area might not necessarily be the source of this transfer, it always determines the attractiveness of its surroundings' location, which in essence makes it the source of metropolisation.

The overall goal of ambitious cities is to increase their own attractiveness and becoming a part of global consciousness. It results from the dynamics of attraction, keeping and developing power, resources and talents. Appropriate combination of those elements determines the attractiveness of the city, while different aspects attract different groups: influential personalities, investors, businessmen, customers, tourists, developers, intellectual leaders. High attractiveness converts into economic, political and cultural impacts – the opportunities to influence on the events – and consequently on economic and financial outcomes. We could read about the creativity of the cities even in the first half of 20th century. Among the older concepts there are important works of H. Taine and G. Törnqvist (1983). In recent years R. Florida and Ch. Landry has turned to them. They claim that it is the creative capital, a combination of skilled workers, the atmosphere of tolerance and openness as well as the level of technology, according to the concept of "3T's". In the analysis of the reasons for cities and regions development, included in the works above-mentioned, varied approaches draw our attention:

- Traditional approach: investment attractiveness and operation of buoyant firms and modern industries. Competitiveness factors: expenditures, natural resource, transportation system.
- Florida's approach: comprehensive understanding of development processes is possible only through the analysis of creative capital, consumption behaviours and life styles of the population in a given area. Competitiveness: creative capital, that is creative, talented workers and innovation potential of the cities.

Currently, the cities compete with each other, using a base of soft material assets (or hard non-material assets) – they plan and organise activities in the aspect of their "iconicism". Few cities understand this. It is about attracting one's attention, bring on associations resulted in recognisability and achievement of a certain status in order to generate conditions generating future ascendancies of the city (Landry, 2012: 30).

Considering the analysis, leading to the claim about inefficient system of Polish public administration at the local level and the importance of creative actions, which increase attractiveness of cities location, one has to answer the questions: "How much of a government?", that is how large Polish public sector should become and "What government?", that is how to organise administration to execute its tasks? What management methods are most effective in public sector organisations?

If creativity is an open way of thinking and is seeking innovatory solutions among all recipients of public services, then the system of public administration has to support free thinking among the city inhabitants and businessmen. Both public authorities at the central level and local government should answer the question, whether our system does not suppress the "freedomers" who are brave enough to think different and live different than the majority? It can yield negative implications for the dynamics of socio-economic development. Conservative businessmen, e.g. afraid of tax office, are not inclined towards risk or implement creative ideas, they do not use all their development opportunities. This is a double loss for the city: possible benefits and incomes from CIT and PIT taxes as well as a threat of relocate the place for investment to the other city or state, due to the dissatisfaction of some businessman, what is not difficult in today's time of globalisation.

The new forms of management are necessary because of several aspects:

- consecutive demographic changes all over the world and related unfavourable phenomena,
- the need for development of strong economy favouring social inclusion,
- the need to overcome sector barriers,
- the need for optimal use of resources,
- accelerated process of social stratification.

In order to achieve competitive advantage in knowledge economy, the cities should consciously manage their development as to take advantage of own resources as well as influence on and develop the economic, innovatory and creative potential to possibly highest degree. Regional and local authorities can influence in particular on development and strengthening the production factors which cannot be easily moved at low costs there, where high risk capital is required and the outcome of investment is uncertain (investments in knowledge), or through creation of conditions appropriate for most qualified and educated workers, encompassing such factors as: transportation and telecommunication availability, clean natural environment and attractive cultural offer (De la Mothe, 2006: 171). The authorities ought to make the effort directed towards developing original solutions that fit the needs of local stakeholders and take advantage from their potential in direct or indirect manner. A new paradigm of management is needed, which uses the best part of prior solutions and shows new methods of public management. Thus, creative management does not call for total rejection of prior way of thinking. City councils will always struggle with problems, not only developmental in a strict sense and with limited resources but also with a dilemma indicated *inter alia* by N. Bradford: local roots *versus* global impacts, flag initiatives *versus* local projects, heritage protection *versus* introduction of necessary changes, high culture *versus* pop culture.

Up to now, the city government in most European countries operates on principles of local administration system that assumed behaviours adequate to several concepts. Each of them had some consequences for the effectiveness in the use of resource management:

- Bureaucratic model – Its fundamental assumption is that public administration should meet social collective needs, while being just (in a sense of equity) to the citizens. The second assumption deals with the transparency of public administration. Insofar it is to serve the citizens, and the citizens have to maintain it, it has to be transparent. In order to be just and transparent, public administration ought to be framed in laid in detail, strict legal regulations. That has brought on the increase in impartiality of public administration, however it has slowed its actions. Created in 19th century model of ideal bureaucracy is the system solution upon which public administration operates, in Poland too. Implementation of such assumption aimed to secure public order. Bureaucracy enrooted into precisely defined legal framework has brought on the gap in its flexibility. Moreover, the gap in referring to the market aspects of public sphere functioning means that public authorities know perfectly evident, legally regulated tasks, which execution belongs to their duties. However it does not call for market, rational and manager-like behaviours. The effectiveness of bureaucratic activities was measured by the degree of their execution, precisely defined by Max Weber norms securing maximised impartiality of legal regulations and compliance to obligatory norms.
- New Public Management Model (NPM) – Neoliberal concept of NPM is, to the contrary of Max Weber model – based on the principle of minimal state, limited in its size and functions. Such state limits its role to protect from theft and violence and secure contracts. The model of NPM characteristics in the second half of 20th century assumed the following elements:
 - ✓ Productivity,
 - ✓ Marketization,

- ✓ Service orientation, which means to understand the citizens' expectations as well as social trust building,
- ✓ Decentralisation, related to flexibility as well as to the fact that decentralised institutions are more inclined toward innovation introduction,
- ✓ Accountability for performance,
- ✓ Flexibility.

Introduction of managerial techniques into public sector management and public task execution with the use of market mechanism is one of the key features of NPM, similarly, as performance management, performance budget or standardised services for citizens.

- Model of governance – participative management – is related to the group of institution and actors both public and non-public. In the framework of management the boundaries of cooperation and accountability are blurred, what should contribute to better dealing with complexity of social and economic problems. The model of governance underlines the issue of interdependency of government and institutions engaged in common actions. The model concerns autonomous, self-managing network of actors. From the perspective of governance the central authorities are perceived as the subject able to take advantage from new instruments and techniques in order to steer social and economic processes (Kulesza, 2013: 116-117). The characteristic features of governance are:
 - ✓ Participation – inclusion of all citizens in the decision making processes).
 - ✓ Rule of law – procedural regulations securing fundamental human rights.
 - ✓ Openness – access to information enabling to monitor public institution activities.
 - ✓ Responsiveness – the ability to feedback the collective or individual citizens' needs.
 - ✓ Consensus-orientation – negotiating with interest groups,
 - ✓ Equal position of men and women
 - ✓ Productivity and effectiveness – optimal and effective use of resources by public government,
 - ✓ Responsibility,
 - ✓ Strategic conceptualisation.

Despite some opinions claiming that innovativeness and principles of public sector functioning are not mutually excluded (Vigoda-Gadot, Shoham, Schwabsky, Ruvio, 2005), the call for the need of innovativeness in public sector is a long-time well-recognised issue. In the American literature (Fredrikson, Johnston 1999) innovativeness has been considered in the context of theory and concept of organisational change and intervention policy as well as in the context of circumstances of making innovatory public organisations, including public entrepreneurship (Kozuch, 2009: 83-84).

Governance deals with eliciting desired change through generating the process of social innovation, developed as a consequence of social interaction. The task of the centre which elicit the process does not concern establishment of rules and procedures and forcing to comply with them, but stimulating the process of defining and forming such rules, able to meet the needs of participants and realise their interests. Thus the success depends not on the capacities of managing centre but on eliciting the need to create new solutions embedded in the process of communication and negotiation.

Participative management is an institutional response to the market failures and an attempt to step outside the scheme of dealing with it through the move between a market coordination and an imperative one. However it needs to be remembered that governance itself does not assure the success. The sources of failure can be rooted both in the objects and the subjects. If

the object of governance is complex, the subjects do not possess the appropriate knowledge on the relations, which constitute the object (Hausner, 2008: 221). In Poland the idea of governance is not disseminated much, although there are some examples of interactive activities: citizens consultations (most often the cities run consultations only then, when it is obligatory), establishing councils, committees and task forces with participation of non-government organisations or introduction of participative budget.

Considering the quality of public management, programming of development ought to integrate three streams of planning: spatial, socio-economic and financial. The mechanisms of coordination of planning among those three streams are problematic however. It is difficult to consider each sphere in isolation, despite the fact that there are different relations among them as well as the different opportunities of their creation.

Summary

Why in Poland the model of creative management is successful only to a moderate extent? The answers are related with at least some aspects:

- Low quality of cooperation public administration-universities and R&D units, public administration-entrepreneurs and public administration-citizens. It leads to malfunction of the cities and is a result of the phenomena described above, connected with the lack of faith in the opportunities to co-create local development as well as with low social trust to the local government.
- Processes of globalisation has brought on, that we deal with the networks of cities. Networking has yielded increased competition of the cities, that is attempting to maintain prior potential and attracting a new one. Competition of the cities forces managerial and creative behaviours. The functioning of the city as an enterprise, the consent given to creative behaviours of city life participants do not often inscribe into local politics. Thus, local administration does not teach the citizens how they can take advantage from each opportunity they have around. The inhabitants are not locally proud and deprived from the local patriotism. They do not have a feeling of belonging to the city community. It is followed by the lack of responsibility for their street, settlement, neighbourhood, etc. The lack of responsibility means not only the law and order but also the influence on aesthetics and functionality of the place. In Polish society in principle there is a lack of thinking about oneself as a human resource, not only in a sense that for the city it is important to be an individual or business taxpayer – what counts is knowledge, experience, ideas and talents of each citizen – they can contribute to the increase in attractiveness of the city location.
- It needs to be noted that the cities compete and cooperate with each other at the same time. The cooperation concerns the exchange of developed surplus in qualitative potential. The competition deals with creating circumstances to attract the qualitative potential. Those two elements should be approached both in the context of creating substantial frames of socio-economic development and in the spatial development of the cities. Similar is the fact that knowledge and innovation are important driving forces for the local economies. However, the knowledge-consuming economy calls for the need to create adequate institutional base.
- Increase in the quality of life of citizens (an overall goal of public administration activities) leads to the actions for entrepreneurship development. In turn, this requires appropriate economic and spatial policy as well as the activities for strengthening social resource. The cultural and environmental capitals, influencing on both social and economic potential, are the essential elements not necessarily fulfilling merely the role of supplementary factors.
- The communes and municipalities are preoccupied with too much capital-consuming actions or city authorities are not rational enough, what limits their possibility to

develop. Each city possesses certain resources and development limits. Overcoming the barriers is most often related to the costs which are impossible to endure by local government, e.g. the construction of bypass road.

Public management in Polish biggest cities is, in its nature, closed management dealing with functional adjustments of the city to the present urbanisation wave (managing the cities which have highly positive bottom line of migration). Such activities aim to create a space for life for its inhabitants, entrepreneurs, tourists and flowing inhabitants from metropolitan area. The future is an open management of the city. It is understood not merely as taking advantage from market-like potential resulting from factors and circumstances, but also inclusion of every social group in the process of co-governance as well as inspiring those groups to comprehensively use the resources at their disposal. Creative metropolis is: open, taking advantage from culture resources, innovatory, flexible, caring for human resource development, which can become creative milieus. Because of varied reasons, the authorities of the biggest Polish cities must still learn the majority of such behaviours.

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STRATEGIZING CREATIVE INDUSTRIES IN CHINA: CONTRADICTIONS AND TENSION OF CULTURAL POLICY IN CHINA

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Abstract

This paper explicates how China has strategized their various creative industries, including music industries, film industries, animation and online game industries with their top-down cultural policy. In the past decade, the development of such creative industries has not only become a considerable GDP growth, but also externally serve as branding tool, if not soft power, of China on the competitive global market. In this paper, I will highlight examples of creative industries discuss the cultural, political and social contradictions as reflected and created by the state-driven cultural policy that incubates the industries. The data of this paper is based on in-depth interviews with the Chinese authorities, semi-government bodies, different level of personnel in the industries, and distributors and promoters of the cultural products. The dilemma of the policy lies in the contradiction between the creative content generated by the industries and the existing censorship, control mechanism and bureaucracy of the authoritarian régime. As I argue, the state now adopts an interim solution in which the state would tolerate a high level of cultural influx or localization of cultural products in the territory. The importation of global content with high market value and popularity can be regarded as a quick strategy to fill the market need and to boost the national creative industries with global capital and know-hows borrowing from overseas, particularly when the state does not relax the ideological control of the content. At the same time, the state would choose to develop a few of their creative industries which are politically less sensitive.

Key Words: creative industries, cultural policy, China

Introduction

“Cultural Industries” has become a buzz phrase in China. The development of cultural industries has not only become the branding tool of Chinese cities but also a driving force to export and boosting GDP. In this paper, four media-related cultural industries, including music industries, film industries, animation and online game industries would be selected and analyzed as four different models of creative industry development in China. While it might not be possible for this paper to analyze all these industries in details, in this paper, I will examine these four models of industries and discuss some common problematics of such state-driven models that share among these four industries. More emphasis would be given to the two major theoretical dimensions of these industries, namely globalization and political control.

The major argument involves the complex relationship among ideological control, state competence and process of globalization of these industries. The importation of global capital and content can be regarded as a quick strategy to boost the national industries with global capital and know-hows borrowing from overseas, particularly when the state is not competent in producing the content. However, cultural globalization might bring in content and values that could be contradictory to state's ideology. Thus, the state is caught at a dilemma in which

the state purports to strengthen its cultural industries commercially but politically the state would still like to retain the control.

Each of the industry discussed in this paper would represent how the state tackles this dilemma with its unique strategy. For the four industries, the most successful is online game industries because the industries were able to learn from Korea games before the state intervene the globalization process. Comics is commercially the least successful because the state has no competence and yet is afraid of global investment and cultural influx. Music seems to be popular in China but the popular ones are those imported by the state which filters those anti-hegemonic contents imported from overseas. Film is monopolized by state which has a long legacy of producing film and globalization is minimal. Thus, film becomes a political tool rather than a commercial product.

Creative Industries in China: Two dimensions

The development of creative industries in China takes many forms. This paper particularly focuses on two theoretical dimensions of creative clusters. First, it is the dimension of global reliance. Creative industries in China are relatively new products, and its development, like other industries or service; they have to depend on foreign help at its onset. To certain extent, at certain historical point of time, China's cultural industries have to rely on global capital, know-how, management or import.

The second dimension is ideological control. Realizing the power of mass media, the Communist Party has long used it for propaganda, indoctrination and education, no matter of what you call. Therefore, the state has to ensure that it has a vast nest of ideological control over the content of all these media. Cultural industries, like the media industry, contain content and narratives that could easily sway, mobilize or narcotize the public, and therefore are susceptible to the control of the authorities. The higher the control, the less the freedom and the creativity the industries have to develop the content. The latter always is not just related to the diversity of the content produced—that is a demonstration of marketplace of ideas—it is also somewhat articulated to commercial value. Competitiveness of the content or the commercialization of the work, though it is not proportional, is somewhat connected to the free expression and creative work.

Yet, the development of cultural industries in the production of popular culture, entertainment and even leisure has always had a dual nature of politics and market. The inseparability of profits and political control reflect the dilemma of the growth of the industries. Cultural industries and their commodities in China are both serving and subservient to that state, and even in contemporary China it is hard to imagine China could allow popular content that is not concordant with state ideologies. In the light of the fact that Chinese cultural industries has learnt from the west, adopted the western form and music structure and operated under the foreign mode of management, cases of development of cultural industries that rely on the west reflects the formation of global popular culture in China and the process of cultural globalization vis-à-vis forces of market localization under the umbrella of state control and monitoring. The historical analysis of the development of these global businesses in China reveals the political and economic limitations imposed on capitalist values, liberal thought and ideology.

Comics and Animation Industry: A Legacy of Control

With the state-dependent model of creative industry in China, comics is inevitably the less

developed one. Although modern production of the first short animation *Chaos in the Gallery* (*Dalou Huashi*) was pioneered in China in 1926, the entire industry was in a standstill during the Chinese revolution. Not until 1983 re-launched its national animation studio and had its first animation *Broken Tailed Mouse* produced in 1984.

The PRC is well aware of the influence of foreign comics culture as the latter is what the kids and youth grow up with. Despite the fact that foreign animation was imported by the CCTV—which was the *Astro Boy* from Japan in 1980—the entire policy was to discourage foreign import and encourage national production. In the 1990s, the picture of national animation was still doomy. In 1993, the entire state only relied on Beijing TV to produce animation with a capacity with 195 minutes for four animations. For example, The longest *40 Cartoon Lullabies* was only confined to 40 episodes with 2 minutes each, and it was far less popularity than the Japanese imported *Sailor Moon* of the year.

Similar to other creative industries, the state started to take a more active role in the animation after 2000. For animation industries, in 2004, the PRC promulgated a new policy called “A number of Opinions about developing our Country’s Animation/ Comics Industry,” and in total, in that year, initiated 18 related regulations and strategies for the development. The essence of these regulations is to protect the state’s own industry. It states that in the animation channel of any TV channel, the percentage of domestically produced comics should not be less than 60 percent, and that the ratio of the annual target for the national production of comics to import volume should be equivalent. There are also directives that encourage national comics goes overseas.

The result of this state policy seemed effective in the beginning. From 2005 to 2009, the number of provinces that produced animation doubled, reaching 22 and that the number of minutes produced increased from 41,034 to 171,816, which is a quadruple increase. However, in 2010, it seems the industries had reached its heyday with only 19 provinces producing comics and animation, although the number of minutes increased by 48,713. The production mainly took place in four major provinces, Jiangsu, Guangdong, Liaoning and Zhejiang.

Over the year, with a relatively closed policy on comics and animation, perhaps, the state was able to incubate one single major hit *Happy Lamb and Grey Wolf*. Between 2004 and 2010, 690 episodes of the comics were produced and were broadcast across 500 stations. The comics was also remade into three movies which received great ticket sales in 2009-2011. The cumulative ticket sales reached around RMB 350 million. This comics illustrates the how the state-driven and state-censored animation could yet serve to produce a kind of modernity that can mesmerize the young generations. In a nutshell, the main theme of *Happy Lamb and Grey Wolf* was about how wolf and lamb of different interests and resources could live harmonious together in the small meadow of a place of nowhere, a discourse that is resonant with the discourse of harmony of the state.

So far, we only see one single model and one single animation in China that could be seen as the successful cases. It seems that the state at this moment might not even creatively think of a model that is popular in the market and politically it is as “faithful” as *Happy Lamb and Grey Wolf* having a theme that supports the status quo. There were other trials but they were not too successful and will not be discussed here. The logic of the development of this specific cultural industry is quite clear though. The animation industries in China illustrates that the stronger the involvement of the state in the production is, the more stringent the

policy toward the global involvement would be. In the eyes of the state, it seems that the protective policy is conducive to the national cultural industry because they believe that a domestic taste could be cultivated. But in fact, without the technological know-how and management skills of the global market, the national comics and animation productive still reside in a very backward stage. Except perhaps one single case of Happy Lamb which was fortunate enough to get the blessing of CCTV, all the other animations still could not win the hearts of the new generations.

Music Industries: the Global presence

Due to historical legacy, development of music industries in China has always been tied to influence of global capitals and music culture. Such trajectory of development not only illustrates the effect and process of global cultural penetration in China; the political and economic constraints that the Chinese authorities impose on global players and their changing attitudes toward foreign capital also illustrates how cultural industries can be developed with global “assistance.” A rough estimation there are 8,000 albums published and several million copies sold before 1949 in China before 1949 (Xu, 2010). Among these, almost all operated under the auspices of global music record, including EMI (UK), RCA Victory (UK), Regal (UK), Greater China Record Factory (Sino-Japanese joint venture), Oden (Germany), Beka (Germany), to name a few.

The early vinyl disc production technology is an imported product. Take Beijing Record Factory as an example. Established in 1968 as a subsidiary of the China Record Corporation by Premier Zhou Anlai, it was the biggest music factory in northern China. In the early 1980s, it largely imported stereo music technology from the west and till the end of 1980s, it was able to produce 10 million audio cassettes every year.

Strictly speaking, the debut of the Chinese music industry is attributed to western capitals. Before the local productions, the circulation of album follow Local-recording-foreign-production-and-importation model. Music of different genres was recorded in China, mostly by western firms in China. These records were exported to big western record companies for production and postproduction, and were imported back to the China market. Because of the lengthy and costly cycle, eventually, music production factories were built in Shanghai in 1915 (Xu, 2010). In 1928, the UK-based Columbia Graphophone acquired the French company Pathe Marconi which assembled local production facilities to set up Oriental (Dongfang) Pathe Music in Shanghai in 1908, and renamed the former as Pathe-orient Ltd, and became part of the subsidiary of EMI. This 300-employee music business, together with its sub-label Regal became the largest music production in China before the inauguration of the PRC in 1949 (Xu, 2010; Fung, 2008).

Such capital's western origins have significant impact after the post-war modern music development. It founded in China, apart from the traditional Chinese ballad and folklore, the local aesthetics for western music, and casted the prototype of Chinese music that ultimately combined western pop musical forms, Chinese melody, lyrics and above all, ideologies that are embedded within it. The central question discussed in this paper is to what extent and when such rein of ideological control over nationalism or patriotism was or could be relaxed for the industries to bloom. The latter assumes that the industry would be fettered by the ideological burden would not perform well under the control. I will re-visit this

assumption in the conclusion of the paper.

While it is debateable that state-steering model for music industry will drag the feet of the industries, the early pre-World War II period was a transnational and special time in which the global capital and state co-steer the market. The war period enable cultural products to carry a political theme while commercially, it is also viable. The national anthem of the PRC, *March of the Volunteers* (Yijyongjun Jinxingju), was produced at this juncture in which the EMI musician collaborated with Chinese playwright Tien Han. The anthem became an effective means with which the state galvanizes the public against Japan during the Sino-Japanese war (1937-45) (Hung, 1996). For this very first time, perhaps, the market force aligns with the political motive of the state amidst the production of popular music. There was again no surprise when the Communist Party reigned China, it soon used the facilities confiscated to produce the first movie with the thematic sound track album “Liberation Are is a Sunny Day” on June 6, 1949. Cultural industries, as demonstrated, are still very much market driven, but it can also serve as important political tool otherwise..

While it was impossible to illustrate the entire history of the music industry in China, what was highlighted here was a period of 30 years following 1949 that the state forbid any foreign investment and dictated the production of popular music. Shutting the door for the foreign involvement was definitely out of an ideological consideration. It aimed to deter any emerging forms of western populism and to completely erase the memories of any western aesthetics that were associated with the bloom of the Shanghai pop music scene since the 1930s. Of the latter, Shanghai singer Zhou Xuan was probably the iconic figure whose voice and musical style were said representing western values of liberation, freedom and modernity, an ideology that was not compatible with the Communist ideology. This western capitalistic value of consumption embodying vulgarism or hedonism, together with the lifestyle of materialistic decadence was collectively labeled as “mimi ziyin” or ‘mundane voices’. With this ideological difference, pop music that are of tender melodies and romance were once extinct in the China market lest that they would pervert the soul of the populace and hence classified as anti-revolutionary.

Then, between 1949 and the 1980s, music industries in China are entirely shielded from the west and capitalism. As an explicit national policy, the authorities banned all imported music with very selective import from “friendly” countries, including Russian classical music. During this period, the state attempted for a short period not to depend on the global capital to rejuvenate its music industries but in vain. Since 1979, the state had reorganized many of its production arms, including the Pacific Audio and Visual Company and the China Record company. At that time, it was probably regarded as a fundamental change as it marked not only the close door and radical culture policy set during the Revolution but also realized the importance of the satisfaction of the public desires, if not the market. Out of xenophobia, the regime produced “popular music” with lyric not too much deviated from the “main rhythm” of the state.

However, I would argue that the development of cultural industries without the reliance of global know-hows in China has proven not too successful. When the market becomes more open in the late 1980s, the import of Hong Kong and Taiwan pop soon outwit all the local productions. The nationally churned pop music, I would argue, lacked the modern aesthetics; such music is in the last instance too much about national, ethnic unity and harmony, if not propaganda.

The re-entry of global music industries began in the mid-1980s in conjunction with China's open door policy in the mid-1980s under Deng Xiaoping's rule. The five major transnational music corporations, SONY, EMI, BMG, Universal and Warner²¹ were the main players. Figures shown in 1998 and 1999 suggested that global records accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total cassette tape shipments, at a time when CD hardware penetration was still at a low level. These global capitals have experimented for the very first time operating the cultural industries in this authoritarian regime. What they aimed for was an appropriate model that could minimize ideological conflict with the authorities while their cultural products were commercially marketed. This state-global-capital relationship yet took more than ten years to develop, and it was also been accelerated by China's entry into the WTO in the 1990s.

Joint ventures between global records and state enterprises marked the success of cultural industries in China. It was a model that the state takes a more active role in accommodating the global capitals. The state is willing to form a joint alliance with the global so long as their political interests are not undermined. The state is now more flexible in its cultural policy to work with international capital forming a more symbiotic relationship for both parties. In macro term such cooperation conforms the socialist market logic of China. Analyzing it using the theoretical model discussed in this paper, it seems that global reliance is quick way to boost the cultural economy. On a micro and a cultural level, the formation of joint music cultural industries between the state corporation and global records represents a production of a local Chinese culture that is not intrusive, but facilitates ruling of the regime. From the point of view of the state, commercial logic seems the perfect way to tame the global capitals which eye on the China market.

Thus, we could see cases in which the Big Five operated openly and successfully in China. In May 2000, Warner China entered the China music market by buying out local record label Maitian and artist management company Pulai. Warner China then used the term "brotherly label" to team up with Maitian: while the former focused on music production, the latter basically was an artist management company. Unlike the international Warner, the locally-formed Warner China was more flexible to market China's own artists, Taiwan and Hong Kong artists from without. Given the problem of piracy in China, music production was almost a stagnant business, performance through Maitian seems the way to go. With the local Maitian personnel running Warner, this joint global-China cultural industry was able to secure and co-operate with many local sponsors to promote both sides' brands.

Sony adopted a simpler model. In May, 2001, it partnered with Shanghai Jinwen Investment Company, Shanghai Xinhui Laser Disc Corporation to establish the Shanghai Epic Music Co. Ltd. The joint Sony mainland capital enterprise was then allowed to permit to produce music products in China. In the end of 2000, Universal also kicked off its joint collaboration in China with Shanghai Yifeng Culture Communication, Zhejiang Bushen Music Culture. This first collaboration was not so successful because of the personnel change. In March 2003, Universal formed another partnership with Starwin, a local music production and later with Shanghai Media Group in 2004.

The music industries illustrate a case that cultural industries can be well-developed with the global reliance. The only drawback is that the cultural aesthetics developed is still very

much western, and the consumption of the cultural product is still an imported product.

Film Industries: prioritizing nationalism over development

Film industries illustrate a special case in which the state tried out relying on Warner Bros Picture to develop its national cultural industries, but the collaboration seemed ending up in failure, both in theater operating and coproduction of films. The development of film industries in China presents a scenario in which content production potentially with strong ideological elements becomes an obstacle for the industries to operate commercially for profit. In China, it turned out that film industries might well be the most politically sensitive cultural industries that we discussed in this paper, and thence the state imposed the sternest control over its production and distribution.

Warner Bros Pictures was the ever and sole transnational film business in China. China had temporarily loosened up the control over film during the negotiations in the run up to entering the WTO. The localization of Warner Bros Pictures could have been a show case for global players that come later to operate film business in China. But it seems that after weighting different factors, the state finally decided not to open up any room for any important content business for global media capital. Different from comics and animation industry in which the state had consistent strict command over its production and ban for import, film industries in China were once attracted by the triumphant of Hollywood movies over the world and decided to experiment an open market. To build up a globalizing “Chinawood” is something that the PRC would like to mimic, and yet with a more explicit goal—spreading their version of Chinese culture. However, in the end, the diverse facade of controls and modes of global collaborations are proven contradictory.

Long before the global capitals came in, the state had attempted to strengthen their own state film industry by a revamp of its organization with a view to operating the industry in a more commercial manner. In February 1999, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television incorporated the film related business and established the China Film Corporation, which was later renamed as China Film Group Corporation. This head Corporation contained eight subsidiaries that oversaw the entire production, distribution, film technology and even filming sites. Between 2003 and 2004, the state also allowed some selected local players to operate outside the jurisdiction of the China Film Group Corporation, basically announcing an end of state's 50 years of complete control over the industry. Ultimately, the reform produced no big hit of Chinese films at all, and when WTO agreement was approaching, these film corporations, including the China Film Group, had to be given more important roles to work with global partners. Needless to say, at the same time, they also serve as controlling agents of the government to establish the joint venture with global film companies.

The joint venture was outcome of the WTO negotiations. After rounds of discussion, China finally conceded to the US, allowing 20 Hollywood movies to be screened in annually and the revenues of the ticket sales could be equally shared between the Chinese cinemas and the US companies involved. Before, the quota for movies from the seven international film giants, namely, Warner, Sony/Columbia, Fox, Disney/Buena Vista, Paramount, and Universal were only half. Besides, it was agreed that within the first three years, Chinese distributors enjoyed the right of distribution, giving hopes that global partners could takeover the distribution later by setting out their own distribution network. In the negotiations, one of the

said “breakthrough” for the US side was China’s concession to allow American corporations to operate theaters in China with a 50 percent of ownership. In the eyes of the American players, these hardware were expected to be long term. Yet, for the authorities, the major concern is, first, in the face of the Hollywood invasion, how to protect their fragile and immature indigenous film industries, and second, how to control the content seen in these transnational cinemas which are problems of ideological controls. In October 2003, the WTO agreement was realized in the “Interim Regulation in Film Industry Operation Entry Requirement” which stipulated the procedures and conditions for applications by global investors. Among these, one major relaxation was to allow foreign companies to own less than 49 percent of the joint corporation formed between the American corporations and the Chinese counterpart. In September 2003, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television also promulgated “Interim Regulations for Foreign Investors on Theaters” and “China and Foreign Joint Film Shooting and Production” further specifying the rules for global players on investments in Chinese theater and filming operations. These new short term regulations opened the window for Warner Bros Pictures under Time Warner Inc to enter the Chinese market.

Then in October 2004, Warner Bros Pictures US (30 percent of share), the state-owned China Film Group (40 percent) and a Chinese private filmmaker Hengdian Group (30 percent) jointly established the Chinese film production and distribution company Warner China Film HG Corp. The formalization of the collaboration was a realization of the policy implemented. Perhaps based on an American perspective, it they won an uphill battle, eventually forcing China to concede to their long time requests. But I think a more accurate argument based on the existing model would suggest the otherwise. The presence of global capital as a matter of fact helped the transition of the national cultural industry from a state-owned model to a capitalist market model which in long time can facilitate the exportation of Chinese movies internationally, and reconnect China back to the global world. In terms of real benefit, local production companies could also acquire the capitalist management and operational procedures from the global partner. It was not something about China kowtowing to the western states.

For cultural industries, the most two important arenas are production and distribution. At this point, the joint film company was able to streamline the production such as producing local film and managing the shooting sites (in a town called Hengdian) and distribution such as marketing, handling imports and screening. This collaborative industry could handle all the procedures on their own, thereby skipping the control processes by other state or semi-state agencies. In other words, the policy gave the global partner quite a wide autonomy over the entire process. At the end of 2006, the first movie *The Painted Veil* was coproduced under this new state-global complex by an American director on Chinese soil. The box office sale was around RMB 2 million ticket sales during the ten days of screening. Although it was far from satisfactory, the significance was symbolic. For the very first time, global capital was for the very first time allowed to operate in full swing on the mainland seemingly with no state’s pressure.

This collaboration however, in the context of the development of Chinese cultural industry, is itself self-contradictory. As suggested in my theoretical model, national interest and global interest can be in conflicted terms, although on the dimension of profit and revenue, they do align some time. Thus, we do see that the joint venture created—not as a consequence of

China's subservience to the WTO—for China to build up a competitive film industry and for Warner to extend their market. This is their common economic interest. I would even say the desire of the Chinese part to expand their cultural industry was as much as that of the global partner. Thus the collaboration happened quick without too much long term thoughts. After 2004, with heavy and strategic investment, then we suddenly see a short climax of Chinese film in international market. The PRC also attempted to push these coproductions for various award for publicity.

At this point, industry people might expect that China's policy on the film industry for transnational companies would evolve into one that is similar for music industries. But here I would like to point out the differentiation of the two industries: while popular songs might involve the production of sound and words within a few minutes for each popular song, and at most a several minutes music video to be marketed together with the songs in an album, production of a movie involve the creation of an entire set of complete narratives, stories and discourses that are necessary for a movie. While the former only marginally touches upon the ideological terrain during the writing of the limited wordings of the songs and discrete production of music video, the discourse of which is also confined by the wordings of the song, the latter directly produces the ideology for the audience and could possibly confront the legitimacy of the status quo. Thus, no sooner did this coproduction commence than the state detected the different wavelengths between both sides. In particular, film business depends very much on the narratives and ideologies of the content to pitch in with the audience. Its production also relies on directors who could have quite independent thought dissimilar from the production companies. Thus, except the continual collaboration between Hong Kong (which is a Special Administrative Region of the PRC) and China, the pace of coproduction reduced. Now we can only see the legacy or token of this co-production once or so every year.

For the existing collaboration, for example, the joint venture by Warner Bros Picture and China Film Group essentially came to a standstill. The apparent explanation was that the capitals injected into this joint venture was running out and there seems no more further talks for continual investment (interview with Hu, Min, Manager, Warner China Film HG Corp, 2010). This was a sign that the state realized to discontinue this long term ideological fusion. These sporadic coproduction and bad market feedback tell a simple message: China subtly reasserts its national mission: Chinese national agenda should be of a higher priority over development of film industry.

Based on the same line of thinking, we can analyze the trajectory of development of national cinemas. Basically a parallel ban on foreign investment on cinemas in China was also seen. A short honeymoon period for foreign investment did happen after September 2003 under the banner of the "Interim Regulations for Foreign Investors on Theatres" which temporarily lift up all the previous controls on cinema investment. The new policy was seen as an override over the previous 2000 policy which only allowed foreign investors to own a maximum 49 percent of the theaters. As an incentive for global entry to invest in its own cinema, the state lowered the licensing fee of starting a cinema complex from RMB10 million to 6 million. Seven cities (Dalian, Haerbin, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Nanling, Tianjin and Wuhan) were exclusively selected as the experimental sites for allowing global ownership of 75 percent for the cinema complex built, while in other Chinese cities foreign investment would be lower than 49 percent. Besides, foreign owners were also given the right to manage the

operation of the cinema on a day to day basis. Warner Bros, with a local company Wanda as the collaborator, was the major partner that benefited from this policy relaxation.

Given the right to manage the joint operations, the Warner cinemas operated on an American model. Later, there were media reports suggesting huge loss of these cinemas, causing an intense conflict with the local partner. The tone of the reports blamed Warner's imposition of western management did not always fit with the norms of the Chinese audience. Apparently this was a business row between the collaborating bodies but quite obviously, the difference is not only management style, but also the power control of the cinema. Expectedly, the state would not risk losing control of the distribution rights which were totally in their hands since the inauguration of the PRC. With a vigilant eye on global investment, the state finally inclined to retract the rights from the global capital. A new policy in 2005 was then promulgated by the state to take back the privileges given to global investor with regard to cinema ownership. Basically, the new policy convinced Warner to return to state monitoring. In December 2005, after less than two years of cooperation, cinemas in major cities began to be renamed into Wanda Theaters, abruptly ending the short period of relaxation of policy over public screening.

Of course, we have to admit that the ending of the collaboration was not entirely out of a political rationale. During the period of collaboration in which localization of cinema was not so successful, the state basically could not benefit from the global-state complex in terms of revenues. This cast doubt on the effectiveness of global-state cooperation. This was also discordant from the initial planned mission of the state to transform their previously political apparatus to a market-oriented media. In sum, the "reversed" policy was not only an ideological issue, but also a failure to meet the state's economic expectation to advance the national industry.

Game Industries: A New Venture

Theoretically, all the cultural industries in China are under stringent control by the state. The State Administration of Radio, Film and Television controls all electronic broadcasting and the Ministry of Culture control the content. As such, cultural industries in the PRC, from publication to music and film industry are often subsidiaries of the authorities for extending their hegemonic influence nationally and soft power globally. Few could operate not under state's organization. However, there is exception: emerging industries such as the new media business and online game industries are newly discovered highly profitable cultural industries that operate mostly on the Internet platform. Massively multiplayer online games were non-existent in China until the late 1990s. But the number of Chinese online gamers has shot up exponentially since the early 2000s — it rose from 1.7 million in 2001 to 56 million in 2008 (CNNIC, 2001; CNNIC 2009). The domestic market size, revenue, and industry of online games in China also grew similarly rapidly. According to the statistics given by the Ministry of Culture of the PRC, the total annual revenue of Mainland China's online game industry in 2010 was 34.9 billion RMB, including the 32.3 billion RMB of the revenue from internet-based games and 2.6 billion RMB from mobile phone games. The rising statistics provided by the state is in line with the industry forecast. Mirae Asset Global Investments Group predicts that the growth rate of the Chinese online game market will be 28 percent, and total revenue will be around 45 billion RMB in 2011. While it is anticipated that the growth rate of the

global online game market will remain 14.8 percent for the upcoming 5 years, the growth rate in China will stay around 20 percent.

The game industry in China is too big that the authorities cannot ignore any more. The total revenue of this cultural industry has already exceeded all other cultural industries in China. In the eyes of the authorities, as the industry development and cultural form change very rapidly, the authorities have very little control in terms of organization and ownership. Meanwhile, given the industry's potential strong export power, national influence and huge financial profit, the authorities are aware of the need to regain this left-out hegemonic space. Thus, the approval process of games in China is more stringent nowadays. In 2010, Cultural Bureau of the PRC approved the issuing of 204 games domestically with 28 foreign games and 176 local games. The number suggested that basically few global investments were allowed. Nowadays, only with CEPA, only Hong Kong has the privilege of setting up joint venture with Chinese game companies, while foreign involvement was forbidden.

Yet, because of the technological know-hows, unlike other traditional media industries, the state was not much involved in the growth of the industry; the Chinese authorities resorted to hammer out new policies to extend their control over the online game industry. M. Ernkvist and P. Ström (2008) have provided a cogent analysis of state policies, from censoring online game contents through Cultural Bureau to monitoring the publishing of games through Head Office of Press and Publication Office and implementing censorship at provincial level. Control of the game industry is mainly enacted through regulating games under *Online Game Management Interim Regulation*. Since August 2010, the state delegated such censorship to provincial level. Most of the controls were in the name of protecting the junior such as the Online Game Parents Monitoring over Junior Project, Online Game Advising Project and *Junior's Healthy Participation in Online Game Advising*. But various projects implemented such as the Real Identity Registration Scheme and the National Green Online Project in 2010—which was a pre-loaded software on any computer to filter undesirable content—actually exposed the real motive of the state: to strengthen the control of the industries so as to prevent any dissident voices from infiltrating into this cultural industry.

The dilemma here is obvious. The state would like games to be a strong economic power but that the internal control seems hampering the competitive power of the Chinese games. The state had once implemented the National Ethnic Original Production of Online Game Overseas Promotional Project—which was an explicit means to market Chinese culture overseas. However, globalization of China's games were not particular popular. China's total export of games in 2010 was around US\$210 million which was a small share comparing to the global market size of US\$1130 million. Currently, the exporters are mainly in big players in the market, namely, Perfect World, NetDragon and Kingsoft are more active in global expansion (Shanda and Giant Interactive are only starting). Their major strategies include selling copyright of the games and establishing joint companies in other countries. But it seems that few cooperation and locations were known and quite often they acquired local companies and started their own independent operation, which was quite risky for cultural industries that operate overseas. Major export include three areas, Vietnam and other Asian markets (which account for 80 percent of the online game market), development markets such as Russia and South America, and lastly mature market (e.g. US, Europe, Japan, Korea) with high threshold.

In general, as expected, because the game market is basically an internal consumption

with few games from outside, China's online games have very low competitive power globally. For most of the local companies, they are unfamiliar with the foreign market; without a state-planned infrastructure, including education, few games have planned strategies for outward expansion and thereby the games are not flexible enough for localization in other foreign markets. In terms of technology, Chinese games are not competitive either in particular in the 3D market.

Global Capital vs. Nationalism

From a practical consideration, as illustrated, there seems two intertwined relationship between global capital and the state. First, in the wake of cultural globalization, any of the state would be concerned with the preservation of the indigenous culture, and their own path and pace of development in particular for the cultural industries studied. Second, in terms of ideologies, the state have to continue to use the media and cultural industries, if not to indoctrinate, to incubate in the new generation a kind of nationalism nowadays that could keep the nation intact and harmonious. Given the increasing wealth gap, inequalities among sectors and differentials in regional development, the state is expectedly faced with the enormous dissident voices. To mute this voice nowadays is not by force and military but by and through all these nationalistic bonds hopefully to be developed among the populace especially the new generation.

Creative industries definitely play a crucial role in crafting such nationalism, which I would call neo-nationalism. It is new not in terms of its core ideology about patriotism and chauvinism, but in terms of its mode of propagation and outcomes that it is intent for. While the rising generation is more educated, they could read between the news of the national newscast and by-pass the firewall of the Internet to seek alternative views, the state has no reason to target this generation with the traditional means. At the same time, the state realizes that these generations have to be pleased and their desires have to be satisfied. Popular culture such as music, comics, games and movies are readily content that not only satisfy the desires, emotional or so, of the generation but also continues to imbue in them a sense of glamor, fantasy or modernity that is quite compatible with the global world.

That nationalism has to be invisible otherwise they will be perceived as another device for the state to manipulate the public opinion. Thus, unlike lighting up large electronic billboard on Times Square as a prominent publicity and different from the unified barrel of posting up the "red header document" for any of the propaganda from Beijing to local villages, nationalism molded for the new generation has to be subtle, mellow and unobtrusive, and appear in a form not a brainwashing campaign for the people. It is also invisible in terms of consequences. Strictly speaking, the state does not want to seek and see visible consequences. Not to mention demonstrations about social problems, youth outspoken acts against the foreign imperialism or protests about defending national sovereignty in the name of nationalism are equally vicarious for the state. Should it be able to stun the external enemies, it equally can rock the state internally.

To put it different, such nationalism is a very light version of the previous mass propaganda of the CCP to such an extent that the moods and state of the people are not agitated lest that they are unmanageable. At the same time the effort has to be effective so that nobody will develop any nonconforming views toward the nation-state. While enthralling and

preoccupy them with entertainment, it directly pitches in the contemporary notion of the new-rising classes who have very low clamoring for radical system change albeit increasing inequality. As Theresa Wright (2010) argued, there was this group of mostly urban classes who prefer “accepting authoritarianism” to upsetting the entire system. The effect would be more effective to those who the strata who benefit from the shift in economic fortune in society.

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CREATIVE POTENTIAL OF THE YOUNG URAL TOWN: THE CASE OF KACHKANAR

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Abstract

The paper contributes to application of the creative city thinking to small towns. Non-canonical creativity of the young Ural towns is discussed for the case of Kachkanar as a post-Soviet monotown with some parallels to the New Town Movement as well as new socialist towns construction in postwar East Europe. Both “sites of memory” and “place as a centre of felt value” notions are used to conceptualize empirical findings and identify particular character of remarkable places as they are perceived by inhabitants. The discussion results in four paradoxes of the young Ural town of Kachkanar creativity: temporal, subjective, day-to-day paradox, and symbolic one.

Keywords: young town, New Towns, Kachkanar, monotown, remarkable places

Introduction

Being specifically relevant to the present and the immediate future of the postindustrial societies, the idea of ‘creative cities’ has recently gained popularity as the basis for their market positioning. At the same time the theory of creative cities shows evident limitations. Nowadays certain explicit critical reflection has already been accumulated and new interpretations of the original concept are being developed. For example, there are attempts to apply ‘creative city thinking’ to small towns. Problematization of heritage should become the line of research, which, perhaps, will open a new page in understanding of this concept, and thus the temporal horizon open for this approach will compensate the deficiency of the past.

At first sight an industrial enclave is the exact opposite of ‘creative vision’ of the urban space. It is not only and not so much because of predominance of blue-collar workers in the municipal population structure and/or the leading role of industrial revenues in the municipal budget, but because of dominance of corresponding mentality.

In reality, towns and cities with (or without) their evident industrial character, exist in modern global environment and thus experience its influence. Therefore, we think it is interesting to investigate the heuristic concepts of creative cities in relation to: a) an industrial city and b) a young town with no historical heritage, c) a post-Soviet city or town. This method seems to be promising for development of the concept and new approaches to the analysis of such settlements.

Besides, special temporality of a young city provides a unique opportunity in real time to observe the work of collective memory, when the ‘realms of memory’ being constructed here and now do not experience any competition from the centuries-old historical heritage.

In this paper, we will discuss the specifics of a) young Ural town and b) its creative potential. Relying upon the concept of “Sites of memory” (*Les Lieux de memoire*) offered by a French historian Pierre Nora, we are trying to reveal in our work the essence and the

contents, which compose the town experience.²² By the ‘realms of memory’ we understand the quintessence of the perceived symbolic capital of the territory. Such places articulate the territorial identity in the minds of the residents and represent the territory outside its borders. The realms of memory in the town were identified with the help of go-along interviews, both researchers’ and informants’ photo-mapping, mental (sketch) maps, and local media. In our study we understand the notion ‘place’ not so much as a neutral “portion of geographical space occupied by a person or thing” but rather as “a centre of felt value” in terms of Y.-F. Tuan (1977, p. 23).

By a young Ural town we mean a settlement, which: a) has the official status of a city, b) was built in the Soviet period (after 1917), c) was founded on empty land, that is in the territory, where there were no settlements before. Kachkanar is such a town.

Case of Kachkanar

Kachkanar is a medium-size town located 280 km to the north of Ekaterinburg, the capital city of Sverdlovskaya Oblast (region). Its population is 40,606 people (as of 1.01.2013). The town got its name from Kachkanar Mount, where vanadium ores are mined (Ryabinin, 1977). The principal employer and mainstay of the entire town is the Kachkanarsky Ore Mining and Processing Plant (GOK), the first branch of which was put into operation in 1963. Kachkanar was granted the city status in 1968.

Kachkanar clearly reveals typical characteristic features of *a young Ural city*. First of all, it was founded on empty land in “taiga”, and it is the youngest in Sverdlovskaya Oblast. Its date of birth is May 27, 1957, when they started chopping the wood to build the road to the future settlement. This makes Kachkanar different from other towns of this category, many of which were purposefully built by the socialist governments. For example, a Polish town of Nowe Tychy was founded in the same period (in 1953) by a government decree, but it replaced an old settlement - Tychy, where 11 thousand people lived before World War II (Wawrzynski, 1986), see also (“Historia / Tychy”).

Secondly, construction of new towns was initiated entirely by the state. In this respect the young Soviet towns have much in common with *the New Town Movement*, which surged in the postwar period, especially in the 1950-60s of the twentieth century in Europe and the USA. Though there were many differences, which may be explained by national peculiarities and practices, at this stage of historical development the role of the state was great everywhere. Thus, in the post-war UK one of the first Acts of the Labour Party, which won the elections in 1945, was the New Towns Act of 1946, “which for the first time empowered the government to take the initiative in the framing and execution of plans for a batch of new towns” (Madge, 1962, p. 209), see also (Ward, 1990). I. Wilson (1986) posited that “What is

²² Ongoing project “The sites of memory in the young Ural towns” (№ 13-13-66010 supported by Russian Foundation for Humanities and Government of Sverdlovsk region). The following methods of data gathering are used:

- Observations made by researchers, photo-mapping;
- Individual and group informal interviews with narrative and biographical elements. In September – October 2013, 14 interviews with 16 Kachkanar residents were conducted, including: 4 go-along and 3 ride-along interviews, when the interviewer either walked or rode in a car together with the informant. These interview methods have been developed in compliance with the ideas of ‘street phenomenology’ offered by Margarethe Kusenbach (2003) and are used among the other so-called mobile methods in the context of the new mobilities paradigm.
- Mapping produced by the informants: photo-mapping as well as drawing of mental maps (including the maps, which were collected during our recent research “Dynamics of Practices and Strategies of Life-Support in Monotowns” 2010-2012).
- Documentary method - study of literature connected with such towns, souvenirs and local media (newspapers, websites, social networks).

Excerpts from the interviews are used to be in italics and provided by a code, in which the letter in brackets indicates the informant’s sex and the figure - age. All the names of informants have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

clear in considering the context of the French new towns is that their development was firmly rooted in a strong centralist approach based on administrative initiative” (p.27).

The New Town Movement was inspired by the British experience of the early twentieth century, which embodied the idea of a “Garden City” offered by Ebenezer Howard.²³ Under these circumstances there was a great interest to construction of the Soviet cities in the environment of the planned economy (Fisher, 1962; Osborn & Reiner, 1962; Johnston, 1977; Merlin, 1980; Underhill, 1976, 1987, 1990). However, nowadays Stephen V. Ward (2012) is much more cautious in his assessment of the English-Soviet cooperation in this field.

Not only the initiative is associated with participation of the state, but the planned character of the town construction as well. Eventually the researchers of Howard’s heritage started to emphasize not so much the solution of social problems, offered in his work, as planning. Thus, Stanley Buder noted (1969, p. 390):

“[Howard] sought to invent a new type of human settlement whose size, scale, and planned order would lead to development of rational communities for an industrial age. His vision of community combined a nineteenth century enlightened view of human nature and needs with an anticipation of twentieth century technology to produce what he viewed as the ideal physical-social environment. The Garden City was to encourage personal freedom and new forms of social and economic cooperation while allowing for order and control”.

With disillusion in the “left-wing ideas” and accumulation of problems in implementation of the planned projects (inflexibility of pre-designed plans, problems for a liberal democracy) these ideas were fading into the background. In the United States, as Macionis and Parrillo (2010) wrote, “Cold War was leading many to charge that government-sponsored the Greenbelt Towns smacked of ‘communism’” (p. 404). They say, “Some critics claim that homogeneity is product of the planning process itself” (Macionis & Parrillo, 2010, p. 401). The end of the noughties was marked with continuous disappointment in new towns nourished by neoliberal sentiments, as well as by the mounting social and economic crisis. Nevertheless, within the framework of the New Town Movement more than 30 new towns were built in the UK, more than 100 in the U.S. and a number of in many other countries (Merlin, 1980; Ward, 1990, 1999; Alexander, 2009; Macionis & Parrillo, 2010). Thus, Anthony Alexander (2009, p. 4) asserts that from the late 40s to the late 70s the British New Towns not only attracted the most talented and creative professionals of this epoch, but also inspired similar urban development all over the world.

Kachkanar completely and utterly embodies the state initiative and planned approach. It was proclaimed to be a Komsomol (Young People’s League) construction project, i.e. it mobilized young people from all over the country. A sociological study conducted in the early 1970s emphasized that Kachkanar was not only a young town, but a young people’s town (Kogan, 1972). In view of this, one of the representatives of the city administration said:

“The population of Kachkanar is very active. Generally speaking, I think it is even atypical in its desire to be more active and more mobile / ... /. For example, if we review participation in elections, we may see that Kachkanar population has always voted somehow more actively, which is a little unique / ... /. But it can be explained by a unique population structure. Who came to settle here? At first it was a construction site supervised by the Young People’s League, so here came young activists of this organization. Also there were prisoners sent to this place by the government order. Later a radio plant was constructed, which attracted young electronic engineers from many parts of the country. Thus a unique mixture of active society members was created. The geneticists believe that because these people came from different places, many of them could find use for their talents and abilities, which

²³ Howard, in his turn, was impressed by the socialist-feminist new towns of Alice Constance Austin, from Santa Barbara, California (Macionis & Parrillo, 2010, p. 401).

may be revealed only if people do not live in one and the same place for a long time, but travel to different locations, where they may find more opportunities and resources for their professional and personal growth” (M47, interviewed in 2011).

And finally, Kachkanar is a typical *industrial town*, a settlement, which was developed to serve the needs of its backbone enterprise. In this aspect Kachkanar continues the tradition of the Ural historic town-plants and is radically different from the new towns in terms of Ebenezer Howard.

Specific nature of the industrial *monotown* can be most precisely captured by defining it through affiliation of all its enterprises and services to one industry, taking into account the backbone enterprises and their number, the form of ownership and departmental affiliation, cohesion in the production chain, and the size of the settlement, we have discussed it in more details elsewhere (Veselkova, Pryamikova, and Vandyshchev, 2011; see also Cinis, Drémaité, and Kalm, 2008; Balockaitė 2010).

In the 1970s the scientists believed that the monoprofile of Kachkanar was a temporary phenomenon: “The single industry structure of Kachkanar is explained by its young age. The town is developing on the basis of one company - the Kachkanarsky Ore Mining and Processing Plant, which employs 80% of all industrial workers. About 85 % of the town gross output is also produced by this enterprise” (Animitsa, 1975).

Though later a radio plant was constructed, it could not survive in the crisis of the 1990s. It was a high-technology enterprise, which accumulated “creative class” of that time. In addition, it helped to solve the problem of women employment. With closing of this enterprise the town monoprofile was restored.

Perestroika (restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system) and subsequent social and economic crisis exposed particular vulnerability of the Russian monotowns. In the 1990s such towns became dependent on the large companies (EVRAZ Group S.A., Rosatom, RUSAL, UMMC, etc.), which used these territories as industrial resources, while the top management preferred to live in the regional centers, Moscow or abroad. Today these towns as many other municipalities, are trying to find a decent place in the competitive space of the urban civilization, while their residents are looking for any sources for positive self-identification.

What *landmarks* constitute the symbolic space of the town and define its experience? It would be logical to suppose that one of the main remarkable places should be the backbone enterprise. Indeed, there are symbols of the Kachkanarsky Ore Mining and Processing Plant (GOK) and EVRAZ all over the town, but while walking along the local ‘Broadway’ – Sverdlov Street - our informants were passing by these posters, stele²⁴ or portraits of the best workers without paying any attention to them. One of the informants noted: “*There is a monument in the form of a cube with the letters ‘Fe’, but we will not go there. It is too far, and not very interesting to see*” (F28).

At the same time, the topic of the backbone enterprise was constantly raised in the interviews. It had different connotations, but was always important:

“Our GOK is the cornerstone in the foundation of the whole town” (M15).

²⁴ In the square next to the townhall there is a stele the “Order of Red Banner”. This order was awarded to the town Komsomol organization in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Young People’s League. The stele is shown in the panoramic gallery on the Kachkanar official website (Panoramic Gallery of Kachkanar), but none of our informants mentioned it or included it in the tour around the town. In Soviet times, everything happening in the country was supported by a strong ideological framework of memory (if it is possible to interpret this way the concept of the ‘social frameworks of memory’ developed by M. Halbwachs). Today such markers even materialized in the public space of the town (both real and virtual) practically do not work.

"This is our foundation, which supports the whole town. The company employs a large part of our population. About 30,000 of 50,000 [residents]²⁵ work here ... We get very good salaries here. If you are employed by GOK, it is very prestigious ... Those who work at GOK stay there forever ... If you resign it will be difficult to find any other job with the same salary" (F28), (stressed by us - the authors).

During the car ride one of the informants (M60) showed us the industrial territories of the Kachkanarsky Ore Mining and Processing Plant and the former radio factory. Regardless of their gender, age and employment status (all these informants do not work at GOK) Kachkanar residents demonstrate a strong commitment to their town-forming enterprise. The discourse markers of such commitment are the personal and possessive pronouns, which are often used by the informants.

This identity is nurtured from an early age. At the ceremony dedicated to opening of the fountain on the 50th anniversary of GOK the children recited poems of this kind: "Our town is big and glorious, / our town is rich and victorious, / our town is growing fast / *because our GOK is always with us*" (Bruzgin (video), Telytcin (photo), and Vasilisk (montage), 2013, Kindergarten "Friendship", starting from 14.34 min. of recording, stressed by us - the authors).

The other remarkable place is the "Park of Builders", the central element of which is the monument to the "Tents of the First Builders". It symbolizes *the beginning* of everything and is located in the place where the founders of the town lived in tents. In modern era "industrial successes reflect the perception of the world as a field with unlimited possibilities for its transformation" (Trubina, 2008, p. 106), and the birth of something new was the proof and the embodied the result of creation, justification of risks and burdens and implementation of super-subjectivity of the (Soviet) people: "This was the period, when new towns and large enterprises appeared and grew on empty lands, as if by magic. It was the Soviet socialist period aimed at creation" (Medvedev, 1999, p. 3).

The canonized figure of the *first builder*, which symbolizes the beginning of creative heroics and overcoming of extreme difficulties, is constantly present in the local media and design of public spaces in Kachkanar. It is worth mentioning that construction of the new socialist towns and cities from the very beginning was historicized through formal and informal practices of commemoration. For example, "In 1975, the first founding stone of the Lithuanian town of Visaginas (Sniečkus) / ... / was laid during the huge official meeting" (Baločkaitė, 2010, p. 65), see also (Cinis et al., 2008). In the fourth year of Kachkanar construction the local newspaper was encouraging readers to collect photos: "The first tents have already been buried in memories of distant past and the first clearings in the woods for future streets have become part of Kachkanar history" (Levitsky, 1961). To unofficial components of commemoration it is possible to refer the manner, in which the townspeople understood and experienced the importance of the moment, trying to perpetuate it and to convey to their descendants (see, eg., Maltsev, 1959). Construction of the first streets got special significance when associated with the names of the loved ones. One of our informants, who did not even mention the official monuments, emphasized that her father participated in construction of one of the first streets – Octyabrskaya.

Nowadays young towns bring historical issues to the foreground of their interest, which is typical for functioning of the cultural memory under the conditions of commodification of the past. However, the remote past of the construction and the unique monument to tents were generally non-relevant to the comments of our research participants. With much more enthusiasm they spoke about the memorial to the soldiers, who were killed in Afghanistan and Chechnya: "*The monument was erected in honor of our Kachkanar guys / ... / the whole town collected money for the memorial plaque, because those were young lads ...*"

²⁵ Typical overestimation, widespread in interviewees' accounts.

(F28). In front of this monument on memorial dates Russian passports are handed to young people. In recent years on Victory Day, a procession with candles passes by it. Newlyweds come here with flowers. In the park there are several inoperative guns and tanks, on which children love to play. Thus, the park space incorporates a broader history of the country and is associated with the biographies of the town residents.

A typical example of active appropriation of official objects installed in public places is the so-called *Key* (fig.1). The Key is a road sign at the town entrance. It is covered with colorful ribbons tied by the newlyweds and future parents. The color of the ribbons – pink or blue – signifies the desired sex of the child. Such practices are well known worldwide. The uniqueness in this case is determined by the fact that in the local heraldry the key means an access to the mountain and its natural resources and in this case its symbolism transforms into personal opportunities and aspirations of private lives. The participants of the group “Typical Kachkanar” in the Russian biggest Internet social network service VKontakte share critical reflection on the use of the Key territory. Disapproving the people who leave their litter the group participants discuss the meaning and form of a responsible attitude to this place as a peculiar manifestation of local identity and place attachment.



Figure 1. Kachkanar “Key”, *Source:* authors

Nature has always played a special role too. It is an essential element in Howard's “marriage of the city and country”. There were attempts to include a green belt in the master plans of socialist industrial towns and cities.²⁶ There is a kind of a protection zone in Kachkanar too. In modern books about Kachkanar you can find the section entitled “The Garden City” (Kachkanar, 1999), but it is unlikely that the editors implied E. Howard's vision. Juxtaposition of nature and society is “integrated into understanding of modern societies” (Trubina, 2008, p. 106).²⁷ Kachkanar is a clear example of the fact that the

²⁶ For example, in Polish town of Nowe Tychy one of the compositional axes is as a green belt. “It provided a main pedestrian route linking all the important town's amenities: a philharmonic hall, a music school, cinemas, a theatre, and an exhibition hall” (Wawrzynski, 1986, p. 35).

²⁷ And further: “The main tendency in development is included in the term ‘progress’, which is determined by the successes in conquering of nature (meaning both: the external environment and the internal traits of a human being, which are traditionally connected with our natural origin)” (Trubina, 2008, p. 106).

distinction “natural vs urban/industrial” does not coincide with the distinction “natural vs man-made”: the ponds, which form the local picturesque “Switzerland” are all man-made.

Kachkanar Mount is recognized as the main attraction of the city both in the official discourse and in the preferences of our informants:

“Indeed, the town itself is wonderful. From some streets ... there is a great view to the pond and the mountain. If you were in Kachkanar and did not visit Kachkanar Mount, it means that you did not see Kachkanar” (M17).

“The most favorite place in the town is our Mount” (F60).

“This is one of the highest mountains in the Middle Urals / ... / There are all our iron ore deposits, and all our quarries ... The view is certainly spectacular. Just look at these quarries from the observation deck” (F28).

In the set of photos presented at our request by an informant (M17), one of five pictures shows the view from Kachkanar Mount.

Kachkanar residents sincerely admire this beauty. They are proud that their town is green and that the prevailing winds were taken into consideration while planning the location of the future town. It was an intelligent solution as the dust from the quarries never flies over the residential areas. However, the people, who live in the town, somehow “forget” about slurry pits - vast areas of liquid wastes, which may clearly be seen from the town hills and which stretch to the horizon.

Discussion: Non-canonical Creativity of the Young Ural Town

What aspects of Kachkanar life are creative? Are they in high demand? Will they be able to root in the space briefly described above? Creation of the image of any modern city is based on recognition of its creative origin, which provides opportunities for further development of its individualism. Loss by the Russian cities of their mobilization potential typical to the Soviet period, aggravated by pragmatic goal orientation of the town-forming enterprises, turns the young Ural towns into the areas with conflicting identities. On the one hand, they need to look for ‘new places’ (attachments) for further development, and on the other, due to certain economic reasons, they must function in the industrial frame of reference existing in the local urban space. Creative potential develops (or does not develop) as a part of this contradiction. The strain of the situation is manifested at least in the four following ways.

The first paradox (temporal). On the one hand, absence of long historical past releases from the path dependency, creating favorable conditions for all kinds of creativity. On the other hand, intensive historicization superimposing the toughest monotown model (with the only one and absolutely dominant enterprise) results in accelerated formation of the said path dependency. This path, like a narrow-gauge railway, runs in the minds of Kachkanar residents and even the youngest ones repeat as a mantra: *“We have only GOK. There are no other enterprises. / ... / Where else can one work?”* (F17, M15, group interview). An ambitious project to build a ski resort in this area does not change anything in their vision of the world, and not because it does not seem realistic, but because they cannot even imagine any kind of a competitor to GOK.

Though in the official discourse “Kachkanar is the Town of the Future”, our informants perceive it as a present-day reality with some patches of the past, but without any indications of the future. If the future is never-the-less present in their explanations it is characterized only negatively. There was even one of the most radical diagnosis: “The town is dying”, presented by Xenia, a high-school student, who believes that the town will cease to exist in less than 15 years (F17). In general, our 15–17-year-old informants do not associate their own future with the town. In their opinion, those who stay in Kachkanar to study and work at GOK are losers, whose life perspectives seem rather gloomy.

The second paradox (subjective). Mixture of different people, young age, high density and importance of interpersonal relationships²⁸ may also serve as nutrient medium for flourishing of creativity. However, in this field the unifying pressure of a small post-Soviet industrial monotown opposes such diversity.

The third paradox (day-to-day) initially became quite evident when our young informants with great enthusiasm were speaking about various activities, in which they were involved: playing in a music ensemble, writing an article for a local newspaper, participation in various projects of the Youth Club “Brigantine” (starting with rendering help to the orphanages and ending with public opinion polling), doing sports using a developed network of sports facilities, etc. At the same time all of them said that in Kachkanar the young people have nothing to do. However, everything falls into place as soon as we recognize that cultural practices (in the narrow meaning of the word “culture”) are in principal secondary with respect to the “basic” employment structure which is dominated by GOK. Thus we observe the same tendency as in Soviet times, namely: “culture” exists in the form of amateur arts.

Huddersfield, a small British town, which in the mid 1980s faced complete degradation of its old textile industry, through collaboration with C. Landry and F. Bianchini has made a career of a creative town and has become the site for Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival, and a strong poetry scene “led to the slightly tongue-in-cheek designation of Huddersfield as the ‘poetry capital of England’” (Wood & Taylor, 2004, p. 382). Music ensembles also came to Kachkanar to participate in the National Competition “Formant”. At present a poetry festival is held here on a regular basis, but hardly anyone will say that these events define the town's image. A participant of the Poetry Festival 2013, whose poems were printed in a large folio dedicated to Kachkanar, confessed that she did not love this town.

Kachkanar could be proud of the unique “Toropov’s Shamrock”, an architectural ensemble consisting of three 12-storey apartment houses of unusual shape, which perfectly match the landscape. It is really “a striking example of how an extraordinary architectural idea (12-storey trefoil buildings with Kachkanar Mount in the background) may create a unique image of the town within the monotonous environment filled with twin-houses”, but we may find this opinion only in the “Panoramic Gallery” on the official website of the town. These three buildings are included in the set of postcards and in many publications dedicated to Kachkanar. They are shown to us during go-along interviews when walking down Sverdlov Street, our informants incorporated them into their mental maps. There were a couple of references to the innovative form of these buildings, but most often the people spoke about their height without mentioning Toropov’s architectural and compositional solutions and the history of their design and construction as one of the stages in dramatic development of the town master plan (Grachov, 1981).

One of the most symbolic places in Kachkanar is the so-called “Chinese Wall” – a support wall located along the main town’s street. It is decorated with drawings of the children, the winners of town art competition. The exposition changes almost every year. The informants say that it happens in the organized manner: “*we are usually given a theme for our drawings*” (F17). Such “creativity under control” seems to be a direct replica of the Soviet era.²⁹ We managed to find only one picture drawn by an uncontrolled amateur artist (grassroots). According to Xenia’s explanation, this picture appeared there to hide something “bad”. Another girl of the same age, a high-school student Sonia Pirogova, who at present studies in Ekaterinburg and who comes to her native town Kachkanar on holidays, with “*their team, - as Xenia said, ... painted the wall, they drew new graffiti / ... / it was just their initiative. They*

²⁸ For more details on high importance of interpersonal relations in connection with trust and civic activity in Russian provinces in 2000s, including Ekaterinburg and Achit, Sverdlovskaya Oblast see A. White (2004, 2006).

²⁹ Cf.: “The Club “Stroitel” (“Builder”) was open in 1958. The first concert was shown here on April 22, on V.I. Lenin’s birthday. Several amateur-talent groups were created and worked under the guidance of the Club Director Myra Mijhailovna Maltzeva ...» (Heroic Epic, 1999, p. 7).

were simply painting out graffiti, so that there were no inscriptions. They just were walking around the town and painting” (F17). Xenia saw other graffiti of this “team” only in the Internet pictures and does not know where they are located. Thus, this cultural phenomenon exists for her, but half-virtually. Figure 2 demonstrates, that Sonia’s graffiti differs very much from the other pictures at the Wall.



Figure 2. ‘Grassroots’ graffiti by S. Pirogova (right) vs pictures made ‘under control’ (left) at Kachkanar “Chinese Wall”,
Source: authors

Such attitude to the town space, even if a person has moved to a different city, can be interpreted as a “proprietary” self-positioning or as a commitment to strict, obligatory and uniform norms (the latter means which graffiti may exist and which not).

In Kachkanar we found no information about Anna Mineeva, an artist born in 1989 Kachkanar, who now lives in Nizhny Tagil, not far from her native town. As a co-author of the joint project with V. Cherepanov (installation “Pavilion”), Anna was a participant of the exhibition “Hurrah, Ural!”, a special project of the Fifth Moscow Biennale of Contemporary Art in 2013, which was arranged by the Ural Branch of NCCA (National Centre for Contemporary Arts) in Ekaterinburg (“Hurrah, Ural!”, 2013). This shows that Kachkanar really has creative examples of “anti-system activity”, but they remain “under revealed”.

The forth paradox (symbolic). There is too much of GOK in the symbolic space of the town, but the majority of our informants just ignore it. Anton, who works at this enterprise, decided to start the tour around Kachkanar (ride-along group interview) with a helipad, while his wife offered the town square. Perhaps the only place, which may somehow be related to the plant, was the “Green Cape” Sanatorium, sponsored by GOK. But even it was included in the excursion due to its scenic location.

Conclusion

Thus, we could see that the specific creativity of this young Ural town mainly results from: a) Soviet history, b) continuing monoprofile of the town. In Soviet times, creativity meant responsible initiative and active attitude to work. Amateur art, “cultural development” and sports were fully supported, provided that these activities were secondary with respect to working life, and even today the same attitude is preserved.

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CREATIVE CAPITAL IN SMALL CITIES? NIEPOŁOMICE AS AN EXAMPLE

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Abstract

In the current discourse on creativity one question seems to be under-researcher: is it possible to build creative ecosystems in small cities? The concept of 'creative system' seems to be oriented at big cities and metropolises with the marginalization of smaller territorial areas. They are either considered irrelevant in the creative economy movement, or they tend to extrapolate the concepts and models of metropolitan creative imaginaries. Moreover, these studies have been tested in the reality of "liberal market economies". In fact, the European spatial system has specific characteristics compared to other territorial areas, alongside the internal differences between countries and regions (e.g., territorial diversity materialized in diverse spatial settlements, regional networks, a rich historical, natural and cultural heritage). In this context, small cities, despite some limitations, have potentials that must be explored, like the diversification of the local economy, the position in a polycentric spatial system, the integration in regional and global networks, the trends towards urban exodus and counter-urbanization and a unique territorial capital. Small territorial areas, due to their advantages, also have a role to play in the creative economy and can benefit from participating in the competition for the creative class, although in different forms to metropolitan centers. Therefore, these initial findings will be shown based on Niepołomice case study, town situated in Małopolska region, economically developed and with high level of creative capital.

Keywords: Niepołomice, creative capital, small cities

We have been facing the emergence of a new era characterized by the growing relevance of knowledge, innovation and creativity, and the rising importance of regions and cities as arenas for territorial competitiveness. New question arrives: if building creative ecosystems is possible in small sized cities/towns.

Growing relationship between creativity and territory leads to the introduction of the concept of "creative ecosystem" which is an environment of excellence based on creative assets that generates socio-economic growth and development, and could comprises three interlinked components: economy – creative industries companies and organizations of the cultural and creative sector as economic, social and cultural engines. As well as cultural and creative sector - heritage, arts, media and functional creations. The next component is place–creative spaces, places as spaces of cultural and creative production and consumption that attract resources, people and capital. Better chances for increasing creativity for small cities located closer to metropolis. Very big impact has creativity friendly local educational system, space for convergence and experimentation, as well as promoting well-being and quality of life, family friendly. People's satisfaction is not only linked to the economic dimension, but increasingly to the social, cultural and environmental dimensions of life. The last main component is creative talent, people with artistic skills and abilities that nurture creativity, with an entrepreneurial spirit enhancing the creation of innovative businesses. Creative people

are becoming the driving force of economic growth in the new economy, mainly through collaboration, networking and community engagement (political, authorities, universities, companies and civil society) and avoiding local conflicts and social gentrification. That's the way it is important to give visibility for local leader and local creative people, to map local creative people to become visible as they are local agents of change and engines for creative transformation. Remaining factors are local/ national tradition, civil actions, beliefs, attitudes. In fact, talent is the crucial resource of creative cities. Such interaction depends largely on the specific governance systems and institutional arrangements of the territories – governance, and that of their position in the spatial system and urban hierarchies, and their level of access to information and communication technologies-connectivity. According to different academic studies and public policy documents, such as the Florida's Creative Capital model (Florida, 2005), the concept of 'creative system' is oriented to big cities and metropolises that cause the marginalization of smaller territorial areas. Either they are considered irrelevant in the creative economy movement and devoted to failure, or they tend to extrapolate the concepts and models of metropolitan creative imaginaries. Moreover, these studies have been tested essentially in the reality of "liberal market economies" of the West. A question remains: whether these concepts are universally applicable. For instance, the European spatial system has specific characteristics compared to other regions, such as internal differences between countries and regions, diverse spatial settlements, regional networks and a rich historical, natural and cultural heritage. In this context, small cities, despite some limitations, have potentials that must be explored, like the diversification of the local economy, the position in a polycentric spatial system, the integration in regional and global networks, the trends towards urban exodus and counter-urbanization and a unique territorial capital.

Small territorial areas, due to their advantages, also have a role to play in the creative economy and can benefit from participating in the competition for the creative class, although in different forms to metropolitan centers. Small cities and even rural areas can attract creative people, based mostly on quality of life and the place's qualities. It constitute a set of unique characteristics of the territories, both natural and manmade, with an aesthetic, social and economic value, and can be classified in natural, cultural, symbolic and built assets. People are increasingly looking for sustainable and healthy lifestyles, giving priority to well-being, community spirit, identity, authenticity, but also to the availability of a minimum critical mass of basic services to the population. However, preferences vary according to the different segments of the creative class and other factors such as age, lifestyle, stage of life, personal attitude and circumstances. Small communities tend to attract mostly talented young families, midlife career changers and active retirees, and these people tend to belong to a higher age-scale and to be married and with children, compared to urban talent. The presence of creative people is highly associated with jobs creation and growth in small communities. Entrepreneurship can be the mechanism through which the knowledge of talents is assimilated into the local economy. In fact, the entrepreneurial spirit of the creative class induces the development of creative businesses such as arts, music, design, and software. Moreover, creative industries provide innovative inputs for other areas of activity in local economies such as agriculture, crafts, textiles, tourism or gastronomy. Besides the spontaneity associated with some of these processes, local development policies have a role of producing favorable conditions, infrastructures and support programs available, inducing the attraction and retention of creative people and the emergence of creative businesses. It is worth mentioning the importance of high quality schools, not only as a source of magnetism for artists, but also as an internal source of talent.

Niepolomice case study

This paper is a theoretical and empirical analysis of the small cities and their creativeness on the basis of Niepolomice case study. Niepolomice is a town situated 25 km from of Cracow

(one of the leading centers of Polish academic, cultural and artistic life) in Małopolska Region, District of Wieliczka. It's well connected: roads, highway, trains network, international airport. Located in commune area: 95.1 sq. km, with commune inhabitants: 25,000 and town inhabitants: 10,000. This town is an example where collaboration and community engagement – is fostering at all levels (political authorities, universities, technological institutes, companies, and civil society) and promoting community engagement are crucial success factors. The interaction between different political departments inside is essential, namely economy, culture, spatial planning, social affairs and environment. On the other hand, the inter-institutional interaction needs to be privileged and intended to articulate the responsibilities and interests of public authorities, private actors and citizens. Public-private partnerships, including non-profit institutions, are the emergent organizational model for the development of sustainable creative-based strategies – the so-called 'interactive governance model'. There are creative brokers having specific characteristics which differentiate them from the ones that are active in big cities. They must create interactions between talents to stimulate ideas and creativity, not only among new creative visitors and residents, but also integrating the local community in the process. It is necessary to gather talents who have open minds, a strong sense of sociability and neighborliness, and the capacity to connect economic, cultural and social values. They could be from different origins and fields; they could be political institutions, private institutions, non-profit organizations, neighborhood associations, or a specific person. Sometimes they are outsiders, but in most cases they were born in the town and return with a motivation to participate in the development of their home place. The best example of such agent of change as engines of creative transformation would be here: "Inspiro" Association in Podleże. Group of people working as an organization promoting the creative transformation by: promoting creative activities among local society (eco art, patchwork, design experiments, theatre, dance, sculpture), organizing space and events for children, adults, inspiring them to create common project for the local community or other projects like: "Niepołomice- the city of children", "Little citizen of the world", "Divide the square", "Art is knocking" etc. People who work for this association can be called local leaders, characterized by an innovative and open approach, push and implement new ways of doing things. Proactive, future-oriented, embracing change and assuming risks are some of the critical features of a local leader to encourage creative-based strategies. The importance of the leadership is linked not only with personality attributes but also with the person, the face of the leader who believes in the strategy and in the community, encouraging and stimulating the locals and the potential talents to embrace the project. Usually, people involved in creative occupations in small territories are freelancers, self-employed or owners of micro-companies, and they often develop their activities on an informal or amateur basis, being extremely flexible and mobile. It is important to map the local creative people in order for the real dimension of local talent - not captured by official quantitative analysis - to become visible. It is essential to take advantage of this potential, often overlooked. Many times, the creative potential is in the place, simplifying the process of conception and definition of creative-based strategies fostering bottom-up approaches.

According to Landry (2000), the creative city is based on the idea that "culture as values, insight, a way of life and form of creative expression, represents the soil from within which creativity emerges and grows, and therefore provides momentum for development". The author identifies seven key creative urban factors: personal qualities; will and leadership; human diversity and access to varied talent; organizational culture; local identity; urban spaces and facilities; and network dynamics. Small territories can play a decisive role as anchors for the development of the surrounding regions, and also as bridges between the 'local' and the 'global', participating in territorial networks focused on creativity. Niepołomice has its own investment zone with over 30 big companies, 1,500 registered businesses, local authorities are making efforts to build territorial creative networks and

partnership what is also a key factor in increasing high income per capita (approx. 4,000 PLN). Niepołomice is a place with good image, dynamic development of the house building areas, low unemployment rate (commune 4.5%; province 5.7%, region 10.3%, state 13.3%). It's area with high cultural and social potential (Royal Castle built in XIV century, Gothic basements, Renaissance courtyard, Baroque character, Queen Bona Gardens, Museum of Niepołomice, Benedictine Abbey, Staniątki, Paintings and sculptures from the National Museum in Cracow, Parrish Church 10 Thousands Martyrs). The Museum of Niepołomice is currently launching a project called the Centre of Sound and Word – an exhibition showing the evolution of the sound recording and playing systems through ages or involving local choir. Using the advantage of localization nearby Krakow- there are plenty cultural events organized by Krakow's Institutions such as concerts, theatre spectacles, Krakow's Opera Spectacle etc.

Niepołomice has flexible and with experimentalist nature strategy, drawn also by the local children. The importance of experimental and informal planning, as well as evaluation of results later on- can create spaces which can function as "living labs" where new measures and instruments can be tested and validated throughout time. Putting new ideas in creative hands is better than trying to create and define everything through rules and regulations, attempting to formalize a naturally informal process: that of creativity. The advantage of Niepołomice is also high level of the services to inhabitants and investors or high level of creativity friendly local education system. High-quality schools are not only a factor of attraction for creative people, but also an internal source of creative individuals to the territory. It is strategically important to develop a creative-friendly local education system and not just importing talents from external sources. It trains future artists, produces future creative workers by introducing opportunities in creative disciplines as viable career paths, equalizes exposure to culture and creativity. Without system-wide instruction in the public schools, only those who can afford extra-curricular lessons will be covered. It builds confidence in local cultural and creative talent; creates future cultural consumers with appreciation of the important role that creative expression plays in the city. The main natural attraction of the area is the Puszcza Niepołomicka (the Niepołomice Forest), which is a perfect place for trekking, cycling and horse riding trips. With numerous tourist trails in here as well as forest paths closed to car traffic or didactic path. The virgin forest's wildlife is protected by six natural reserves. There's also a European bison breeding center on its territory. It means that local authorities creating lots of project which are promoting well-being and quality of life, family friendly. Activities targeting the well-being of the population (sports, health, food, aesthetic, etc.), social inclusion (creative events involving different age groups and different cultures, participative process in local government) and sustainability (quality environment, low-carbon life styles, energy efficiency) are some examples that are relevant to foster quality of life and are attractive for young families. People are looking for life satisfaction that is not only linked to the economic dimension, but increasingly to the social, cultural and environmental dimensions of life. High standards of quality of life in a place can help communities to be more creative and more sustainable towards "creative sustainable communities". Additionally, avoiding local conflicts and social gentrification it's a goal in local strategies planning. A diverse environment is a positive feature; however the coexistence of different realities and lifestyles in a non-gradual process usually creates discomfort. A system should therefore be able to manage conflicts, through mechanisms for informing people, promoting dialogue between each other. Trying to create consensus towards a diverse-friendly environment is critical. In practice, creative-based strategies interfere with the previous atmosphere, frequently motivating local conflicts and disagreement, namely between local residents and new residents, residents who want to sleep and the activities that work during the night, traditional spaces and the disruptive and creative approaches of the spaces, etc.

Summarizing, based on above example building creative ecosystem in small cities/ towns is possible. The most important component in building local creative capital are economic, social and cultural engines, governance systems and institutional arrangements of the territories and experimental, informal planning which can increase economics growth. As well as human aspect in relation to local leaders and creative brokers and promoting well-being and quality of life, family friendly image of city as a place to live. But here arises also the problem of recognition and estimation of small cities creative capital. The threat of marginalization or even denying the potential of the small cities in building the supremacy of the region appears. There are numerous small cities attempting to build their creative capital by imitating the big cities. However, for building the developmental potential for small cities, the redefinition of this creative capital is required and new strategies adapted to the possibilities of small city are needed.

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GOOD CITY FORM. CREATIVE NEW YORK.

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Abstract:

At the turn of the century about half the world's population lived in cities and by 2050 it will be 75%. The contemporary cities are very complex systems, and perhaps that complexity makes difficult to identify the rational reasons for the motivation of their creativity. What makes one of two similar cities more or less attractive for creative class that according to the theory of Richard Florida will become a source of a higher level of economic development of the city. New York is an example of the city which provides a mixture of conditions for the aesthetic creativity and economic success, and also the environment that attracts creative and high skilled workers. From the beginning, New York's history of urban policy has played a great role in the city's economic development. Policymakers have always followed the rule to create conditions for health, safety and welfare of New Yorkers. Rem Koolhaas considered New York as a "laboratory" where the invention and testing of a metropolitan lifestyle created "culture of congestion". It has always been a city with a cumulative number of issues related to the great number of multicultural residents and that makes good reason to learn from New York. Nowadays in world's dynamic situation, New York is trying to adopt to a new sustainable model of the modern city. Besides the city economic development officials are trying to identify ways to grow and diversify the economy by embracing new sectors especially for which New York holds a significant competitive advantage: design.

Keywords: creative urban growth, sustainability, New York

Introduction

'Creative city' describes a new method of strategic urban planning and examines how people think, plan and act creatively in the city. It, also, analyzes how we can make our cities more vital, inspiring people, cultivating the imagination and bringing their talents (Ch. Landry).

The term of the creative class and creative industries has been related to the cultural or art institutions and the field of professional design. Over the years the idea of the creative city started to have a broader context and has become one of the main topics in the urban debates of the beginning of the 21st century. Inspired by the works of Peter Hall, Charles Landry, Richard Florida this concept was analyzed in both theory and practice throughout the world. Faced with the need to generate economic growth in the era of decline of manufacturing – the activity that sustained many cities - policymakers have turned to the creative sector, that was the least understood asset of the city's economy. According to Richard Florida's theory of the creative class, asserting that a group of creative professionals will exhibit a higher level of the economic development of the city, New York can be called the creative city. New York's vast and fast growing creative sector is today the city's most important economic asset. That is the reason that its increasing trend has not been taken for granted but carefully managed by the city administration. Culturally intense environment with the city's world-class museums, galleries and many others venues boosts inspiring and intellectually stimulating experiences. New York attracts creative people of all the industries, and for many of them, living here makes a lifestyle, but besides all the advantages, they also face real challenges like

growing competition from both: domestic and international cities, the high cost of work space and housing, and the common lack of health insurance and other benefits. These can become the serious obstacles for the future growth of the creative sector, especially in the world of the global economy with the means of the wireless communication, when the place of living stopped to be the key factor for keeping the business connections. The city policymakers have met the new social requirements for providing help to support the creative sector development, that would allow them to overpower all of the issues. Among the presented ideas were: to establish a high-profile design festival to promote New York City's designers, facilitate outreach to businesses that could benefit from strategic design implementation, develop University Partnerships, or to resurrect Brooklyn Designs. Over the years some of them have been successfully conducted, and some are still subjects to change (Giles and Maldonado, 2011).

This essay has two sections. The first briefly presents the creative core of New York's economy. The second section summarizes the challenges and highlights of the New York's strategic plan for the future city form, and showing the role of the concept of the creative city as a contemporary instrument of urban planning.

Creative core

The industries like advertising, film and video, broadcasting, publishing, architecture, design, music, visual arts and performing arts are part of the creative core of the New York's economy. According to the data provided in the reports (e.g., *Creative New York*) prepared by the Center for an Urban Future³⁰, and based on U.S. Census, between 2000 and 2009, design sector jobs in the New York metro area grew by 75 percent³¹. Moreover, New York fashion designers, architects, graphic designers, interior designers and landscape designers have been working internationally and providing additional incomes to the city's budget. The job trends over the last ten to 15 years shows clearly that although less is now actually made in New York City, much more is getting designed here than ever before. The biggest advantage of the New York creative sector is its diversity and complexity where all the major industries have been represented here and that is why almost everything is designed in the city. That is important because designers can explore the market and look for their way to success. Although all the industries³² are part of the entire system, the following examples play the leading role in both the financial and prestige aspects.

In the field of the architecture, New York has the largest collection of the professional firms of any city in the U.S., and many of those practices, such as Viñoly Architects, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, and Daniel Libeskind Studio are famous throughout the world. In Architectural Record's annual listing of top architectural firms by revenue, New York City had more firms in the top 250 than any other U.S. city in the last five years. In the 2010 ranking (based on 2009 revenues), New York had 18 firms in the top 250³³, and for New York's top firms, total annual revenue exceeded \$913 million, \$580 million coming from domestic clients and \$330 million from international clients. That was crucial especially during the 2008 economic slowdown, when the international projects provided much needed stability for many New York based firms.

³⁰ The Center for an Urban Future is an organization that performs research and advocacy concerning topics related to economics, social and political issues and as is it stated on the official website "dedicated to highlighting the critical opportunities and challenges facing New York and other cities, and providing fresh ideas and workable solutions to policymakers".

³¹ The biggest change was noted for interior designers (which increased by 223 percent), graphic designers (139 percent) and industrial designers (127 percent).

³² There are many other design specialties like furniture design, animation design, crafts, floral design, event, set design, exhibition design and automotive design.

³³ Chicago had 12 firms; Houston had 11; Atlanta 9; Philadelphia 7; San Francisco 7; LA 5; and Boston 5.

As it was mentioned before interior design industry has become the leader of the growing trend. Over the past decade, the number of interior designers practicing in the New York region increased by 223 percent, from 830 practicing designers in 2000 to 2,680 in 2009. Meanwhile, the number of interior design firms increased from 710 to 850. No other city has come even close to those numbers³⁴. On the professional market, residential and office design are the most practiced specialties, and New York City easily has been leading the way in that market. According to Interior Design Magazine's Top 100 Giants of 2010, five of the top ten residential design firms in the country were located in New York. The big advantage is not only proximity to clients, but also to many showrooms with the latest designs. Also, the top interior magazines (Architectural Digest, Elle Décor, Traditional Home, Veranda, House Beautiful) are headquartered in New York City, providing opportunities for designers to make professional contacts and presenting their projects.

New York City has been the home to 42 percent of the nation's fashion designers, and its leading status in fashion industry has been strengthened in the recent years. Nearly 800 fashion companies have their New York headquarters, and many of them are the world's largest fashion brands, including Liz Claiborne, Polo Ralph Lauren, Donna Karan and Calvin Klein. New York has been providing a very helpful infrastructure to support fashion designers, by the concentration of everything from pattern makers and fabric shops to design showrooms and leading fashion publications such as Vogue. That is especially important for young designers not only to be able to work with a pattern maker, and to see early designs on models but at the same time be part of some of the world's best fashion events and shows.

The graphic design industry has had also the growing trend in the recent years, working on the better position among the leaders in that field. In New York, the number of practicing graphic designers has increased by 139 percent in the last ten years and there are an estimated 16,000 graphic designers in the city. The biggest impulse of growth has been the Internet since it has become mandatory for businesses, large and small, to have a web presence of some kind. At the same time, graphic designers are working with the PR firms, advertising agencies, and publishers to develop the same sorts of classic projects, including logos and brand identities for companies, advertisements for print and television, books and magazines. Graphic designers also frequently work on museum exhibitions, designing everything from the typography of the title to printed brochures to exhibition catalogs.

New York has not traditionally been an internationally renowned center for industrial design comparing to the designers in San Francisco, Boston, and Chicago, who have been the clear leaders over the last several decades. However, New York industrial design firms have found their own field and started to specialize a lot more in ethnographic research and business strategy. Foreign manufacturers hire New York-based firms to help them develop strategies for breaking into the American market. Industrial designers develop designs for a wide variety of products, including hand tools, kitchen supplies, medical devices, computers, institutional interiors (Giles and Maldonado, *op. cit.*).

In addition to prestigious firms of the creative industries, New York has a number of world-class design schools with several top interior design, fashion and architecture programs³⁵, which becomes the big advantage of the growing design sector in New York. The most students who graduate from one of these institutions stay in the New York metropolitan and work actively in the field. The talent and the passion of the people centered here who are willing to experiment and innovate keeps the creative industries alive and growing (Giles

³⁴ Los Angeles has the second largest cluster, with 1,772 designers and 572 firms.

³⁵ Top programs: interior design (The Pratt, Parsons, the New York School of Interior Design, the School of Visual Arts, FIT, and the New York Institute of Technology), fashion design (Parsons, FIT and Pratt, LIM College (programs on the business end of fashion), architecture (Cooper Union, Columbia University, the Pratt Institute, and Parsons The New School for Design).

2012). That also play the important role in building the New York City's status of one of the most comprehensive education center.

NYC development strategy: a greener, greater city³⁶.

In the world of the challenges and development problems, a key factor to sustainable development of the cities is their creativity. Creativity has become the important factor of the development (Ch. Laundry).

Nowadays, in reality of the demanding market, the essential issues for the contemporary cities development are competitiveness, attractiveness connected with the creativity, planning, urban management, urban renewal and social programs. The city policymakers have to encourage investments which would generate income and create new jobs, but at the same time they need to improve the environment and the quality of life of all their inhabitants. The consequences of the rapid development affect the organization of urban space increasingly, so to ensure the sustainable urban design, cities must find a balance between economic development and spatial organization, and should seek a balance between economic and social growth.

Released in 2007, plan NYC (plaNYC) is not only a strategy of the city development, but it is a process of New York transformation to the sustainable city with the strong economy. The plan contains an initiative to strengthen the New York City's energy and building codes to make the buildings more energy efficient. The biggest challenges New York has been facing are the following: predicted one million more residents by 2030, climate changes and economic crisis. Accordingly, the city administration has been promoting the policy of sustainable growth by creating hundreds of acres of new parkland, improving the existing parks and providing more transportation options for residential neighborhoods. New York has adopted a several zoning tools that have been used for a new and existing investments throughout the city, and which can render the great improvements of the city's landscape and the quality of life. A greener city is not only an aesthetic goal, it is also a essential component of a sustainable urban environment since trees reduce the heat island effect and improve the air quality in the city. In order to follow the policy of the smart growth, the city administration have passed several legislatures to promote the sustainable development. Some of the rules are mandatory like a tree planting, and some are the subject to choose like the affordable housing and indoor or outdoor urban plazas which are granted with the associated bonuses for the developers of the additional floor area or tax reductions.

Starting with a green *streetscape*, zoning regulations control the planting elements, like a front yard planting, street trees and planting strips to benefit the environment and the appearance of local, residential streets. City Planning passed a requirement that new street trees would be planted in a conjunction with any new development citywide. As a result, as many as 10,000 new trees are planted each year, and what is the most important for the city economy: at private owners expense. Also, in the city's high-density commercial and residential districts as a means of increasing light, air and green space, city refined the existing requirements for *privately owned public spaces (POPS)* regarding the design standards and the better quality of their construction.³⁷ Areas, which can be located outdoors or indoors, require arrangements of the functional and visual amenities, such as seating, tables, plantings, kiosks and art works. Public spaces must be easily accessible from the street, attractive and inviting for all pedestrians. All design regulations for the privately owned

³⁶ The greener, greater buildings plan is an official New York's development strategy which was adopted by City Council.

³⁷ Since 1961, Zoning Resolution has permitted different types of public spaces created by private owners like for example urban plazas, arcades, open air concourses. City has been benefited from more public space in the streetscape formed by tall buildings bordered by concrete sidewalks. Private owners have been gaining the bonus of increased floor area factor for their future investment.

public spaces, including dimensions, location, seating, planting, signage, permitted kiosks and open air cafes, along with the maintenance requirements are detailed in the Zoning Resolution.³⁸

Public open space is also required to provide at the water's edge with the shore public walkways, the pedestrian links to upland communities and the supplemental public access areas.³⁹ *Waterfront* access regulations demand the shore public walkways to be located on the waterfront yard, with some additional public space along the walkways. The upland connections need to provide the direct access to the shore public walkway at regular intervals (min. every 600 feet) from upland public streets or other public places. Similar to POPS, waterfront public spaces need to meet the high quality design standards.

One of the most ambitious New York's *initiative* as a public green project is Fresh Kills Park, located on Staten Island, where nearly forty-five percent of the site of the area over 890 ha, was previously used for landfilling operations. The project is designed to provide unusual settings for recreation, public art, and facilities for many sports and programs. It is also a great example of the creativity in a reclamation of polluted land.

To reach its aggressive sustainability goals, New York City has improved the new methods of construction and renovation and targeted energy efficiency in buildings, especially in the existing structures. That has been a real challenge since there are over a million of them in the city. It is interesting that the problem is not only related to the large buildings which usually have more financial and technical resources, but to the great number of the smaller buildings without such possibilities of improvement. The New York City's effort in energy efficiency is internationally recognized, so as many practicing architects, landscape architects, city planners, and interior designers who have acquired additional training in sustainable design, and many all of them work as the experts in the international projects. Due to a comprehensive sustainable development policy, the LEED (Leadership in Energy & Environmental Design) certification has gained public recognition over the last ten years as the city regulations require many city-funded buildings to pass stringent efficiency standards. Consequently, New York City administration upgraded the building code and several programs at the local level to incentivize the energy efficiency and enacted an effort to ensure that information about energy consuming is provided to the decision-makers. Setting the best example, in 2005 New York City passed a law (Local Law No. 86) making a variety of green buildings and energy efficiency requirements for all municipal buildings and other projects funded with money from the city treasury. The building requirements apply to a new construction, building additions, and substantial reconstructions of existing buildings. In 2009, New York became the first city to enact legislation requiring existing buildings to measure and report their energy use (Local Law No.84), which was part of a package of legislation intended to dramatically reduce the city's carbon footprint.

In New York, the creative industries are not limited only to downtown or midtown location. The cultural activity and fast growing culture sector throughout the five boroughs build the foundations for cultural-based economic development in the future. As the city administration has been trying to create alternative business districts throughout the city such as the South Bronx, Fort Greene, Jamaica, Long Island City, Harlem, Lower Manhattan and St. George in Staten Island, which are among the neighborhoods that have been experiencing the biggest growth based in the large part on arts and culture assets. The main purpose of all initiatives is to increase the cultural and economic status of the New York neighborhoods located outside Manhattan, that could generate more income for their residents and consequently improve their life conditions.

³⁸ Zoning Resolution, section 37-70.

³⁹ It is required in all districts for residential, commercial and community facility developments on waterfront zoning lots, except for residential uses in low-density residence districts, heavy commercial and industrial uses and certain city infrastructure facilities, like airports.

The most common planning instrument that has been used by the City Planning Commission is rezoning. The land use decisions influence not only urban but sustainable development of many parts of the city and are an opportunity for their economic shift. One of the examples is Williamsburg and Greenpoint Land Use and Waterfront plan,⁴⁰ adopted in 2005, that changed the land use of the existing mostly manufacturing use to the higher density residential development. As a result, the area has been improved with many buildings and become a new location of growing creative sector in Brooklyn. In this plan the city administration provided regulations regarding the Inclusionary Housing Program, as a zoning tool to eliminate the process of gentrification and displacement,⁴¹ but it did not bring expected effects. The character of the urban form has been completely changed (especially at the water's edge) together with the social structure of the rezoned area. Issues of gentrification and displacement are considered the biggest obstacles to the cultural development at the neighborhood level. In the 2002 Report (Kleiman et al.), The Center for an Urban Future pointed out, that a cultural development that drives away longtime residents and artists might benefit property owners in the short term, but cannot be considered successful for the community. The rezoning of Williamsburg and Greenpoint area is an example of the spectacular urban transformation combined with a social program.

Conclusion

The theory of the creative cities underlines the human potential in their development. In the situation of the transition from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-based economy, cities had to stand for the new requirements of the market and successfully adopt to new conditions of challenges of the global economy. In the reality where fewer things are produced in high cost urban areas and when a growing number of cities across the world are fighting for market share in high-end sectors like financial services, the future of New York competitive advantage will depend on maintaining its status as a creative city.

Cities are places of intense interaction and contradictions that are the source of people's creativity. At the same time cities need to provide to their inhabitants the social and cultural environment that stimulates creativity, encourages diversity with its openness and multiculturalism. That is referred as a sociological issue, but it is also a key factor of contemporary urban planning since having its visible results in the organization of urban life. The core of the city planning are people – residents who must participate in the planning process, implement their ideas, solutions and expectations regarding all of the issues from transportation to construction and design. The integral part of the creative cities is the cooperation between the city authorities and citizens, which is based on the rule of sharing the power of city planning.

Community-based planning is essential to the city's development. It allows to identify needs and concerns of people who by living in the particular neighborhood, know all of its problems. Some of the issues regard preserving the character of the neighborhood, promoting low income houses and initiatives that could improve the standard of living, activities and also the local employment and environment. New York is divided into 59 community districts, each represented by a community board which is the representative body advocating for local problems in the city planning process. Community-based planning comes in many forms: people participate in the public hearings or local organizations, where take a part in the preparations of community plans for official adoption.

Good design in New York City requires an understanding of the city's unique conditions and environmental challenges. The same factors that make NY energy-efficient – like density,

⁴⁰ The plan was followed by Greenpoint-Williamsburg Contextual Rezoning (adopted in 2009), which provides the zoning tools to protect the existing character of residential areas east of the 2005 rezoning area.

⁴¹ The program is still an important zoning tool of the Zoning Regulations of the City of New York. It promotes economic integration in areas of the city undergoing substantial new residential development by offering an optional floor area bonus in exchange for the creation or preservation of affordable housing, on-site or off-site, principally for low-income households.

public transportation, extensive infrastructure – make it unsuitable for many typical site planning and landscaping strategies. Often it is not environmental criteria that determine a building's orientation and placement on a site, but the street grid, site shape and zoning. Open areas, otherwise suitable for planting, may be shaded by neighboring buildings. However, with ingenuity and careful planning, urban design can be instrumental in improving the comprehensive environmental performance of the city as well as create beautiful, healthful environment.

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PARTICIPATORY STRATEGY TOWARDS “BANGKOK GREEN CITY”

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Abstract

Consulting to Department of Environment, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, researchers from Silpakorn University conducted Participatory Action Research (PAR) to implement participatory strategy towards Bangkok Green City between October 2012 to June 2013. Besides introducing an activity - “*Creative Thinking for Environment*” to the youth, other tools and techniques such as questionnaire and interview were used to gain public involvement to the project. After the participatory process in this study, a participatory strategy framework was drawn. It is hoped that this framework can be applied to districts in Bangkok Metropolitan as a process to enhance public awareness and initiate public participation in environmental conservation.

Keywords: Participatory Strategy, Participatory Action Research (PAR), Public Participation, Bangkok Green City, Environmental Conservation

Introduction

Bangkok — the city of Angels, won tourists’ votes through Leisure and Travel Magazine (U.S.A.) and got “The World’s Best Award” in the year 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2012. Another survey of international tourists 2013 by Master Card and Forbes Magazine also ranked Bangkok as the top Global Destination Cities (Bender, 2013). To maintain tourists favorable is to maintain tourism environment, naturally and culturally.

With 7,791,000 populations, Bangkok Metropolitan is not only one of the most famous tourists’ destinations, but also the major sources of pollution contributing to climate change. To overcome the environmental problem, at the same time, promoting tourism, Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) initiated and promote “Bangkok Green City” concept since 2009 with co-operation of other three capital cities in ASEAN; Jakarta, Manila, and Vientiane.

With collaboration and support from public and private sectors, many activities and projects supporting “Bangkok Green City” concept have been held and implemented during the past three years. Department of Environment, a sector of Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, also initiated a participatory strategy toward Bangkok Green City. The theme *Creative Thinking for Environment* was introduced to undergraduate students as a tool to enhance environmental awareness among the youth.

Ecocity: Green Vision to Sustainable City

It is recognized that any metropolitan and major cities in the world not only consume more resources, but are also the major source of pollutions and residues. Especially, the cities that are also famous tourists’ destinations will need more attention towards environmental for both residents and tourists wellbeing. Additionally, an effective urban planning and management should be implemented (Alusi, Eccles, Edmondson, & Zuzul, 2011). Therefore, an idea of *ecocity* is a trend toward best practice in environmentally sustainable in urban areas.

Ecocity was first found under a non-profit organization namely “Urban Ecology” in Berkley California in 1975 by Richard Register (www.urbanecology.org). The original aim was to reconstruct cities to be in balance with nature, for example: plant and harvest fruit trees along the street, promote bicycling, and build solar greenhouses (Roseland, 1997). With the growing concern of sustainable urban area; ecocity criteria have been extended to a city that has self-contained economy, carbon-neutral and renewable energy production, well-planned city layout, environmentally friendly transportation system, resource conservation (reduce, reuse, and recycle), restores environmentally damaged urban areas, support local agricultural (Harvey, 2010; Roseland, 1997).

In addition, a well urban design is included to accommodate the increasing population and the changing life-style (Graedel, 1999). However, each individual ecocity development also has its own specific criteria appropriate for its environments and dimensions such as population, density, latitude, climate, ethnic diversity, primary economic driver, city ecological footprint, and wealth distribution (Ecocity Builders, 2011). The International Eco-Cities Initiative categorized as many as 178 ecocity criteria at different stages of planning and implementation globally (Joss, Tomozein, & Cowley, 2011) ranging from green roof garden to zero-carbon emission.

With various concepts and ideas from different perspectives of practitioners, visionaries, planners, and activists, the term ecocity remains loosely defined. For example: the World Bank broadly defined that “Ecological cities enhance the wellbeing of citizens and society through the integrated urban planning and management that fully harnesses the benefit of ecological system, and protects and nurtures these assets for future generation”. Besides the term “Ecocity”, many other overlap terms such as Green city, Sustainable city, Ecocommunity etc. have been used in various literatures. These terms and their concepts were categorized by Roseland (1997) in Figure 1.

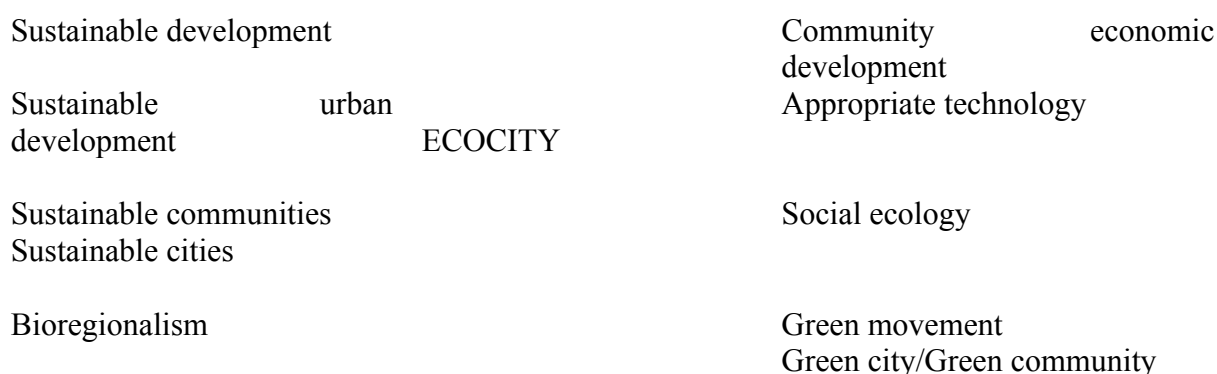


Figure 1 The Ecocity theme and overlap terms (modified from Roseland, 1997, p. 201)

Roseland (1997, p. 201) added that the ecocity concept stood in a complicate array of related variations with no border, and broadly enough to cover all the mentioned concepts. He also stressed that “there is no single definition of ‘eco-cities’ or ‘sustainable communities’”, but a lot of literature includes the idea of the importance of community involvement to ensure local democracy, and sustainability from a local point of view. Other dimensions that should be included for sustainability development are self-contained economy, improving the quality of life, and decentralization.

Bangkok Green City

Bangkok is not only accommodated 7,791,000 populations, but is also a residence to over 3 million laborers moving in for employment. In addition, Bangkok recently tops the world as

being among the 10 most visited cities with 15.98 million tourists in 2013 and with the fourth runner up revenue earning of 14.4 million USD (Bender, 2013). Therefore, tourism is one of the primary economic drivers of Bangkok.

The idea of using tourism to promote economic development started at the beginning of the 21st century (Kolb, 2006). However, Bangkok as a famous tourists' destination should be aware of declining tourist number caused by traffic, pollution, poor public transport system, and inadequate infrastructure and services. It is hoped that promoting "Bangkok Green City" concept would alleviate the mentioned problems, at the same time, maintain the image of the best tourists' destination. To ensure sustainability, BMA also places emphasis on stakeholders' involvement, especially, community participation.

Department of Environmental, a section of BMA also initiated a participatory strategy to support Bangkok Green City concept. The theme "*Creative Thinking for Environment*" was introduced to gain the youth participation since participatory process is a tool to enhance the role of youths in society. Besides, initiates awareness in environmental conservation, young people's involvement in community activities also creates sense of belonging and a chance to be socially dynamic (Sanoff, 2000).

Theoretical and Methodological Approach to Gain Participation

The main objective of this study was to gain public interest and participation to the project, consequently, drawing participatory strategy framework applicable to Bangkok areas. For this reason, it was proposed that the present study use an action research approach to foster participation and collaboration of the key stakeholders, especially the communities and the youths, from the start of the process and throughout the study.

Action research is a problem-solving approach that involves a group of people with the same interest within an organization or community formulating a plan to improve some aspect of operation or practice (Jenning, 2001). Besides improving the research subjects' capabilities of solving problems, action research is designed to develop their skills, increase their chances of self-determination, and to have a more convincing impact on the performance and decision making process (Boog, 2003). Additionally, an action research cycle allows stakeholders affected by the change to become involved in the action, and critically reflect, review, and plan for further action.

There are various action research methodologies that researchers and practitioners have used in their studies (Dick, 1995-2000b). Participatory Action Research (PAR) was applied in this study because one of the strengths of this approach is the emphasis on drawing collective learning from the collective experience of participants (Fawcett et al., 2003).

Participation: an appropriate process towards sustainability

Participation is defined by Ryan (2000, p. 80) as "an opportunity to influence decision and is seen as encompassing both structures and processes of power sharing. A participative system is one in which this opportunity is widely shared among all organisation [community] members."

Although it is impossible to include all potential stakeholders in every decision-making process, it is important that the principle of 'inclusivity' is maintained. This means all interested stakeholders or their chosen representatives are invited to participate in arranged activities (Mefee, Nielsen, Knight, & Schenborn, 2002). Participative decision-making or the participatory approach to planning has often been recognised as a way to enhance effectiveness in team work through its role in fostering commitment and equality (Ryan, 2000). Nonetheless, inclusivity may lead to setbacks in the planning process because of subjective feelings, or institutional or traditional beliefs that surface.

It is important to appreciate stakeholders' needs to select their own levels of involvement based on their interest and agreement (Mitchell & Reid, 2000). Stakeholders may choose to

place themselves at various distances from tourism development issues. This ranges from a deep interest in the issue while providing frequent attention to it, to a lesser interest when they provide less attention. During the PAR processes of this study, ‘multiple methods’ (Table 1) such as questionnaires, interviews, preliminary meetings, and workshops were used to allow key stakeholders to choose the level of their interest.

Table 1 Stakeholder involvement tools and techniques used in this study

<i>Tools/Techniques</i>	<i>Objectives</i>			
	<i>Information Giving</i>	<i>Information receiving</i>	<i>Information sharing</i>	<i>Participatory decision-making</i>
1. Promoting the activity “Creative Thinking for Environment” through media such as brochures, website, billboard etc.	X			
2. Handbooks to educate public in environmental and energy conservation	X			
3. Resident survey to gain their opinions toward BMA policies, and past activities		X		
4. “Creative Thinking for Environment” activity		X	X	X
5. Workshop	X	X	X	X
6. Poster conferences to promote the selected projects completing in “Creative Thinking for Environment” to public	X			
7. Implementation of the last 10 projects to target communities in Bangkok	X	X	X	X
8. Interviewing the target communities concerning the implemented projects		X	X	X
9. Assessing the activity by participants		X		

In summary, this study involved active and practical functions that are similar to the “constructivist ontology” suggested by Schwandt (1994). This ontology proposes that appropriate intervention can be applied to a process, then, after the process is complete, the researcher can explain the efficiency of the intervention (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). The consequences of these active and practical functions can make a difference or improve the situation of concern. Additionally, multiple methods were used to triangulate the study.

Participatory Strategy Framework

Contributing of necessary information to public can elevate interest in environmental conservation. As a consequence, gained public’s participation in activities and projects held by the BMA and its organizations. Whenever communities or organizations involved in any activities, their level of participation increased along with their cooperation with other parties in the project. This can create a sustainable network showed in Figure 2.

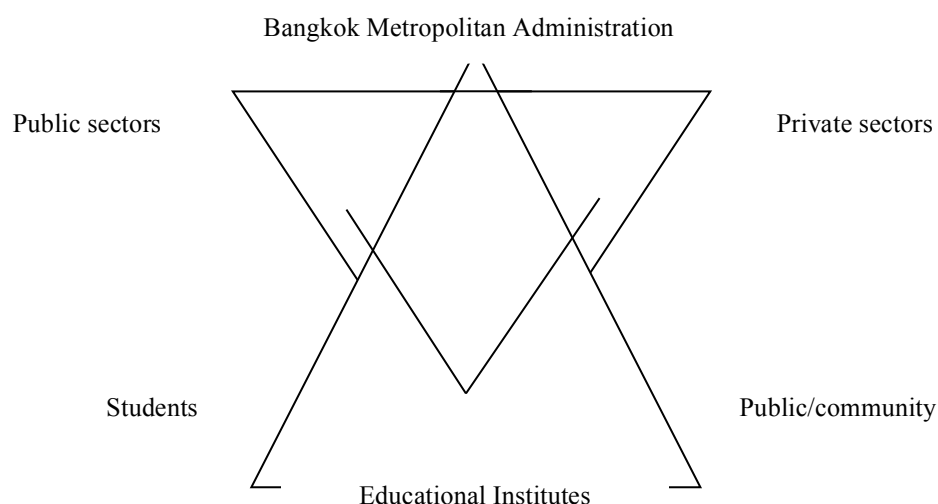


Figure 2 Environmental Conservation Network initiated by this study

Tools and techniques used in this study providing opportunities to different stakeholders to participate at the levels of their interest. It is important to note that level of participation could be changed according to stakeholders' interest. Therefore, activities and projects holding by BMA should be carefully proceeded in order to satisfy stakeholders. Levels of participation showed in Figure 3.

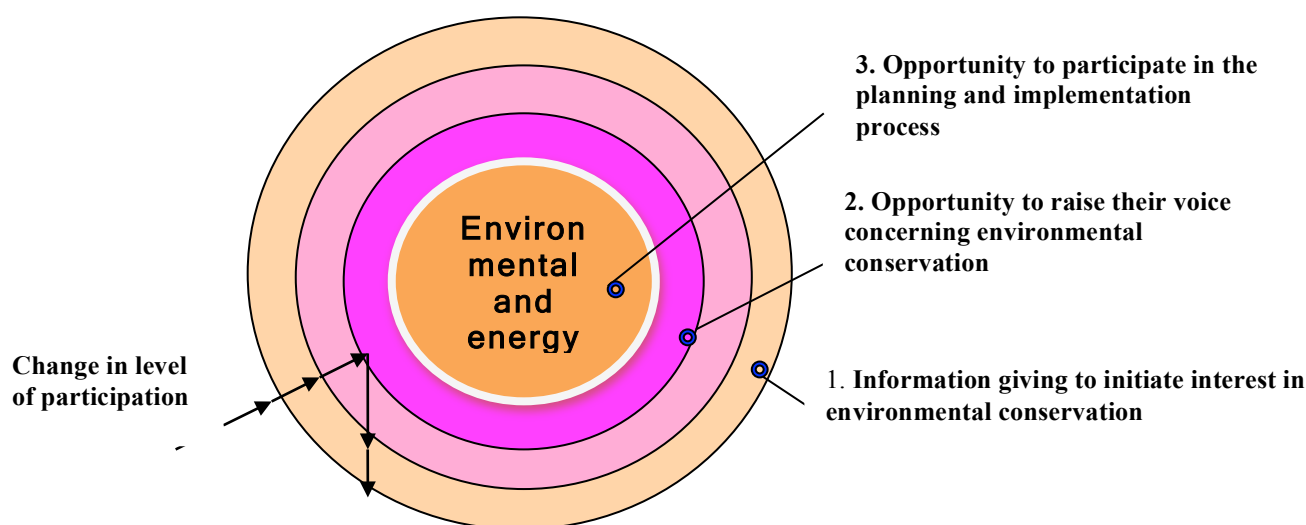


Figure 3 Tools and Techniques used to enhance stakeholders participation

From steps in this study, a framework could be drawn as a guideline to enhance stakeholders' participation, the framework that applicable to other area as an effective technique for networking and public participation (Figure 4).

The Participatory strategy framework drawn from this study is not a “one size fits all” solution to community sustainability development. While the principles remain the same, each Participatory Action Research project will take place in a different culture with its own unique participants and circumstances, necessitating the creation of collaborative interventions tailored to meet local needs.

The emergent framework is embedded in *both* the Participatory Action Research (PAR) and the Participatory, Incremental, Cooperation/collaboration (PIC) planning approaches. The PIC planning approach was applied to enhance participation and collaboration.

- *Participation* occurred when participants exchanged information, learned from each other, demonstrated an understanding of the environmental situation, and could apply what they had learned to community and implementation. The long-term aim (beyond the scope of this study) was to empower the participants to take responsibility for environmental conservation in their communities. This action research was a starting point of this process.
- The *Incremental* element was reflected in the way that the development options were carefully selected, gradually implemented, and evaluated.
- *Cooperation/collaboration* was initiated or strengthened during the interventions. It occurred between and within government agencies, public and private sectors, and all relevant parties at a range of administrative levels.

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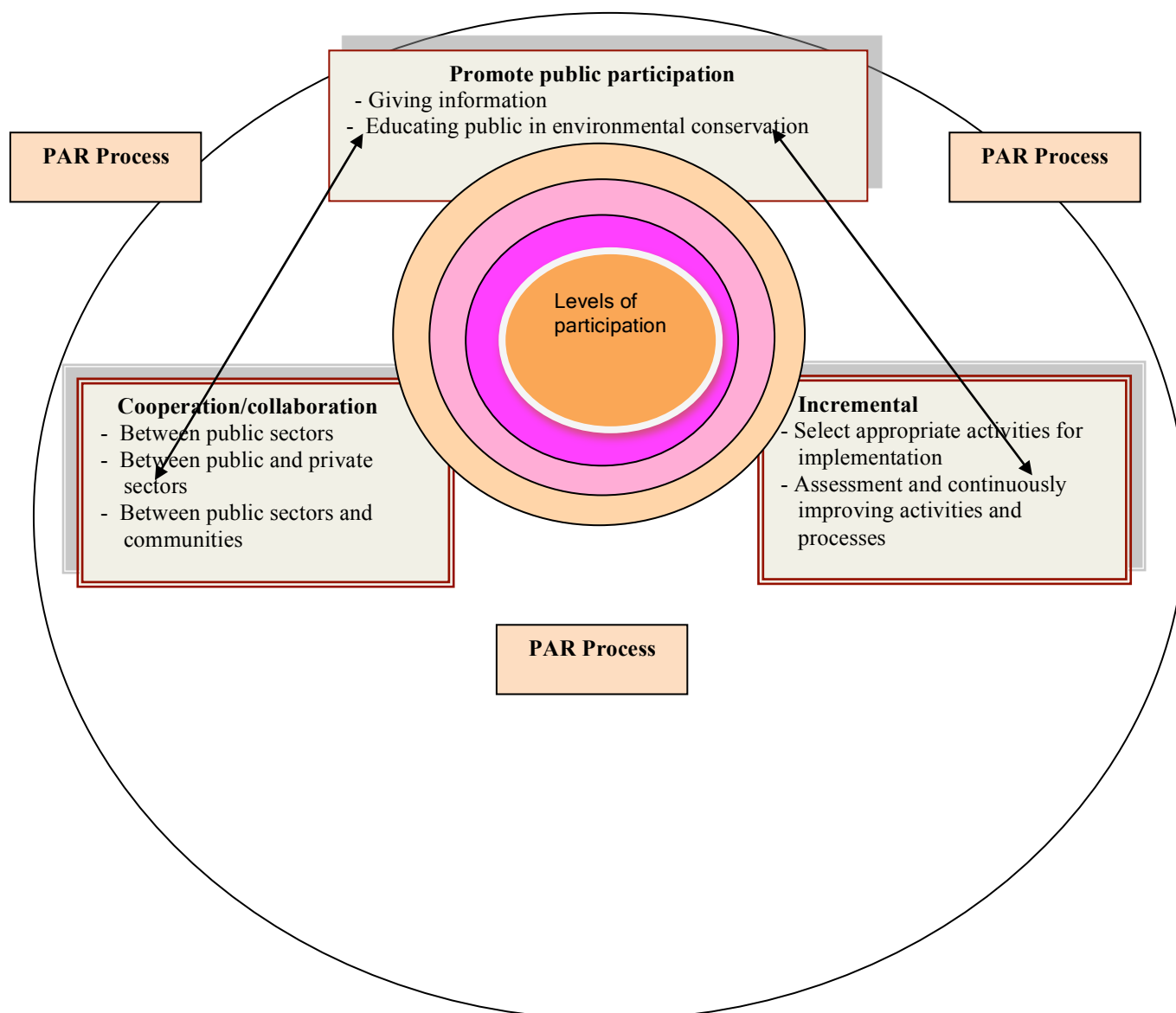


Figure 4 Participatory strategy framework drawn from this study

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