

Culture and Growth: Magical Companions or Mutually Exclusive Counterparts?

Eighth Interdisciplinary Conference
of the
University Network of the
European Capitals of Culture

Hosted by Umeå University

PROCEEDINGS UMEÅ, SWEDEN, 23/24 OCTOBER 2014 **UNECC FORUM VOLUME 7.**

Editors:
BRITTA LUNDGREN and OVIDIU MATIU

ISSN 2068-2123



Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu Press, 2015

The editors and publisher of this volume take no responsibility as to the content of the contributors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Britta LUNDGREN: <i>Foreword: Culture and Growth – Magical Companions or Mutually Exclusive Counterparts? Umeå University Hosting the UNeECC Conference 2014.</i>	5
Malin H. NÄSHOLM and Tomas BLOMQUIST: <i>The Meanings of Co-creation of Culture.</i>	10
Emmanuel PEDLER, Elena RAEVSKIKH and Maxime JAFFRÉ: <i>How Do the European Capitals of Culture Contribute to the European Mobility? Empirical Issues and Theoretical Challenges of the Cultural Institutions Renewal in the Cities Elected ECC.</i>	29
Nils WÅHLIN: <i>Projective Cities: Organizing Large Cultural Development Initiatives.</i>	44
Katalin FÜZÉR: <i>Probing Participatory Urban Development: ECoC and Urban Strategies in Post-millennial Pécs.</i>	69
Ana DADIĆ: <i>The Use of New Technologies in Creating an Interactive Map of the Industrial Heritage of Zagreb.</i>	82
Anne HEITH: <i>Indigeneity, Cultural Transformations and Rethinking the Nation: Performative Aspects of Sámi Elements in Umeå 2014.</i>	110
Nataša UROŠEVIĆ: <i>Culture and Sustainable Urban Development – Valuing a Common European Heritage in Croatian Candidates for the ECOC.</i>	127
Madara LUKA and Ineta LUKA: <i>Riga – Developing Creative Tourism Destinations.</i>	138
Eva-Nicoleta BURDUSEL and Daniela PREDA: <i>University and Community – Collaboration for Cultural Sustainability and Economic Growth.</i>	160
Notes on Contributors.	164

Culture and Growth – Magical Companions or Mutually Exclusive Counterparts? Umeå University Hosting the UNeECC Conference 2014

Britta Lundgren
Umeå University, Sweden

“Welcome to the Northern room in the European house!” marked the call for papers to the Eight Interdisciplinary Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) on October 23-24, 2014. Umeå’s European Capital of Culture (ECoC) year was a joint venture with the four northernmost Swedish counties and Sápmi (the lands inhabited by the Sami people). Sápmi stretches through northern Norway, Sweden and Finland and all the way out to the Kola Peninsula in Russia. These northern lands are natural part of a European dimension, promoting cross-border cultural meetings and long-term collaborations (www.umea2014.se).

Several evaluations have shown that Umeå can look back to a successful year “that provided tremendous cultural variety of the highest quality, excellent public attendance, positive total funding and a strong contribution to community development in general.” The financing also turned out to be successful with an increase from the reported budget. This increase can mostly be described as a result from the organization model (networking and co-financing), <http://umea2014.se/2015/06/umea-moved-boundaries>.

During 2014 a wide range of programs (1,054 items) were presented, everything from smaller activities to major large-scale events. This had a great impact on local and regional business in all sectors, not only culture and creative industries. PwC's preliminary final report of the European Capital of Culture Year Umeå2014 presents evaluations on Umeå’s development over time. The report discusses changes and improvements in the seven capitals; environmental and natural resources capital, social capital, intellectual capital, infrastructure capital, culture and experience capital, democracy and prosperity capital as well as information and communication technology (ICT), <http://umea2014.se/2015/05/pwc-evaluating-umea2014-a-successful-cultural-year>.

These close interactions and connections between culture and growth were subject to debate before and during 2014. The debate inspired Umeå University, being the local host of the UNeECC conference, to choose “culture

and growth” as the main topic for the conference. But before presenting the content of the conference I would like to present the strategy for Umeå University to initiating research and establish the cultural dimension as an important part of the university.

Establishing the Cultural Dimension at Umeå University

Umeå University is still a fairly young university, celebrating its 50 years anniversary in 2015. Most of the departments and the facilities are located on the main campus creating small distances between people and workplaces. The interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary traditions are also very strong with 14 strong research interdisciplinary areas.

Maybe this very “youth” and the spatial structure have enabled a close relation between research and culture (culture defined in its broad sense). This means that when we speak of the university as being partner in Umeå 2014 we do not only think of culture with respect to its most obvious connotations (artistic, esthetic, literary etc.), but also culture in its economical, psychological, medical, anthropological, political, and democratic sense.

To prepare for Umeå 2014 the Vice-Chancellor in late 2011 decided on a special assignment for establishing the cultural dimension as an important part of the university. The aim was to contribute to strengthen the development of the university and to bring a new dimension for the branding of the university.

Umeå University was in an advantageous position to establish this. For several years before 2014 large investments had been made for building the *Arts Campus* by the river Umeälven http://www.umu.se/digitalAssets/98/98357_think_01.12_lr-ny-med.pdf including Bildmuseet <http://www.bildmuseet.umu.se/en/>, Umeå Institute of Design <http://www.dh.umu.se/en/>, Umeå Academy of Fine Arts, <http://www.art.umu.se/en/>, Umeå School of Architecture <http://www.arch.umu.se> and HUMlab X <http://www.humlab.umu.se/sv/>.

The 10-year old tradition with *Culture on Campus* <http://www.umu.se/english/about-umu/news-events/campus-culture?languageId=1> also turned out to be an important asset for establishing and strengthening the cultural dimension.

The practical work for enabling participation and transparency in connecting the university to Umeå2014 was made by a broad network, led by Professor Britta Lundgren. The network was built up from over 50 people (mostly academics, but also administrators and information officers) from most scientific and educational areas. Some participants were very active in the operational work, some worked mainly with sharing and spreading ideas and information out to the departments. Regular meetings were held with Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice Chancellor, faculty administrations and heads of department. Most of the work was accomplished within the limits of the normal budget and staff resources. That meant that we tried to connect Umeå2014 to the

core activities, e.g. research, education, and outreach activities. The aim was to make something extra and special from these core activities, for example targeted conferences, book projects, educational activities, posters and exhibitions, open house events, interactive events or strictly cultural events or “infotainments”. The aim was also to connect activities to the eight Sami seasons that constituted the main concept for the whole cultural year.

Culture and Cities – A Research Initiation Project at Umeå University

As the history of UNeEEC has shown, there is a great need of researching cultural capitals. Following up on the work with establishing the cultural dimension at the university, the university made a specific grant with the aim to initiate research about Umeå as a cultural capital and the implications for culture, regional development, politics, democracy, economy, architecture etc. This work was led by a steering committee headed by former Pro-Vice Chancellor Kjell Jonsson and research coordinator Katrin Holmqvist-Sten. Researchers were invited to apply for money to start projects or to write research applications. Following up on the different projects several seminars were held, and the researchers participated in a symposium in August 2015 to present their ideas and their findings. The symposium invited the Umeå2014 leadership and national politicians working in the area of arts and culture.

The Culture and Cities-project also included a series of invited guest lecturers. Among these were Orvar Löfgren, Lund talking about “Catwalking the city”; Johan Fornäs, Stockholm: “Eastern European Funk. Eastern narratives about Europe in the Eurovision Song Contest”; Virve Repo. Åbo, Finland: “Turku/Åbo 2011 follow-up survey - Long-term effects of Cultural Capital Year in Turku”; Pier Luigi Sacco, IULM, Milano: “Performing Heritage: how contemporary culture is connected with its cultural roots” and “Presentation on the Potentials of the Cultural Capital: discussing Umeå’s current challenges and successes & current initiatives underway in Siena”; Rolf Norås, Stavanger: Presentation of the book “What would you do differently if you knew what you now know ? An investigation into 12 former European Capitals of Culture”; Emma Stenström, Stockholm: “Kulturdrivet företagande”; Prof. Åke E. Andersson, Jönköping: “The C-society and the Creative Regions - Retrospect and Prospects”; Anders Frenander, Borås; “Kulturen som kulturpolitikens stora problem” and Francesca Perry, Social and Community Editor, Guardian Cities, “About Guardian Cities”.

It was also important to connect the research to the city and to the public. One specific cultural intervention to the public was a series called “Arena - Cultural Capital”. These “Arenas” were formed as panels with participants from the university and/or from different parts of the city. After introductions from the panel the audience was invited to debate, to question or to comment on the topics presented. Some examples from the Arenas were: “Cultural workers as city servants?”; Umeå ECOC in a regional perspective”; “Umeå 2064”;

“European Capital of Culture - and now what?”; “The implications of the Capital of culture year - power and means in cultural policy”; “Umeå ECOC in a Saami perspective - co-creation and resistance” and “Can culture be measured?”.

All in all the project “Culture and Cities” turned out as a fruitful academic effort aiming to create connections with the city and to establish a network for sustainable research collaboration for the future.

The Eight Interdisciplinary Conference of the University Network of the European Capitals of Culture (UNeECC) on October 23-24, 2014.

As been shown in previous UNeECC conferences the aim is to stimulate the interdisciplinary debate among scholars on the annual conference theme and the exchange of ideas and good practices between academics and practitioners working with and in European Capitals of Culture.

When Umeå created its winning application for the ECOC 2014 the concept “culture-driven growth” was used to describe the importance of culture as the motor for growth and success. Together with another concept for the year – co-creation – the overall message was that everyone could contribute to the programme, and therefore also to culture and growth. But there were also conflicting positions about the role of culture in relation to growth. Culture and growth constitute multifaceted concepts that sometimes seemed to smoothly work together and sometimes to contradict or oppose one another. These discussions were taken as an important reason to choose the conference theme for 2014.

Culture and Growth – Magical Companions or Mutually Exclusive Counterparts?

The conference theme opened to many areas of interest, including but not limited to the following topics:

- Empowering or disarmament
- Co-creating culture – challenges, implications, and outcomes.
- Whose culture and whose growth?
- Theorizing culture and growth
- Culture, place, and space in growing cities
- Cultural integrity and cultural wellbeing
- Culture and identity
- Local culture vs. globalization

Papers were invited from scholars in any field of research who wanted to share their disciplinary insights in the matter with colleagues from other disciplines. How is culture and growth in urban settings treated in different disciplines, what challenges and opportunities do they see? And how do they differ from or enhance the views encountered in the media or in political or ideological

debates? The conference opened for contributions from political sciences, sociology, psychology, urbanism, geography, economy, history, cultural and literary studies etc., but would also welcome papers from less evident fields such as medicine, epidemiology, engineering, architecture etc.

The opening session included welcome introductions from Prof. Flora Carriijn, President UNeECC; Professor Lena Gustafsson, Vice-Chancellor at Umeå University and Marie-Louise Rönnmark, Mayor of Umeå. After these introductions followed lectures by Fredrik Lindegren, Artistic Director, Umeå 2014, Katarina Pierre, Director Bildmuseet and Karl-Erik Norrman, Ambassador, Secretary General of the European Cultural Parliament.

Franco Bianchini, Professor of Cultural Policy and Planning at Leeds Beckett University, UK was invited to give a keynote lecture: "Participation, citizenship and growth as issues in contemporary European urban cultural strategies".

The programme included 32 papers from 11 different countries: Croatia, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Hungary, Denmark, Romania, France, Luxemburg, Czech Republic, and Latvia. The different sessions were named "Culture, Sustainability and Wellbeing; Co-creating Culture; Culture and Identities; Culture and growth: Theories and methodologies; Culture, Space and Place. Due to several unfortunate circumstances there were many dropouts from the programme, but we were finally happy to welcome 23 presenters.

This volume includes 9 of these papers, written by 14 authors. Hopefully these contributions will enrich the knowledge about culture and cities and inspire to further research on European Cultural Capitals of Culture.

The Meanings of Co-creation of Culture

Malin H. Näsholm and Tomas Blomquist

Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, Sweden

Abstract: *Umeå as European Capital of Culture 2014 had co-creation as a guiding value and as a strategy for the year. While co-creation has become a widely used concept, it can be interpreted in different ways as it is translated in new contexts. The purpose of this paper is to increase the understanding of how co-creation is perceived in the context of developing a European Capital of Culture program. We explore the concept as interpreted in official documents, by politicians and members of the team as well as by different cultural actors with projects in the program. The findings show that the idea of co-creation is adopted but is translated over time (from application, to way of organizing, to project content, to legacy of the year) and enacted in the different contexts and practices (program development, activities in the team, applications for funding, and for small and large actors).*

Keywords: *European Capital of Culture, Co-creation, Cultural projects*

Introduction

Umeå as European Capital of Culture 2014 has the strategy of developing the program for the year through co-creation. The idea is that cultural projects and events forming the program should emerge from the community. “Co-creation is the process by which mutual value is expanded together, where value to participating individuals is a function of their experiences, both their engagement experiences on the platform, and productive and meaningful human experiences that result”¹. It has been addressed through ideas of collaboration with lead-users, open source innovation, crowdfunding and crowdsourcing. Few examples go beyond the firm-centric view² where communities, cities or groups create and innovate to co-create change on issues as health, education, sustainability or culture.

The Umeå 2014 project team, on the one hand, has to have control to be able to fulfill the goals of the European Commission and present an attractive

¹ Venkat Ramaswamy, “It’s about human experiences... and beyond, to co-creation.” *Industrial Marketing Management* 40, no. 2 (2011), 195-196.

² Gaurav Bhalla, *Collaboration and Co-creation: New Platforms for Marketing and Innovation*. (New York: Springer, 2011).

program, and on the other hand, have reduced control to fulfill the city's goals of local initiative, participation, co-creation and long-term growth. The 2014 project team had to rely on a number of different actors and volunteers to produce the content and delivery of different projects. Relinquishing control, giving more autonomy and freedom can lead to more creativity but also requires the adoption of an emergent perspective³. Co-creating a program means that the organization has to balance flexibility, to enable projects to emerge and allowing for innovativeness and control as they become reliant on the actors involved who may have their own agendas⁴.

That the Capital of Culture year should be developed with the guiding value of co-creation is mirrored in Umeå's application: "Curiosity and Passion – the Art of Co-Creation"^{5,6}. While co-creation has become a widely used concept, it can be interpreted in different ways and meaning making happens in social interaction: "Meaning is always co-created"⁷. Umeå as a European Capital of culture has adopted this idea and use the concept. However, what is the meaning of co-creation for the different actors involved?

The purpose of this paper is to increase the understanding of how co-creation is perceived in the context of developing a European Capital of Culture program.

As becoming a European Capital of Culture involves a number of actors on different levels in the concerned city this will be addressed through the following research questions:

- What is the meaning of co-creation communicated officially (for example through application documents and web-pages)?
- What are the interpretations of co-creation of those actively involved in the Capital of Culture organization (team-members and politicians)?
- How is the co-creation of the Capital of Culture year perceived by the cultural actors (individual artists and institutions who have projects in the program)?

Interviews with politicians involved, people from the Umeå 2014 project team, and project owners of small cultural project, as well as secondary data on the Capital of Culture year are analyzed to explore the different potentially contradictory interpretations of the concept of co-creation.

³ Matthew S.O'Hern and Aric Rindfleisch, "Customer Co-Creation." in *Review of Marketing Research Volume 6*, ed. Naresh K. Malhotra, (Armonk, NY:M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2010), 84-106.

⁴ Malin H. Näsholm and Tomas Blomquist, "Co-creation as a strategy for program management", *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business* 8, no. 1 (2015), 58 - 73.

⁵ City of Umeå, "Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation" (2008)http://umea2014.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ansokan_1_eng.pdf (accessed May 1, 2015)

⁶ City of Umeå, "Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation: Part 2"(2009). http://umea2014.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ansokan_2_eng.pdf (accessed May 1, 2015)

⁷ Nicholas Ind and Nick Coates, "The meanings of co-creation." *European Business Review* 25, no. 1 (2013), 86-95.

The Concept of Co-creation

Co-creation reflects a change in perspective where the meaning of value creation involves the user and consumer, rather than the view that the company is creating value for the customers⁸. The process of value creation, is done and expanded together and the engagement in the process and the experience itself is part of the value for the individual that is co-creating⁹. Co-creation can involve a range of different levels of commitment for the customers; 1) emotional engagement 2) self-service 3) being part of the experience context 4) self-selecting to solve problems given established processes and 5) being engaged in co-design of the product¹⁰. A strategy of co-creation could stimulate creativity and innovation¹¹.

Within management, co-creation can be seen as signifying a paradigm shift where value is created in interaction between organizations and customers¹². In a literature review, Galvagno and Dalli¹³ identified the main theoretical perspectives used, and found that the concept had been used in *marketing and services science* to reconsider the customers' role in the process and within the service dominant logic, where the value is seen as created in the service encounter as well as in *innovation and technology management*, considering the consumers', both individuals and groups, involvement in product development, and in technological platforms for customer engagement. To give some examples; co-creation has been considered in the co-production of brands¹⁴, in place branding¹⁵ and in co-producing public services¹⁶. In innovation, customers can be involved at different stages of the innovation process to create value and to be engaged in the construction of the customer experience¹⁷. The interactions and knowledge sharing between organizations

⁸ Coimbatore Krishna Prahalladand Venkat Ramaswamy, *The future of competition: Co-creating unique value with customers*. (Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2004).

⁹ Ramaswamy, "It's about human experiences".

¹⁰ Adrian F Payne, KajStorbacka, and PennieFrow, "Managing the co-creation of value." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 36, no. 1 (2008), 83-96.

¹¹ Bhalla, *Collaboration and Co-creation*.

¹² Marco Galvagnoand, Daniele Dalli, "Theory of value co-creation: a systematic literature review." *Managing Service Quality* 24, no. 6 (2014), 643-683.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Mary Jo Hatchand Majken Schultz, "Toward a theory of brand co-creation with implications for brand governance." *Journal of Brand Management* 17, no. 8 (2010), 590-604.

¹⁵ Mihalis Kavaratzis, "From "necessary evil" to necessity: stakeholders' involvement in place branding." *Journal of Place Management and Development* 5, no. 1 (2012), 7-19.

¹⁶ Catherine Needham, "Realising the potential of co-production: Negotiating improvements in public services." *Social Policy and Society* 7, no. 02 (2008), 221-231.

¹⁷ Thorsten Roser, Robert DeFillippi, and Alain Samson, "Managing your co-creation mix: co-creation ventures in distinctive contexts." *European Business Review* 25, no. 1 (2013), 20-41.

and customers in co-creation are not usually done via a platform¹⁸. More critical views see co-creation as a way of using the customers and point to that social forces and structural positions affect the co-creation process¹⁹.

The concept of co-creation is challenging traditional management practices through its interactive and boundary crossing processes²⁰. Managing co-creation gives rise to a number of considerations such as: who will be involved, for what purpose, where in the process, how closely involved and for how long, and how can they be motivated²¹. In managing co-creation, two important processes can be seen: contributing with ideas and selecting ideas²². In early stage of innovation, the co-creation process is more unstructured and as it develops, forms for collaboration are found²³. Interaction in co-creation processes requires transparency, dialogue, and giving access to the co-creator²⁴. Co-creation can be categorized based on how open these processes are to customer involvement²⁵. Relinquishing control will be an act of balancing control and openness that may be a challenge for management and its structures but also challenging in how to empower the customer in co-creation processes. Depending on the situation various mechanisms may be needed to manage co-creation; including structures and rules (hierarchical governance), incentives rooted in supply and demand (market governance), and more trust based relationships with intrinsic motivation (relational governance)²⁶. How co-creation is managed in practice can vary between different types of organizations and whom they are collaborating with, other organizations or customers.

Method

This paper is written as part of a larger research project: “Strategy, Design, and Organizing in City development Processes” funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences. The research project has been following Umeå as European Capital of Culture since late 2012 and has conducted extensive data collection with a large number of interviews as well as secondary data. As the aim of this paper is to increase the understanding of how co-creation is perceived in the context of developing a

¹⁸ Sang M. Lee, David L. Olson, and Silvana Trimi, “Co-innovation: convergenomics, collaboration, and co-creation for organizational values.” *Management Decision* 50, no. 5 (2012), 817-831.

¹⁹ Galvagno and Dalli, “Theory of value co-creation”.

²⁰ Payne et al., “Managing the co-creation of value”.

²¹ Roser et al., “Managing your co-creation mix”.

²² O’Hern and Rindfleisch, “Customer co-creation”.

²³ Roser et al., “Managing your co-creation mix”.

²⁴ Prahalad and Ramaswamy, *The future of competition*.

²⁵ O’Hern and Rindfleisch, “Customer co-creation”.

²⁶ Roser et al., “Managing your co-creation mix”.

European Capital of Culture program, we follow how the concept has been used over time and by different actors involved.

Following an emic approach, we strive to understand the “insiders” view of reality and the meaning it has for them²⁷. Broad concepts can have different meaning for different people. Inspired by Czarniawska and Joerges²⁸ we see co-creation as an idea that has been adopted by Umeå 2014. As ideas travel, they are translated in their new contexts. By putting a label, such as co-creation, on an idea, it is objectified, and the label can legitimize activities and initiate new actions. As the idea takes root in the local context and more people translate it for their own use it can become enacted in collective action²⁹. A similar view, highlighting that meaning is enacted in different contexts, can be found in Law and Mol’s³⁰ argument that things (words, entities, actors) are enacted in different practices in different ways, and that the practices need to be explored to find what “it” is. Inspired by these ideas we explore the meaning of co-creation in the contexts of Umeå as a European Capital of Culture.

Official Documents about the Capital of Culture

As co-creation has been one of the key concepts communicated about Umeå as European Capital of culture, we start out by examining the official meaning of the concept and how it has been communicated over time. The concept has been used since Umeå’s first application as a candidate city in 2008. The two applications³¹, the official program book presented in 2013³² and the continuously updated web page www.umea2014.se³³ is analyzed in order to see the development and the meaning of co-creation communicated officially.

Interviews with Project Team and Politicians

During the development of the program under 2013 and 2014 a number of semi-structured interviews were conducted with those actively involved in the Capital of Culture organization. Broad interview guides were used to ensure that relevant topics were covered. They ranged in length from 30 minutes to almost two hours. The interviews with the Umeå 2014 team focused on the individuals’

²⁷ Nancy C. Morey and Fred Luthans, “An emic perspective and ethnoscience methods for organizational research.” *Academy of Management Review* 9, no. 1 (1984), 27-36.

²⁸ Barbara Czarniawska and Bernward Joerges, “Travels of ideas.” in *Translating organizational change*, eds. Barbara Czarniawska and GujeSevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 13-48.

²⁹ Barbara Czarniawska and Bernward Joerges, “Travels of ideas.”

³⁰ John Law and Annemarie Mol, “The actor-enacted: Cumbrian sheep in 2001.” in *Material Agency: Towards A Non-Anthropocentric Approacheds*. Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2008), 57-77.

³¹ City of Umeå, “Curiosity and Passion”; “Curiosity and Passion: Part 2”.

³² Umeå 2014, “A Programme Year In The Making– Capital of Culture year Umeå 2014”(2013)http://issuu.com/umea2014/docs/2014_programbok_eng_lr(accessed May 1, 2015).

³³ Umeå 2014 website, <http://umea2014.se/en/about-umea2014/> (accessed October 15, 2014).

roles within the program, how the program has developed and is organized, and on the projects' funding and development processes. Interviews with some of the local politicians involved in the Umeå 2014 team and in the cultural committee were also included to assess their broad aims with regard to the overall program, and its development. All interviews also brought up the question of their views on co-creation and these are the parts of the interviews that were the focus of our analysis for this paper.

Interviews with Project Owners

In order to capture the views of the individual artists and institutions who have projects in the program and how the co-creation of the Capital of Culture year is perceived by these cultural actors a number of interview-sessions were conducted. Based on a list of projects in the Umeå 2014 program project owners were invited via e-mail to participate in research on the Capital of Culture year. To capture the meanings of these actors and find what they perceived as important interviews were conducted as open dialogue sessions where between one and four interview participants and one or two researchers were present and could talk openly around a number of themes. The covered themes were co-creation and collaboration, resources, important or unexpected events, and expectations. The meetings were therefore also an opportunity for project owners to meet and share their experiences. To begin each participant introduced themselves and their projects shortly. Participants were encouraged to broadly share their experiences and bring up what they found important. After matching the willing participants with available times, eleven sessions were conducted during April and May 2014, each lasting between 1 and 2 hours. The 29 participants represented at least as many different projects and program events, which were of varying sizes (from large cultural institutions to individual citizen-initiatives) and character, including theatre, music, dance, crafts, performances and art.

Analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. While the interviews were broader and included a large number of areas the analysis is focused on coding parts where co-creation was discussed. How the participants saw the co-creation approach of Umeå 2014 was included as a specific question in all the interviews. Starting with our research interest - the co-creation approach - passages relating to this were highlighted in the interview transcripts and in the documents. The coding process focused on the development of the program and defined and identified themes related to the co-creation strategy. We examined what the concept meant to different actors and how the meaning was constructed and translated.

Becoming the Capital of Culture – the Application and Co-creation

The idea for Umeå to propose itself as a candidate for European Capital of Culture had been discussed by local politicians for a long time and in 2005, the decision was made to pursue its candidature. It was seen as a fitting step in the city's strategy as culture and growth were seen as closely linked. As Stated by the European Parliament, Council of the European Union in their Criteria for the cultural programme (Article 4):

As regards 'City and Citizens' the programme shall: a) foster the participation of the citizens living in the city and its surroundings and raise their interest as well as the interest of citizens from abroad; b) be sustainable and be an integral part of the long-term cultural and social development of the city.³⁴

Umeå concentrated on the civic anchoring that the European selection panel addressed as one of their criteria in their application through ideas of open source and co-creation. It could even be argued that Umeå's application to become the European Capital of Culture 2014³⁵ was successful, largely due to its approach of organizing the program through co-creation.

Co-creation, discussed in the beginning in terms of open source, has been a central idea for Umeå as a Capital of Culture since early stages. In the application they use a play on words saying that Umeå means "U+Me = The Art of Co-Creation"³⁶. As expressed by one of the politicians involved in the writing of the application:

I see part of the reason why Umeå is successful is that we work with openness and co-creation in many ways. That is why you want to live here. In this document, this fundamental value is also very clear". (Politician, member of Capital of Culture Committee, January 2013).

In the writing of the application, it was important that the ideas were grounded in the local community and not written by external consultants. The politicians also wanted to stress that this strategy of investing in becoming the European Capital of Culture will contribute to the city's long-term goals of growth and development through building competence and creative capacity. Therefore, while a political steering group initiated the application and appointed an artistic director, they involved institutions, cultural workers and

³⁴ European Parliament, Council of the European Union "Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019", OJ L 304, 3.11.2006, (2006), 1–6. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32006D1622>(accessed May 1, 2015)

³⁵ City of Umeå, "Curiosity and Passion"; "Curiosity and Passion: Part 2".

³⁶ Ibid.

associations who were invited to bring ideas for what they wanted to do. As stated in the first application:

The strategy represents an active invitation to involve all citizens of Umeå, our broader region and Europe, including cultural workers and institutions, universities, private companies, voluntary associations, public departments and partner cities.³⁷

In the second application, the co-creation approach was made even clearer, and it is emphasized that it has been a trademark for Umeå and its way of working:

Co-creation has become a trademark of Umeå and it has been refined during the Capital of Culture process. The opportunity to fully test and open out the sources of cultural creation during the period up to 2014 allows us to give the concepts of participation, empowerment and co-creation a deeper, contemporary meaning. This is a prime reason why Umeå wanted to be a candidate for the European Capital of Culture.³⁸

Looking at the Umeå 2014 homepage the concept of co-creation is explained:

‘Co-creation’ is the key word in Umeå2014’s capital of culture initiative. Here, the concept means that everyone can participate and contribute to the programme. To promote a long-term perspective and encourage the continuance of capital of culture activities beyond 2014, it is intended that projects should be run by the ‘cultural operators’ themselves.³⁹

A politician explains it as follows:

Now the audience should not just be a part of it, they should be a part in creating it. They are allowed to be part of the decision-making. Then you are co-creating, then you are not just participating (Politician, member of Capital of Culture Committee, March 2013).

The Umeå 2014 team, instead of ordering or developing cultural activities, should promote the whole programme, coordinate activities, and partly fund projects. The Umeå 2014 team is not to manage single projects. That is the responsibility of the different associations, cultural institutions, and other interested parties involved.

In the year of capital of culture we have a lot of stakeholders and we want to use the knowledge of each and every stakeholder in order to make a

³⁷ City of Umeå, “Curiosity and Passion”, 12.

³⁸ City of Umeå, “Curiosity and Passion: Part 2”, 4.

³⁹ Umeå 2014 website.

creative program. All the stakeholders together are more creative than a small management team. What we call open source and co-creations is management strategy to investigate the most creative ideas and to get many people to be responsible in the realization of the program. (Official in the municipality, CEO Umeå 2014, November 2013).

In order to show the different groups of program items, projects and activities we will shortly describe in the following section how different events became part of the Capital of Culture program. The process of being part of the program and how projects are selected have a bearing on how different culture actors get involved in different co-creation activities and how they view the meaning co-creation.

The Process of Co-creating the Program

The Umeå 2014 have three streams sorting out and getting new events and projects into the program, which can be identified through how events gets funded. The first type of projects are funded through the “Culture Boost”. The culture boost is small grants of 20,014 SEK for start-up activities or events organized by a smaller group or association. The application process is through a simple web form and applications are reviewed by a smaller group in the Umeå 2014 team. From the 20 to 40 applications submitted each month, four will get the Culture Boost based on criteria that fulfil the overall aims of the Capital of Culture. The final decision is made by the political Capital of Culture Committee. The cultural boost makes it possible for individual citizens and associations to test ideas and while some are single events, others develop into larger projects.

The second group is the co-funded projects, which are events that the Capital of Culture organization funds up to 40 percent of. The other part of the financing has to be found from other sources. The application process for this type of project is also straightforward but here the applicant needs to hand in a document describing the project, which also includes a budget. In this group, we find both established cultural institutions making large applications but also culture boost projects that are going to ramp up their initial ideas to larger events. The selection of the co-funded project is done on the basis that they contribute to the fulfilment of the aims of the Capital of Culture year. The final decision is made by the municipality’s Capital of Culture Committee. With the decision, a formal contract is established between Umeå 2014 and the co-funded project.

The third way projects can come into the program is as non-funded projects or independent projects. Within this group, there are projects that seek collaboration with Umeå 2014 and are within the interest and aims of the Capital of Culture. These projects and events are not sponsored by Umeå 2014 but have their own funding from other sources. The project owner needs to fill

in a short web form and after an evaluation the event will be published on the web page and promoted in the calendar. In this group, we find both larger and smaller events.

Co-creation as Viewed by Those Involved in the Organization

The members of the Umeå 2014 team are the ones who are expected to put the co-creative ideals into practice. While the concept of co-creation had been used in the application process, initially it was less clear how it should be interpreted in the production of the program.

Well, there was never a clear definition of what that was when I was hired, so the first question was: ‘What’s open source? What is this? What does it mean, really?’ It’s easy to talk about open source, loosely, conceptually... while working on actually building a concrete programme that has to be delivered at certain time has to be nailed down really where it starts and ends. (Program Producer, December 2013)

She continues to explain that although co-creation is one of the keywords that have been used all the time but it has also been hard to communicate. One thing that is highlighted is that the co-creation approach is unique for Umeå and the team is proud of it. The view is that Umeå is doing something different from previous European Capital of Cultures, and is using a different structure and design. This view is also promoted by the Artistic Director as he says:

It’s pretty easy to tell the difference between Umeå and other Capitals of Culture. We have no producing unit. I cannot order the exhibits. I could do it, I could deviate from this, but then we lose the whole point of been a Capital of Culture. The point is that the various players should go through the journey themselves. (Artistic Director, March 2013)

The stand is that the Umeå 2014 team produces the program and not program items. They act as “producer without producing” around the eight Sami seasons. The Umeå 2014 team coordinates activities, receive suggestions on program items and help to co-fund activities. It is only for the official opening ceremony and for the eighth season openings, the creative team at Umeå 2014 are involved and responsible for the production. That the main idea is that most of the culture production and events are done by the local actors in the city is also reflected by the Program Producer saying:

The entirety of the program underneath [the structure of seasonal openings] is done through the idea of co-creation, that is where the key is, is here co-creation that we were not putting a lid on the local arts community, we are fostering them with financing but giving freedom within the framework for public money to grow the way they want to

grow and trust them they are the experts and they know what to do.
(Program Producer, March 2014)

For the rest of the program they are only focused on encouraging a balanced artistic program from different genres. They see it as their task to give culture actors possibilities during the year and develop their capabilities and networks for the future. The Program Producer comment the way of working as way of fostering and making the existing cultural actors grow for the long term. The team's role is to give the opportunity to those who have ideas and want to contribute. This is something that is stressed also by the Project Coordinator:

We will build on those who already contribute to Umeå is a strong cultural city, and the whole idea behind it is that it will be long term. The reinforcement should go to those who are already working, as an opportunity to do more. Maybe do things that would not otherwise would have been possible for them, and the networks built up, they should be retained. The new insights to make, for example, about how can you work with finance in different ways, that perhaps many smaller might not have [done before] (Project Coordinator, February, 2013)

In the early phases of development of the applications there were open meetings held on different themes where different cultural actors, organizations and institutions could bring up ideas for what they wanted to do during Umeå 2014. Many of those involved in the process and mentioned in the applications are still present in the program. The first program for the Capital of Culture year was presented a year before the opening (Umeå 2014, 2013). In the period before the presentation of the first program, there was some uncertainty about how things would work. At that time, much of the funding was not finalized. The presentation of the pre-program showed both some events as already planned and on their way but also left openings for new events.

From the different perspectives of the team members, the concept brought different implications and challenges. For those working on financing the co-creation approach meant that Umeå 2014 does not fully own the immaterial rights of the productions. Sponsors had some problems to see the benefits to be co-funders and their contacts were often with projects directly and not via the Umeå 2014 team since they were not owning the productions. From the perspective of those selecting projects for funding and developing the program the concept co-creation became one of the most important criteria and came to signify that the projects should involve many people in different ways.

I think we have sort of different perspectives, I guess depending on with what parts of the project we work. I think the one thing most have in common is the idea of co-creation and that the project [Umeå 2014] in order to work has to involve a lot of people in various levels of organizations and citizens and there has to be a big diversity in projects so

a lot of people can be involved in one way or another (Team member working with project suggestions and the Culture Boost, January, 2013)

Cultural Actors as Co-creators

During the focus group interviews one of the topics addressed was how the cultural actors have developed program events and projects and their view on how co-creation have influenced the creation of the Capital of Culture year. When it comes to the cultural actors who are the ones who should be involved in co-creating the program the concept of co-creation is interpreted quite differently, and in particular, different interpretations are prevalent by respondents from the larger institutions and large projects in comparison to how it is seen by small projects. They are all making their own interpretations of what co-creation is.

For the larger cultural institutions in Umeå, the idea of co-creating the program is generally seen as positive, as it is interpreted as they are allowed to come in and influence the program and do projects they want to do. One of respondents from one of the established intuitions describes it by saying:

...they [Umeå 2014] have had a process that has been quite open, you have been able to make suggestions. They have not put up a fixed program, but they have gone from the other direction and allowed us to influence. It has been very positive, and it is a form of co-creation from us when you think of the year taking place. (Large dance project, co-funded)

They are generally happy about the co-funding that has made it easier to collaborate with other organizations. However, for the larger cultural actors the demands for co-creation has also lead to different ways of working which involves working with the citizens and non-professionals that are doing culture actives on their spare time. Some of them admit that they would have worked alone as they normally do if the demands for co-creation had not been there, while for others this is something that they would have wanted to do anyway:

Then we are working within the project with co-creation in that we meet amateurs and so. We have not done it because they want us to work in that way, but because we think it is interesting and because it fits within the project that we want to present (Large dance project, co-funded)

Working in new ways has put additional demands on these organizations. As organizers, they have encountered new situations that they have not been used to and they have been forced to develop. Still, some of the larger institutions are a bit harsh on the amateurs.

I think it's hard when it comes to theater as it is professional and so niche. However, what we have here is local choirs who are amateur choirs

participating in the show. If you can call it co-creation I don't know, it depends on what you put in the word. However, I think it is important that the public interact with the professional. That leads to innovation. (Large theatre project, co-funded)

While the collaborations sometimes have been experienced as challenging working with other institutions and groups that they normally would not have cooperated with has led to boundary spanning between genres and different actors and has stimulated creativity and new ideas:

These projects also meant that we have more and better partnerships with other cultural actors. We've met with many new people, we have worked across borders that we might not have done otherwise. I think its great fun. We've spun a network that is really nice and useful to have and, above all, we've created new projects, we have been creative and innovative (Large dance project, co-funded.)

For the small and independent actors the Culture Boost is seen as a big opportunity. It is a way for common people with less experience to get a chance to do something:

Our project is kind of the embodiment of co-creation because we are five quite ordinary Umeå residents who are a part of creating Capital of Culture year, that we get lift our hobby into an arrangement. We are not employees of the municipality that do this as our job. (Small crafts project, funded by the Culture Boost)

This quote also illustrates the broad interpretations made of the co-creation concept. For this respondent co-creation is being a part of the program year. Many of those interviewed think that it has been hard to understand what is meant by co-creation, and that it has not been clearly communicated:

It is an amazingly arbitrary concept, it really has become like air [a concept without substance]. I can imagine that it has helped to invite daycares and anything. That it has broadened the definition, and that it is not only artists and active actors who have access to the process, but also people in the public in various ways... everyone thinks they know what it means, everyone have ideas about it, but when you've had a dialogue with the office [Umeå 2014 team], they have not really been able to answer what it is (Small exhibition project, co-funded)

For many the keyword co-creation has been taken to mean cooperation. This is also as it has been interpreted as a criteria to get funding from Umeå 2014. This is sometimes only positive as co-creation and cooperation with others is something they have to do to be able to do to execute their projects. As small actors it is natural to cooperate and the Umeå 2014 team is just a sponsor.

It was also seen as a way to get the audience involved in the creative process and performance:

I found it incredibly interesting to be involved in a project. ... and I had not even heard this word “co-creation” or that it was a requirement, but suddenly my blocks fit in these “holes” that the municipality offered, if you say it like that. ... I draw people into it who have not previously worked with art. (Small art project, co-funded)

For others it seemed that the demands for having cooperated to co-create was hard to fulfill:

With co-creation, I think that you meet and think and create together. We have not really done that. It’s a little hard to know exactly what they mean by that (Small literature project, co-funded)

An individual artist involved in small art projects who eventually managed to get funding through the Culture Boost after several attempts explain that the criteria were hard to fit in and that although co-creation was somewhat open to interpretation it influenced the way of working or even the artistic content which meant that certain types of projects were privileged. The co-creation ideals meant that the municipality and project group wanted many types of people represented and variety and diversity in the funded projects. While this was perceived as positive, some of those interviewed saw it mainly as something done for appearances sake than actually put into practice. Co-creation then became a search for alibis, where a few were seen as representing whole minorities or subcultures as tokens. Others had a hard time to see how co-creation was really a key concept for Umeå 2014:

I have never really understood it. We are the ones who have co-created!”
(Small art project, funded by the Culture Boost)

There was a great optimism in the beginning, that everyone could be a part of the Capital of Culture year, and that everyone could get funding. This has led to some disappointment and disillusionment with the process, in particular among the smaller independent cultural actors:

Co-creation works well for these large institutions, who are used to applying and who sit all day and do these things. What happened to us was that they said ‘you have to come in, you have to apply, you have to arrange something, you have to organize a festival or something’. But then it came to a stop and then they didn’t contact us after we had said we would do it (Small music project, funded by the Culture Boost).

Meanings of Co-creation in Umeå 2014

Returning to the research questions addressed in this paper we consider the meanings of co-creation as interpreted and translated on different levels. The meaning of co-creation communicated officially is mainly a broad ideal and a value that the politicians and those involved in the project are trying to promote. Looking at the early phases of the development of the ideas for the year and in the development of the first and second application the concept of co-creation runs like a red-thread through meetings with culture actors and citizens. It is a way to get engagement for the idea of becoming the European Capital of Culture and the project team and politicians are selling the idea of co-creation to get culture actors from both institutions and smaller free independent actors involved and to legitimize the process. The official way of communicating the co-creation ideals is as drawing on the Umeå spirit and building on the active cultural life. It is a source of distinction and pride.

As the concept has very broad meanings and can be interpreted in different ways, it is up to the Umeå 2014 team to put the ideals into practice. They have to make decisions on organizational structures, how to involve and how the involved should be selected and how they should be motivated participate and co-create⁴⁰. Even if the concept of co-creation is internalized as a concept it need to be put into the context of Umeå 2014 teams day to day activity and translated and enacted in actions by the culture actors⁴¹. This process is done via the Umeå 2014 team's way of structuring the application process to become a programme event, or Umeå 2014 project. Those actively involved in the Umeå 2014 team make their interpretations of co-creation based on their roles in the organization. For the development of the program for the year, the co-creation concept becomes an important element in the selection and funding of projects. As such, it influences cultural actors' way of developing new project ideas, applying for funding and interacting with each other and the project office. By making co-creation a criterion, the meaning of the concept becomes enacted as cooperation, broad engagement and involving many actors from different sectors. This meaning becomes internalized as the program emerges and routines are being established.

The co-creation of the Capital of Culture year is initially perceived by the cultural actors as an invitation to participate. Larger culture institutions see new opportunities to start project and are happy to be able to have an input on the program. The smaller actors are hoping for new funding opportunities and to get involved and to participate together with cultural actors. They almost see their involvement in meetings and in the applications to the European Union as a promise to get funding and be a part of the program. It is like the culture actors

⁴⁰ Roser et al., "Managing your co-creation mix".

⁴¹ Czarniawska and Joerges, "Travel of ideas".

believe in the concepts of openness and co-creation as mechanisms for organization and mechanisms that gives hope⁴².

As the procedures for the selection of proposals and the monitoring of projects slowly takes shape there were initial difficulties to translate ideas into actual applications for funding. The cultural actors have different conditions depending on their size, art form and opportunities to network and find collaboration partners and co-funders. For large institutions, co-creation makes demands on the organization and its willingness to find forms of cooperation. Co-funding acts as a lubricant for cooperation between cultural institutions but not always with the audience and the city's citizens. Although a majority of cultural actors are citizens of Umeå, the volunteers and non-professionals are commonly left out of the creation and the creative process until the implementation of the event. The collaborations that arise create new events and new interfaces although it often is under the big institutions' terms. For the smaller independent cultural actors and groups the concept co-creation is a bit unclear. In general, they are positive to the Cultural Boost, which gives these small projects where ordinary people and small associations the opportunity to do something together with simple means. For some of the smaller actors it was disappointing and challenging having to seek funds and find partners. For some it was hard to understand the requirements, and they would have needed support in writing applications and understanding criteria that might otherwise be seen as arbitrary. With a broad definition of the concept co-creation, contributing to creating the program is seen as co-creation. Some actors' more narrow definition of the term makes them question if they have co-created in their small project. They question if working together is enough, and seem to consider that the creative development process or cultural performance is what counts and not the whole process of developing a cultural project as part of the Capital of Culture year (including planning, sourcing, equipment, facilities, exchange of competences etc.). To some extent, it is questioned if the co-creation ideals meant that the diversity and all the city of Umeå were represented in the co-creation of the Capital of Culture year.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to increase the understanding of how co-creation is perceived in the context of developing a European Capital of Culture program. The idea of co-creation has traveled from business, marketing and innovation contexts and we have explored how it has been translated into a context of culture and city development in the case of Umeå 2014.

The idea of co-creation included a shift in the view of value creation, where the user or consumer was involved in creation of value by experiencing

⁴² Nils Brunsson, *Mechanisms of hope: maintaining the dream of the rational organization*. (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2006).

and engaging in the process.⁴³ These ideas also go hand in hand with the European Union's goals of citizen participation and involvement with the Capital of Culture initiative. These broad ideals were adopted by Umeå in their bid for the Capital of Culture year and were translated into the city's strategy for developing the program. As the ideas were put into practice and the development of the organization and program unfolded the concept of co-creation was interpreted and enacted differently in different contexts and by different actors.

In the context of Umeå 2014, the concept of co-creation has shifted from its original meaning of involving the user or consumer towards meaning cooperation and collaboration in new ways. With a focus on culture and community development, the product is less in focus than in the traditional view of co-creation. Cooperation and boundary crossing has become important translations of co-creation as the ideas are put into practice as a way of organizing and developing the program by making people work together. The openness of the concept led to uncertainty and ambiguity for the organization but also for the actors involved. However, the broad interpretations also led to new constellations of cooperation between culture actors, large institutions, groups and individual citizens and encouraged creativity and innovation. The openness allowed for new ideas to develop and for different types of actors to come in and create activities on many levels, which would never had been considered in more traditional constellations of established cultural actors. The co-creation legacy of the Capital of Culture year in Umeå 2014 was not only giving culture actors possibilities during the year, but rather it was a focus on empowering them and encouraging the development of their capabilities and networks for the future.

References

1. Bhalla, Gaurav. *Collaboration and Co-creation: New Platforms for Marketing and Innovation*. (New York: Springer, 2011).
2. Brunsson, Nils. *Mechanisms of hope: maintaining the dream of the rational organization*. (Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 2006).
3. City of Umeå. "Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation" (2008) http://umea2014.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ansokan_1_eng.pdf (accessed May 1, 2015).
4. City of Umeå. "Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation Part 2" (2009) http://umea2014.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ansokan_2_eng.pdf (accessed May 1, 2015).

⁴³ Ramaswamy, "It's about human experiences".

5. Czarniawska, Barbara, and Bernward Joerges. "Travels of ideas." in *Translating organizational change*, eds. Barbara Czarniawska and GujeSevón (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 13-48.
6. European Parliament, Council of the European Union. "Decision No 1622/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 2006 establishing a Community action for the European Capital of Culture event for the years 2007 to 2019", *OJ L 304*, 3.11.2006, (2006), 1-6. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32006D1622> (accessed May 1, 2015)
7. Galvagno, Marco, and Daniele Dalli. "Theory of value co-creation: a systematic literature review." *Managing Service Quality* 24, no. 6 (2014), 643-683.
8. Hatch, Mary Jo, and Majken Schultz. "Toward a theory of brand co-creation with implications for brand governance." *Journal of Brand Management* 17, no. 8 (2010), 590-604.
9. Ind, Nicholas and Nick Coates. "The meanings of co-creation." *European Business Review* 25, no. 1 (2013), 86-95.
10. Kavaratzis, Mihalis, "From "necessary evil" to necessity: stakeholders' involvement in place branding." *Journal of Place Management and Development* 5, no. 1 (2012), 7-19.
11. Law, John and Annemarie Mol. "The actor-enacted: Cumbrian sheep in 2001." in *Material Agency: Towards A Non-Anthropocentric Approach* eds. Lambros Malafouris and Carl Knappett (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2008), 57-77.
12. Lee, Sang M., David L. Olson, and Silvana Trimi. "Co-innovation: convergenomics, collaboration, and co-creation for organizational values." *Management Decision* 50, no. 5 (2012), 817-831.
13. Morey, Nancy C. and Fred Luthans. "An emic perspective and ethnosience methods for organizational research." *Academy of Management Review* 9, no. 1 (1984), 27-36.
14. Näsholm, Malin H. and Tomas Blomquist. "Co-creation as a strategy for program management", *International Journal of Managing Projects in Business* 8, no. 1 (2015), 58 – 73.
15. Needham, Catherine. "Realising the potential of co-production: Negotiating improvements in public services." *Social Policy and Society* 7, no. 02 (2008), 221-231.
16. O'Hern, Matthew S., and Aric Rindfleisch. "Customer Co-Creation." in *Review of Marketing Research Volume 6*, ed. Naresh K. Malhotra, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2010), 84-106.
17. Payne, Adrian F., Kaj Storbacka, and PennieFrow. "Managing the co-creation of value." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 36, no. 1 (2008), 83-96.

18. Prahalad, Coimbatore Krishna and Venkat Ramaswamy. *The future of competition: Co-creating unique value with customers*. (Boston: Harvard Business Press, 2004).
19. Ramaswamy, Venkat. "It's about human experiences... and beyond, to co-creation." *Industrial Marketing Management* 40, no. 2 (2011), 195-196.
20. Roser, Thorsten, Robert DeFillippi, and Alain Samson. "Managing your co-creation mix: co-creation ventures in distinctive contexts." *European Business Review* 25, no. 1 (2013), 20-41.
21. Umeå 2014. "A Programme Year In The Making– Capital of Culture year Umeå 2014" (2013) http://issuu.com/umea2014/docs/2014_programbok_eng_lr (accessed May 1, 2015).
22. Umeå 2014 website. <http://umea2014.se/en/about-umea2014/> (accessed October 15, 2014).

How Do the European Capitals of Culture Contribute to the European Mobility?

Empirical Issues and Theoretical Challenges of the Cultural Institutions Renewal in the Cities Elected ECC

Emmanuel Pedler, Elena Raevskikh and Maxime Jaffré
School for Advances Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS)
Centre Norbert Elias (CNE), Marseille, France

Abstract: *This article argues that societal transformation in post-industrial countries may be understood through the analysis of the most recent cultural changes occurring in those societies. It uses as a relevant example the case of the Marseilles-Provence 2013 ECC event and the data derived from the case study performed on that program. In this framework, the role of the European Capitals of Culture would be to bridge the cultural gaps between European cities and facilitate cultural communication across Europe. The empiric study of institutional manifestations of culture is crucial to understanding the process of change in cultural practices all over Europe. The attractiveness of a city will thus be evaluated in the future based on its ability to produce new forms of practice and urban consumption identified with European unity in diversity.*

Keywords: *culture, ECC, cultural change, cultural institutions, cultural practices, theater.*

The fundamental thesis of Smart Specialization strategies is based on the assumption of attractiveness to higher social fractions, or the "most educated and talented people", being able to migrate and reach the most culturally attractive regions and cities. If one believes the scenarios presented, investment in cultural capital in the broadest sense should lead to a concentration of social capital itself. In turn, social capital must generate economic capital for regions practicing the implementation of this new form of cultural policy and promote smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in all EU regions and cities.

However, the correlation between investment in cultural capital (*ex nihilo*) and increased resources (i.e. the economic capital of cities), is, so far, not yet scientifically proven. For many economists, sociologists and geographers, this issue of the effects of art and culture on the economy is still at the stage of a "chicken and egg problem". Is it culture that generates economic growth? Or is it rather the economic activity of the European regions that generates a

concentration of cultural treasures? At the moment, it is still impossible to answer these questions in a clear and definite way without making a radical change to the analytical frameworks used.

At this stage, the concept of European mobility itself must be redefined. A schematic reductive notion can be associated with a simple defined algorithm (*i.e.* going from point A to point B). However, it does not reflect the more important concept of *trajectory* that explains modern forms of multiculturalism and the development of European cities: territorial migration phenomena, the displacements of frontier workers, the bottom-up emergence of macro-regions as new units of smart specialization and employment, durable interconnections between cities and their peripheries, etc. According to the Eckert, Grossetti et Martin Brelot study¹, among the populations of 13 European cities surveyed, low mobility in a strict sense can be observed. Nevertheless, we can identify various forms of individual trajectories, paths, or journeys, each being affected by the cultural context of these cities.

Analyzing emerging cultural changes situated in post-industrial societies is crucial for understanding societal transformations. We will indeed witness, in the next thirty years, considerable changes in the way we conceive of and understand European regions and culture. The European Capital of Culture (ECC) amenities, formally attributed to a city, accord nevertheless great importance to cultural exchanges between the elected city and its region. New cultural amenities should promote inclusive and diverse culture, dissociated from urban elitist practices. The ECC title must be: (1) profitable for all in the region, but also (2) have an impact on the entire territory, even beyond its national borders (such as, for instance, the case of the Greater Region in 2007). Thus, the ECC program should strengthen historical ties between European cities, and empower Cross-European cultural communication.

The empirical study of institutional forms of culture is essential to *understanding how societal changes will operate, and how relationships with institutions will be reconfigured in the next decades with the transformation of cultural practices*. Indeed, if the territorial attractiveness of a city is measured largely through the number and quality of its “equipment” and cultural institutions – the economy of the city, tourism development, urban development and demographic social cohesion – it will also be *evaluated based on its ability to invent new diverse forms of practice and urban consumption identified with European unity*.

At a related level, cultural practices and immersive heritage forms should also create and manage reports to the communication technologies that mediatize the emergence of new deterritorialized European identities.

¹ Denis Eckert, Michel Grossetti, H el ene Martin-Brelot, “La classe cr eative au secours des villes?”, Paris, La Vie des id ees. fr, 28 f evrier 2012. URL: <http://www.laviedesidees.fr/La-classe-creative-au-secours-des.html>.

1. The Potential Ability of Cultural Institutions to Become Part – or Not – of New Regional and Urban Dynamics

By closely observing *how* immersive cultural institutions experience important changes, many particular issues become visible *ex post*, beyond general views. Most descriptions that have been made about events such as Marseilles-Provence 2013 ECC, deviate from assessments made after other capital years.

For example, observers — not only journalists, but also geographers such as Boris Grésillon² — agree that the balance of cultural offerings in a city like Marseilles, would be heavily modified after the 2013 ECC year. Numerous people believe that temporary changes — to infrastructures, urban amenities, or cultural events — durably impact cultural life. The analysis we propose here is, however, quite different.

We began the development of this project faced with two choices: (1) To start with a major cultural institution such as the theatre of Marseille in order to describe how cultural geography of the city is built and conceived by amateurs and by theatre lovers. This cultural geography is not an objective view (*i.e.* an external view) of cultural places, but a *subjective* view — *eg.* a view constructed by practices or in other words, a cultural view — of the city. Our second option was (2) not to focus on new cultural venues, but on previously existing structures, which is what we propose to do³.

What is relevant for our study is the long duration of urban cultural changes, for three key reasons: (a) the strong inertia of old cultural practices, (b) significant changes in governance that impact cultural practices very slowly, (c) the presence of new institutions that requires a long time (most likely beyond a decade) to produce significant cultural change. Therefore, we can state that the long duration of urban cultural change is both a methodological and an epistemological option. The reason for this statement is that we can observe *hysteresis effects* when we observe cultural life. This inertia can be seen if we look closely at how a singular institution works over a period of five to ten years because practices are subject to resilience. That is the reason why we cannot only study an institution at a single point in time (photographically).⁴

Hence the choice of an observation from a bottom-up understanding of the oldest cultural institutions is relevant. This observation will be our starting

² Boris Grésillon, *Un enjeu «capitale» : Marseilles-Provence 2013*, Paris, Ed. de l'Aube, 2011.

³ A few hundred meters from the *La Criée National Theater* — which is located downtown Marseilles, on the *Vieux Port*, at the center of the city — in 2013 a new museum appeared that has been often discussed in the media, the MuCEM. But can this new museum be analyzed as the origin of a cultural “revolution” in Marseilles? The MuCEM which is a museum of civilization, built on an inheritance from the old museum of ATP (Arts and popular traditions) is a very intensely visited site, but it is far from certain that this museum has found a stable audience from within Marseilles and the surrounding area. Stating that MuCEM changed Marseilles and the regional cultural life is based on unfounded opinion.

⁴ By consequence, we cannot now observe what is changing cultural life in Marseilles by the description of the MuCEM. We must wait a few years to observe the effects of this museum.

point. From this, we can observe how changes are diffracted in each local cultural place. For instance, from our first survey sample of about three hundred spectators – conducted at the *La Criée National Theater* – we can see that of spectators who attended the theater, 70 percent also went to another theater. This link between theaters appears by analyzing practices. The second issue is how the balance between different existing institutions changes over time and during upheavals such as ECC. From this position, we can see that some theaters begin to occupy a more important place or start to assume new functions.

From our survey we highlight three features of this “game of musical chairs”: (a) It is not a zero-sum game, the relative position of institutions rearticulates over time. Transfers occur between related institutions. (b) New positions can also emerge: institutions that centralize offers of cultural diversity. (c) The choice of two cases for our comparative survey explores the less interconnected institutions (*La Criée National Theater* & *Theater of the Merlan*).

Two key issues hold great importance here. (a) First, transfers occur between theaters geographically and culturally close. For instance between geographically close theaters, located in the very center of the city, such as the *La Criée National Theater* and the *Theater of the Gymnase*. Both theaters are one kilometer apart. *La Criée* and *Le Gymnase* are the two main theaters located downtown Marseilles, in the very center of the city. *La Criée* has seven hundred and fifty seats available, whereas *Le Gymnase*, can seat one thousand. However, they assume different functions. (b) From our survey findings, we can observe that *La Criée* assumes a new function and becomes even more central than it was before MP-2013 ECC.

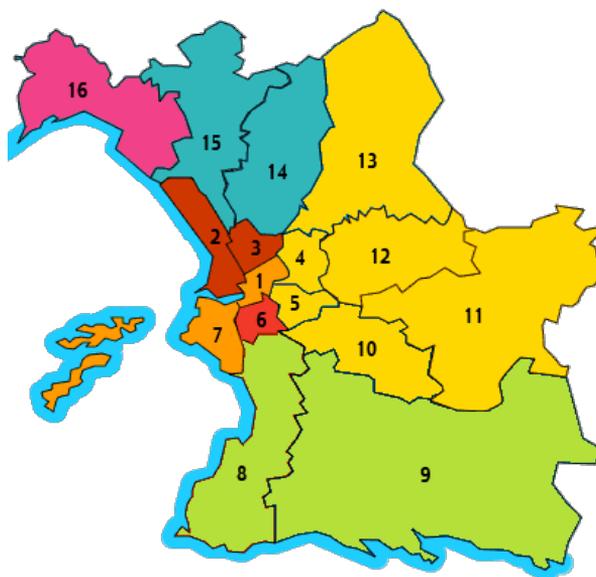
This new dynamic function of regional cultural centralization is gradually being implemented in the center of the city. From our first statistical survey sample (survey conducted on 15th and 18th January 2014 on audiences of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, directed by Georges Lavaudant, N= 393), the response to question number 15 of our questionnaire (what are the main missions of the *La Criée National Theater*?) was “becoming a place of scenic and creative expression open to other theaters and disciplines”⁵ at 60%.

In the same spirit, the answer to question 5 (horizons of expectation from the theater) gives weight to the hypothesis that the *La Criée National Theater* position is opening its disciplinary fields — namely, that the theater can be a place of disciplinary exchange and a passageway to other cultural institutions.

⁵ The question number 15 of our questionnaire proposed 8 responses: 1 - Present the great texts and great authors of French theater; 2 - Present the great texts and great authors of French and international theater; 3 - Repeat the readings and stagings of French and international theater; 4 - Tell directors of currently renewed theaters in France; 5 - Tell directors of currently renewed theaters in France and abroad; 6 - Make experimental theater available to the largest number of spectators; 7 - Make amateur theater available to the largest number of spectators; 8 - Become a place of scenic and creative expression open to other theaters and disciplines.

However, the main question here is how this cultural proposal impacts the way (*how*) spectators represent themselves within the cultural geography of the city. In other words, we must determine the dynamic function that crosses the new program of the theater as well as *the vision* of the new director who took control of the theater in 2011 (Macha Makeieff who is the director is a well-known French actress). But in order to capture these changes, we must be able to describe the *subjective cultural geography* of spectators from the very center of the city.

Map of Marseilles's Districts



The Map of the very centered theaters of the city can be built from the point of view of the *La Criée National Theater* spectators. This geography, which is only partially connected to the physical geography, determines an inclusive scope. It thus draws an inclusive scope and a cultural periphery.



Very centered theaters of the city, from the point of view of La Criée spectators⁶

To conclude this first analysis, we would like to highlight four points: (1) Our research aims to bring a focus on *the potential ability of cultural institutions to become part – or not – of new regional and urban dynamics and embrace the cultural changes that generate them*, (2) we strive to favor a “low angle shot” and bottom-up approach to the cultural audience territorial mobility, and, indirectly, on the local smart specialization predispositions and regional development abilities. The bottom-up approach includes a grounded approach emphasizing the interplay between different social, cultural and economic conditions. It should not be confused with just a new subjective urban vision of the city. (3) We will not focus on new cultural venues, but on older ones. We want to highlight the importance of understanding how European political changes are diffracted by cultural institutions like theaters, museums, operas, etc., and (4) to understand how older institutions invent new adaptive strategies.

In order to reach these goals, two theoretical objectives are required: (1) To establish a “subjective” cultural geography, built from the point of view and

⁶ The *Merlan* is a northern theater of Marseille, located in the same part of the city as the *Toursky* and *Gyptis* Theaters (a “blue collar” working class neighborhood). The *Merlan* Theater is not much farther from the center than the *Toursky* or the *Gyptis*. However, the *Toursky* is linked to *La Criée*, from the point of view of the *La Criée* Spectators, while the *Merlan* is not. *La Criée – Le Merlan* are not within a walking distance – 9 km separate the two theaters –and it requires a metro connection, or a bus/car transportation to reach one from the other.

ordinary practices of spectators; and (2) to highlight how ordinary spectators "think" and perceive the impacts of the ECC policies on the interplay between the cultural life of the city and the connected territories. We aim to select institutions for cultural reasons and not for an "administrative" or political vision of the city.

2. Mobility and Attractiveness: The Limits of a Paradigm

Review of the Problem and Preliminary Results

Can the "creative classes" be a resource for cities? Contemporary political thought has extensively developed the issue of culture as an economic tool for post-industrial cities. Many scientific studies have suggested that new urban dynamics focused on culture could have a significant impact on the economic growth of cities, human capital, tourism, and mobility, ranging from residential choice strategies to the location of economic activities. One of the most famous, is supported by Richard Florida in his best-selling book, *The Rise of the Creative Class*. According to Richard Florida, the "creative class" is characterized by three values: high-tech, talent, and tolerance. However, the exact scope of these values is still defined without great precision: indeed, we do not know exactly how to define technological *philoneism*, talent and tolerance.

A Challenged Theory: Theoretical Objections

Working as expert-consultant for numerous cities in the US and abroad, Richard Florida is currently not only a political activist, but also praised by renowned researchers (he is the first reference in *Portrait d'un artiste en travailleur*, by Pierre-Michel Menger). In the wake of his research, scholars such as Terry Nichols Clark, University of Chicago, or Edward Glaeser, Harvard University, have also pursued important academic research. Their theories have a resonance today that goes well beyond activist circles. They give a new formulation to human capital theories in many countries in the world, from North America to Asia as well as in Europe.

However, these theories have been also heavily challenged by economists and sociologists, in two main ways: (1) by showing inaccuracies in the argumentation, (2) by starting from case studies, that show the great difficulty of empirically demonstrating the general processes involved in Richard Florida's argumentation, especially when the author is arguing about the virtuous circles thanks to which a "creative class" would lead automatically to economic growth and development. How to demonstrate that this virtuous circle – the "creative class" – really does exist? And how to show that growth is correlated to the dynamic of a "virtuous group"?

Economists and sociologists have multiple objections to this theory. In their opinion, *the Rise of the Creative Class* is a crucial issue that is poorly formulated. Consequently, criticism has been made about two main issues: (a) criticism of the paradigm, (b) questions about collective dynamics and logic of actors.

A critical review judiciously formulated by Eckert, Grossetti et Martin Brelot⁷ clearly shows the sociological limits of the Florida's theory. According to Florida, "It may seem easier to attract people than entire companies or, even more expensive, to generate endogenous development by promoting teaching and research"⁸. Offering a miraculous solution to a particularly thorny problem, Florida was hired by several cities, including Toronto and Milwaukee. But fifteen years later, he has obtained no results despite significant investments.⁹

In France, Nice, a medium-sized city, has embarked on the same path. In the same way, the European Cultural Capitals attach importance to Richard Florida's theory. Thus words like "creative districts" or "creative neighborhoods" have joined the team in charge of the European Cultural Capitals organization's lexicon.

Indeed, "a part of Florida's thesis is that members of the creative class choose the cities in which they will settle on the basis of qualities such as urban atmosphere, the openness to minorities, or the vitality of cultural activities, so on soft urban factors, rather than traditional hard factors such as employment, wages, or infrastructures"¹⁰. This argument has been challenged by obvious evidence showing that there is an inversion of causality. According to Eckert, Grossetti and Martin-Brelot, "there is indeed a creative class, it is present in larger quantities in growing cities [...] these cities also have better indexes about the soft factors", however, it is the "economic development that creates both jobs and attract creatives (creative people) and urban amenities that capture the indexes in question"¹¹. These authors have also raised objections about Richard Florida's theory in terms of collective dynamics and actors. Currently, there is a good amount of probability that the "creative class" might be all just an illusion.

A Challenged Theory: Empirical Objections

Empirically, the purpose of the Eckert, Grossetti and Martin-Brelot paper was to test the validity of Richard Florida's thesis through a European survey covering 13 cities. The authors do not implement an analysis of spatial correlations (e.g. between a capital and its surrounding provinces) whose causality is difficult to

⁷ Cf. Eckert, Grossetti, Martin-Brelot, "La classe créative".

⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁹ Jeffrey Zimmermann, "From brew town to cool town: Neoliberalism and the creative city development strategy in Milwaukee," *Cities*, 25, p. 230–242.

¹⁰ Eckert, Grossetti, Martin-Brelot, "La classe créative", p. 2.

¹¹ Ibid. Florida's data would be correct, but the interpretation would be wrong according to Richard Shearmur (2007) and Alan Scott (2005).

interpret, but use direct questionnaires on trajectories and lifestyles. The survey focuses on members supposed to belong to the “creative class”¹².

The survey highlights an important result: “Creatives” are much less mobile than what was previously believed. Therefore mobility is a problematic concept. According to the geographical origin of respondents (place of birth), 53% of respondents were born in the community where they currently live. Furthermore, mobility only concerns 12% of foreigners.

Nevertheless, this does not mean a sedentary path for this population. Respondents have made shorter or longer stays in other cities than where they were born and/or where they have completed their studies.

The second result concerns the places for obtaining the highest degree. It is even more striking: 63.6% have completed their studies in the community where they currently live, or in its immediate environment¹³.

In addition, the results could be refined, which weakens even further the thesis of Florida. The survey was not designed to be analyzed by the three authors Eckert, Grossetti, Martin-Brelot (who performed the secondary analysis of these data). But, if this had been the case, the results would have been even more "regional" (the European survey was focused on cities). According to the authors, a regional investigation would have produced even stronger results.

For the question, “why respondents came to the city where they currently live?” the responses were received in the following order¹⁴:

1. I have family here	40,2 %
2. Proximity to friends	38,3 %
3. Good job opportunities	37,9 %
4. I moved here because of my job	33,3 %
5. I was born here	30,60%
6. I studied here	30,1 %
7. Good variety of leisure and entertainment	23,7 %
8. City size	21 %
9. Cultural diversity	16,5 %
10. Close to nature	15,7 %
.....	
14. I moved here because of my spouse	9,8 %
15. Presence of good universities	9,8%

¹² The sample selected 11 European cities, 2355 persons, 8 socio-professional categories — with 300 persons for each — distinguished graduate engineering, law, finance, lawyers, academics, research fields. But also fields of letters and art, video games, electronic media publication, advertising & architecture, media, photography, and so one.

¹³ Another complementary figure: there is only 26% who were born elsewhere and have pursued studies somewhere else.

¹⁴ Eckert, Grossetti, Martin-Brelot, “La classe créative”, Table 3, p.6-7.

Ultimately, the results can be summarized as follows: in red we highlight the relational reasons (1, 2, 5, 9, 14) that are the main ones. In blue, the economic reasons (3, 4, 8). And in green the cultural reasons (6, 7, 10, and 15).

In the conclusion of their article, the authors point out the need to rethink more precisely the question of mobility. We observe similar preliminary results in our survey. After consultations with the team and the direction of the *La Criée National Theater*, four shows were chosen for the investigation. *Cyrano de Bergerac*, in a staging by Bernard Lavaudant (performances of the 15 and 18 January 2014), *Queen of Heart*, show proposed by Juliette Deschamps (3 and 4 February 2014), *De Nos Jours*, the show of circus company, Mosjoukine (03 and 04 April 2014), and finally two comedies by Shakespeare, staged by the Propeller Company, directed by Edward Hall (12 and 13 April 2014). The four scenic proposals were extremely heterogeneous. The first, a classic of high quality, was an almost film-like production. The second performed a hybrid voice of lyrical music-hall practices and staged an evocation of the great voices of the twentieth century. The third, made in the fabric of the new art of the circus, combines the intrigue of the bodily prowess of actors, acrobats, mimes, jugglers, as well as philosophical clowns. The last, finally, incorporates two classic texts – *The Comedy of Errors* and *Dream of a summer night* – staged in the original language with subtitles that manage to coexist in a happily historicist choice. Although we have not described in detail here the four amateur populations targeted, it is ensured that they are different from each other and involved in these offers in diverse ways.

Cyrano de Bergerac, the 15 th and 18 th January 2014, <i>La Criée</i> national theater, Marseille			
If you live in Marseille, what determined your choice of residence?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1 – Professional reasons	46	23,1
	2 – Cultural resources	11	5,5
	3 – Quality of life	18	9,0
	4 – Economic and fiscal reasons	3	1,5
	5 – Family, friends	38	19,1
	6 – I did not really choose to live in Marseille	20	10,1
Total		136	68,3
Missing		63	31,7
Total		199	100,0

The questionnaire we developed for the audience study at each of these four shows is characterized by a strong qualitative component. Through a series of explorative questions, we planned to establish a "dialogue" with each spectator individually. The methodological novelty of our approach consisted in a syncretic combination (1) the typical characteristics of a quantitative questionnaire and (2) with features of an ethnographic interview processed in written form. Viewers were invited to also share with us their thoughts, opinions, and wishes related to their *subjective cultural experience*, which is the main object of our interest. Therefore our questionnaires were adapted to the particularities of each artistic performance studied.

Our preliminary results show that the relationship between cultural institutions and urban habitat is weak. Even in cultural places where practitioners are heavily invested (former subscribers attending the *La Criée National Theater* for several years, for instance), answers to the questionnaire do not evoke the cultural dimension of the city. This dimension is secondary (it is clearly in fifth position), including the most institutional cultures related to urban populations.

The professional and family reasons of living in Marseille are widely cited reasons. So the cultural attractiveness of the city, in 2014, is – still – very low, even for long-term subscribers of the theater, since the “cultural” response appears only in fifth position. The survey results are very much in line with the findings of the aforementioned article of Eckert, Grossetti and Martin-Brelot. Moreover, the close analysis of the populations who indicated that the cultural reasons determined the choice to live in Marseille, shows that the same population is *the least engaged* in frequenting *both old and new cultural amenities* than the publics that live in Marseille for the professional and family reasons.¹⁵

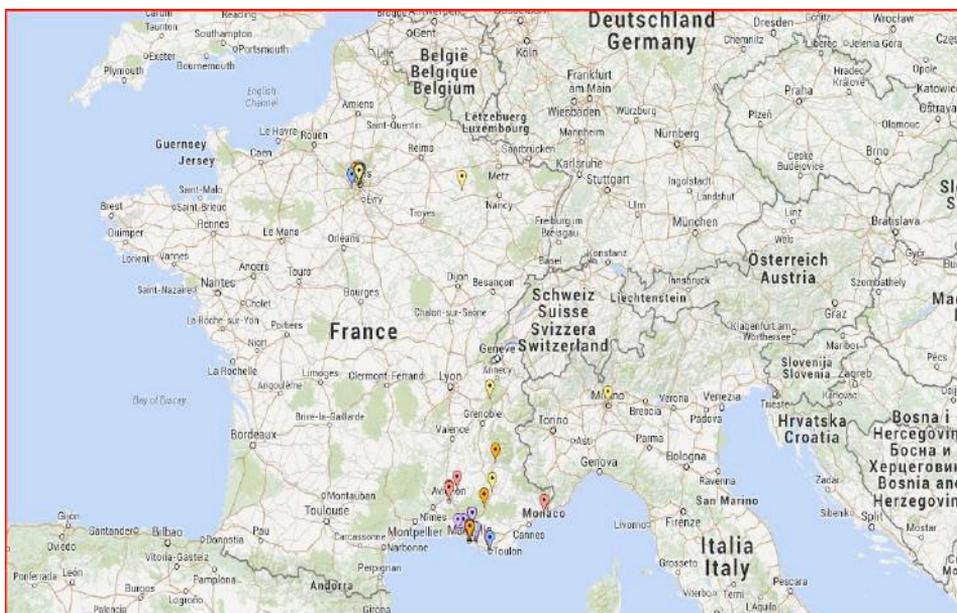
The other significant result of our pre-survey is the weak international mobility of the *La Criée* theater spectators. In the case of two comedies by Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Dream of a Summer Night*, staged in an ultra-contemporary style by the British company Propeller, we can observe the absence of spectators who live abroad and who came to Marseille for its new cultural programs:

¹⁵ These results will be a part of our consulting report for *La Criée* governance and tutelage that will be published in September 2015.

Question 27 : Where do you live ?			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1 - Marseille	71	64,5
	2 - Aix / Cassis	9	8,2
	3 - Towns / villages in the department	13	11,8
	4 - PACA Region	6	5,5
	5 - Other regions in France	2	1,8
	6 - Abroad	0	0
	Total	101	91,8
Missing	System	9	8,2
Total		110	100,0

Despite the efforts for a powerful international opening, invitation of the international artists, musicians and circus companies, La Criée remains mainly attractive for residents of Marseille and its suburbs. Furthermore, it was found that La Criée local audiences do not move to the other European countries for cultural amenities. The occasional cases of European mobility should be treated rather like the exceptions. As the map below illustrates, the audiences of the four shows investigated moves mostly for the cultural amenities of the national scale. Milan and Monaco are the only European destinations that attract La Criée spectators with cultural offers.

Cartographic representation of La Criée audiences' European cultural displacements:



The main results highlight the following conclusion: attractiveness is not a judicious concept. It must be replaced by a less categorical notion. In fact, three meanings of the concept of attractiveness can be considered: Meaning 1: a city is attractive because it brings in over a long period of time, for cultural reasons, individuals who choose to live in proximity to cultural offerings. Meaning 2: a city is attractive because it attracts temporarily for cultural reasons, individuals who choose to live in proximity to cultural offerings for a short time (transitional place). Meaning 3: a city is attractive because it permanently settles, for cultural reasons, individuals who are already residents, but could be tempted by migration.

Mapping the cultural form of a city leads to objectify the mental mapping of ordinary fans and give substance to what in a given urban space, connects, assembles, and associates. It is therefore necessary to replace the static image that we have of a city with the consideration of the power of an army (how many grants and “weapons” does it have?) – by a representation of the living experience of a city in building an archispectateur - if we can borrow and reuse the notion that Michel Riffaterre has developed based on the literature¹⁶ – which describes the paths of new amateur cohorts and new audiences.

But this description is not without consequences for the institutional actors of culture: by replacing the single struggle and the spirit of competition by the culture of active convergences and by putting at the heart of the action the issue of visibility coordinated by complementarities and singularities, the historic institutions of culture could find a more central place. They could find material to feed a more open cultural policy that distances the counter-productive and disrupting imperative – improperly formulated and poorly conceptualized – of the democratization of culture that has durably sterilized political thought during the second half of the twentieth century.

References

1. Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities : Reflexions on the origins and spread of nationalism*, London-New York, Verso, 1991.
2. Bastin, Gilles. “La presse au miroir du capitalisme moderne, un projet d’enquête de Max Weber sur les journaux et le journalisme”, *Réseaux*, vol. 19/109, 2001, p. 171-208.
3. Chiapello, Eve. “Reconciling the Two Principal Meanings of the Notion of Ideology. The Example of the Concept of the Spirit of Capitalism”, *European Journal of Social Theory*, 6(2), 2003, p. 155–171.
4. Clark, Terry Nichols, Navarro, Clemente Jesus. *Cultural Policies in European Cities: An analysis from the cultural agenda of mayors*, Chicago, European Societies, 2012.

¹⁶ Michel Riffaterre, *La Production du texte*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1979.

5. Clark, Terry Nichols. *The City as an Entertainment Machine*, Chicago, Lexington Books, 2004.
6. Clark, Terry Nichols. *The New Political Culture*, Chicago, Westview Press, 1998.
7. Classen, Constance. "Museum Manners: The Sensory Life of the Early Museum", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 40, No. 4, Summer 2007, p. 895-914.
8. Davallon, Jean. "La sociologie de la réception au musée. Jean-Claude Passeron, Emmanuel Pedler: Le Temps donné aux tableaux", *Publics et Musées*, vol. 3, n° 1, 1993, p. 159-161.
9. Eckert, D., Grossetti, M., Martin-Brelot H., "La classe créative au secours des villes?", *La Vie des idées*, 28 février 2012. URL: <http://www.laviedesidees.fr/La-classe-creative-au-secours-des.html>.
10. Fleury, Laurent. *Sociology of Culture and Cultural Practices*, Lexington Books, 2014.
11. Florida, Richard, Gary, Gates. *Technology and Tolerance: The Importance of Diversity to High-Technology Growth*, New York, Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy, 2001.
12. Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, New York, Basic Books, 2002.
13. Florida, Richard. *Who's Your City? How the Creative Economy Is Making Where to Live the Most Important Decision of Your Life*, New York, Basic Books, 2008.
14. Garoian, Charles. "Performing the Museum", *Studies in Art Education*, 42(3), 2001, p. 234-248.
15. Gleaser, Edward L., Kolko Jed, Saiz Albert. *Consumer City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2000. URL: http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/glaeser/files/consumer_city.pdf.
16. Gleaser, Edward L., Redlick C. *Social Capital and Urban Growth*, Cambridge, Harvard University Eds., 2009.
17. Gresillon, Boris. *Un enjeu «capitale»: Marseille-Provence 2013*, Ed. de l'Aube, 2011.
18. Halbwachs, Maurice. *Esquisse d'une psychologie des classes sociales*, Paris, Marcel Rivière, 1938.
19. Laborde, Denis. "Pour une science indisciplinée de la musique", in T. Bachir-Loopuyt, *Musik, Kontext, Wissenschaft. Interdisziplinäre Forschung zur Musik*, Francfort/Main, Peter Lang, 2012, p. 25-33.
20. Laborde, Denis. *De Jean-Sébastien Bach à Glenn Gould. Magie du son et spectacle de la passion*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1997.
21. Pasquier, Dominique. "Agents of mediation and sources of safety awareness: a comparative overview", in *Children, risk and safety online*, Bristol, The Policy press, 2012, p. 217-228.
22. Pedler, Emmanuel, Cheyronnaud, Jacques. *Théories ordinaires*, série

- Enquête, vol. 10, Ed. de l'EHESS, 2013.
23. Pedler, Emmanuel. "Esthétiques ordinaires et mises en scènes ritualisées des lieux: L'échange estival de domicile et la question esthétique", in *Interculturalità, Teorie, Prassi, Significati*, F. Monceri Eds., 2008.
 24. Pedler, Emmanuel. "Les processus d'institutionnalisation des scènes lyriques: quelques questions sociologiques", in *L'Opéra de Paris, la Comédie-Française et l'Opéra Comique (1672-2010). Approches comparées*, Ed. De l'École des Chartes, 2011, p. 127-138.
 25. Pedler, Emmanuel, Djakouane, Aurélien. "Carrières de spectateurs au théâtre public et à l'opéra: Les modalités des transmissions culturelles en questions: des prescriptions incantatoires aux prescriptions opératoires", Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, vol. 2, 2003, p. 203-214.
 26. Pedler, Emmanuel, Passeron, Jean-Claude. "Time to gaze upon painting: a survey on the visual perception", in J. Halley & D. Sonolet, Eds, *Bourdieu in Question*, Sage, 2007.
 27. Quéré, Louis. "Faut-il abandonner l'étude de la réception?", *Réseaux*, N14(79), 1996, p.33-37.
 28. Riffaterre, Michel. *La Production du texte*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1979.
 29. Weber, Max. *La Ville*, Paris, Editions Aubier (Coll. Champ urbain), 1992.
 30. Zimmerman, Jeffrey. "From brew town to cool town: Neoliberalism and the creative city development strategy in Milwaukee", *Cities* (N25), 2008, p. 230-242.
 31. Zubrzycki, Geneviève. *History and the National Sensorium: Making Sense of Polish Mythology*, *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 31, March 2011, p. 21-57.

Projective Cities: Organizing Large Cultural Development Initiatives

Nils Wåhlin

Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University

Abstract: *Cities are the dynamic places within which living, working and playing is performed for over fifty per cent of the global population. In recent years, organization scholars who study cities have become interested in the way organizing is translated into ongoing actions and how these actions are assembled in the city context. This paper describes city development as a situated practice and proposes a conceptual vocabulary comprehensive enough to incorporate the complexity of such strategic endeavours as the performing of a 'city of culture'. Our group of researchers followed the materialization of a large developmental-cultural initiative, attempting to understand how organizing and strategizing were shaped in the context of this initiative. As a way of analysing ongoing actions, we refused to treat the city as a stable and separate entity; rather, we saw the city as a meshwork: heterogeneous assemblies emerging on its terrain. Public and private initiatives worked in tandem, in concert and contest, and were repeatedly translated into projectified practices. Projectifying and projecting city development could thereby be described as an attempt to shape and form what we call projective cities. A projective city comprises multiple projects, multiple arenas and multiple forces – not always co-created in harmony with its citizens.*

Keywords: *projective cities, meshwork, culture-driven growth, narrative dualities.*

Introduction

Organization scholars are increasingly interested in the ways in which organizing are practiced in large development efforts (Bengtsson et al., 2007). This is especially apparent among strategy researchers who take a practice approach. In their recent overview of strategy-as-practice research, Vaara and Whittington (2012) emphasized the need to widen the range of organizations studied – to city administrations, for example – and the connection between these organizations and broader cultural and societal issues. However, earlier studies of cities have noted problems related to the study of activities, from the time a strategic decision has been made to the time the actual event occurs. It is difficult to follow the appropriate chain of translations within large cities (Czarniawska, 2010). One way out of this difficulty is to examine how these translations are conducted within what can be conceptualized as 'action nets' – a complex notion founded in the sociology of translation theory, but tailored

specifically for organization studies (Czarniawska, 2008). In line with practice-based studies, the goal of such studies is to illuminate how and where work actually is done and how it is connected into assembled actions.

I attempt in this paper to put this goal into practice, by raising the following questions: How can organizing be explained in city development processes, and how can we conceptualize a vocabulary that is comprehensive enough to incorporate the complexity of a project with the magnitude of a Capital of Culture initiative?

This paper begins with a brief explanation of how practices of organizing can be viewed as nets of action. Multiple translations occur in this process, which necessitates the turning of one's attention to the difficulty of disciplining large organizations into a given institutional order. It continues with an outline of a theoretical framework that illuminates the paradoxical character of cities and the enabling and constraining effects inherent in each attempt of organizing. The research setting and the methods used for data collection are then described, with special emphasis on the use of narrative repetition and narrative dualities. This section is followed by a depiction of the context of the field study: the Capital of Culture initiative. I then turn to the data analysis, by iterating between field observations and the theoretical lens employed, finally reflecting upon the implications and offering conclusions and suggestions for further research.

Practices of Organizing in Nets of Actions

Complex practices of organizing are enacted and re-enacted on a day-to-day basis and result in nets of actions. A net differs from a chain in that it is not unidirectional; the concept of an action net is meant to minimize *a priori* assumptions concerning the networks in existence and to permit the capture of both actual and virtual interactions that connect actions undertaken in distant places and times (Czarniawska, 2004). Compared with the network concept, which assumes that connections exist before actions occur, the concept of action net reverses this assumption with the suggestion that connections between and among actions are used to construct the identities of actors in a multidirectional way. The concept of action net is further related to the suggestion that ideas and practices travelling in the global economy are translated into local circumstances – a process called *glocalization* (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005), which is similar but not identical in different contexts. Action nets are often an expression of a localized global.

Viewing the city as an action net infused by glocalization practically demands that the traditional, territorial city discourses are complemented with additional discourses. Such discourses, often multidisciplinary, do not always work harmoniously with each other, however. Although there is always a formal organization called 'city administration', the city consists of a variety of other organizing efforts that must be taken into account (Czarniawska, 2013). This is why it is difficult to speak of a city strategy in a traditional way, as something

that a city 'has'. It is better to speak of strategizing (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011), emphasizing the aspirations of contemporary cities to become 'laboratories' – places that enable (but also constrain) the sphere of actions in which designers and users, urban planners and citizens, ideas and needs meet, clash, and become translated.

Elaborating on such strategizing attempts, Kornberger & Clegg (2011) investigated how urban design was translated into people's values in the City of Sydney's strategy for a green, global and connected city by 2030: *Sustainable Sydney 2030*. Kornberger and Clegg claimed that performative strategizing – strategy formulation that functioned as enactment of the suggested city image – encouraged the citizens to 'think big', but also legitimized the city's strategic actions as an articulation of the public will. The dominant vocabulary, however, excluded some discursive structures and included others, which can be seen as a way of exercising power (Clegg, 1989). One viewpoint that further elaborates on this power struggle is the notion of *meshwork*, possibly an overarching metaphor permitting entrepreneurial self-organizing and even anarchistic organizing (Scott, 2012) to cohabit with other organizational structures in cities (Czarniawska, 2013). Organizing are then not only about sorting activities into homogenous groups; it has also to deal with the existence of heterogeneous elements that cannot be homogenized in a planned way. As the philosopher Manuel De Landa (1995) put it, the metaphor of a meshwork can help people to think not only of their homes, but also about the home of their homes: the city.

Meshwork as a City Metaphor

The meshwork metaphor was for example mentioned in Henri Lefebvre's book, *The Production of Space* (1974/1991), and was extended by anthropologist Tim Ingold (2007), among others. But Lefebvre's view not least articulated by his followers was later criticized for prioritizing the separation of spaces rather than studying their usefulness. By relying on a performative approach, Beyes and Steyaert (2012) have suggested the term 'spacing', a conceptualization which sharpens readers' awareness of 'provisional spatial-temporal constellations that are in process, alive and unstable' (p. 53) and attracts attention to everyday creativity and experimentation. This extended awareness would hopefully be one of the effects of framing cities as meshworks.

Still, extending the notion of organizing into the field of city management is not an easy task, especially when cities are conceptualized as meshworks. This overarching concept is used in its metaphorical sense in this paper, illuminating tensions, ambiguities and paradoxes embedded in the meaning of the term (Czarniawska, 2013). The meshwork metaphor highlights the complexity of organizing, creating an awareness of the limits of each strategic effort to prescribe actions. Nobody can fully understand how the system works in its totality, because there are always unintended consequences that cannot be planned by top strategists. The 'flat' view of an action net assumes just that and

reflects on the way ongoing actions become materialized. Citizens do not always follow the expected trails along cartographic and spatial designs; rather action nets become both disconnected and connected where trajectories of people and things crisscross. To deploy Latour's (2005) term, citizens can be said to live in the two-dimensional world of a 'flatland'. But this 'down to earth thinking' is always challenged by our 'will to form' (Burrell, 2013), as we as human beings aspire to move into a three-dimensional world. This world may be depicted in a topographic mode that continually needs to be restored through a series of reconstructions that continually reassemble the social (Latour, 2005).

Opening up urban design by admitting its paradoxical character thereby seems to be a fruitful path. Even scholars in economics entertain such a notion when they speak of 'creative cities' (e.g. Andersson, 2011). Assuming some kind of 'art of structural instability' (p. 28), these scholars address the multifarious options in creative processes. By recalling the figure of the Necker cube, they translate city development into a designer's problem, while emphasizing its instable and ambiguous nature. Myriad sketches forestall the completion of every design, and the appreciation and use of paradoxes seem necessary in this process. Organization scholars approaching organizational architecture (Burrell, 2013) express similar thoughts. Burrell's aim is to move beyond the two-dimensionality of much organizational thinking and to present a more complex three-dimensional model –the 'cube' (p. 116). Consequently, in the never-finished business of city development, researchers struggle to frame organizational attempts, moving between two- and three-dimensional models. Oscillating between 2-D and 3-D perspectives, researchers as well as practitioners 'zoom in' and 'zoom out' in order to visualize the details as well as the overall image and design. With the aim of finding a path between complexity and simplicity the notion of projective cities thereby becomes reasonable.

Designing Projective Cities

Moving between 2-D and 3-D models, the urban designers struggle with contradictory needs as a consequence of economic, social, cultural and environmental concerns addressed by different stakeholders. Economic concerns often dominate, creating both enabling and constraining conditions. In response, sociologists speak of 'a new spirit of capitalism' (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005) fueled particularly by a management vocabulary. By breaking with Bourdieu's thinking of clearly distinctive power spheres, Boltanski and Chiapello opened the doors for some form of 'mesh', giving the citizens back the ability to reflect critically on their own situation. New forms of social, artistic, and later, ecological critique are outlined following this path (Chiapello, 2013). This 'sociology of critique' can be easily related to an individual work situation that becomes more 'projectified' (Lundin & Söderholm, 1995; Lundin & Söderholm, 1998, Lundin et al., 2015), in line with recipes generated in

management texts. *Projectification* – defined as temporary assignments in flexible networks – are one way of accomplishing tasks in a focused manner that satisfies the entrepreneurial initiatives and economic concerns that are gaining importance. This perspective is invading all spheres of society and seems to blur the boundaries between business and public domains in a new spirit, indeed. Cities are undoubtedly a good example of this phenomenon.

From the perspective of organizing as connecting actions into nets, the project type of organizing is but one example of a variety of organizing efforts, despite its present prominence. If projects are regularly assembled into programmes or portfolios, action nets can be assembled into various connections among actions converging into ‘weaves’, while still maintaining their multifarious character. However, departmentalization into projects is a way to reduce complexity, which promotes a certain form of energizing and focused action pattern. These practices include creation of a temporary organization as a way to timely manage short-term activities, but also projective elements as a way to strategize long-term investments related to urban design as a whole. Thus by deploying the notion of projective cities, this paper will further elaborate on the double meaning on the word ‘projective’.

In the city context this twofold meaning could be related to investments made both in soft and hard infrastructures (Landry, 2000/2008). Not least large cultural-development projects might be accompanied with hard infrastructure investments projecting a desired future. Inspired by architecture scholars, I thereby turn to the issue of design and its three-dimensional intervention in urban spaces (Lee & Jaccoby, 2011; Altés & Lieberman, 2013). It is usual to highlight specific cities in order to consider their sophisticated architectural landmarks and iconic buildings. But these buildings do not always become generative spaces (Kornberger & Clegg, 2004) for future generations; rather they often become isolated islands, separating form and function and serving only esoteric tastes. In addition, commercial forces drive cities to mimetic behaviors, shaped mostly by consumerism that limits aesthetic concerns; every city must have shopping malls that encourage the purchase of goods and services in ever-greater amounts. In the new spirit of capitalism (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005), a novel ‘romance between culture and commerce’ seems to emerge that capitalize on the relation between culture and commerce. ‘Culture-driven growth’ becomes a mantra coined by globalization and diffused worldwide; where the spheres of culture and commerce can be understood as mutually beneficial (Roberts, 2012). These worldwide shifts place cities and their management under considerable pressure, as they seek to attract talent, increase their position in city rankings and become economically and civically habitable places. These shifts force huge investments in buildings and infrastructure, densified in city centers, particularly by spectacular architecture projected in contemporary cathedrals of culture.

Although these processes are similar in different cities local translations appear. However, the local translations do not always follow predestined routes.

They rather assume differences based on historical circumstances and the multifarious options available in each context. The designer's dilemma in projective cities is to find a proper path and creative solutions, while simultaneously bearing in mind enabling and constraining forces. Energizing projects and projections of a desired future often become solutions, but they are not always successfully implemented. Projective cities developmental efforts thereby require sensitivity to citizens' need for fair treatment and justice (Boltanski and Thevénot, 2006) and not the least receptivity to substantial critique; either if it is social, cultural or ecological (Chiapello, 2013). Even if 'co-creation' between culture and commerce can provide new creative practices, are the tension and the antagonistic relation between these two spheres of activities still present. Consequently, these dual prerequisites need to be taken into account when we now turn to the empirical context of a large city development initiative and its local translation; the Capital of Culture initiative developed by the European Union.

The City Context

This longitudinal study investigates organizing within the context of a large cultural development initiative. Since 1985, the European Union has designated an annual Capital of Culture to highlight and create awareness about the richness and diversity of European cultures, to bring people from different European countries into contact with each other's cultures, to promote mutual understanding and to foster a feeling of European citizenship (European Commission on European Capital of Cultures, website retrieved October 13, 2014). Previous studies have shown that the event provides a valuable opportunity to regenerate cities, raise their international profile, enhance their image in the eyes of their own inhabitants, provide new vitality to their cultural life and raise their international profile, thereby boosting tourism and cultural entrepreneurship (Åkerlund & Müller, 2012).

In 2014, the European Capital of Culture (ECoC 2014) was awarded to Umeå, Sweden – the most northerly city to receive the designation – and the community invested a great deal of effort into preparing the landscape and the infrastructure of the programme. According to the application (*'Curiosity and passion – the art of co-creation' (City of Umeå's application, 2009)*), the programme aspires to create a new cultural infrastructure, using the 'open-source method' to support sharing, evolving, and the mutual shaping of new ideas and cultural expressions. The goal is to create new means of expression in various art forms, which serve to materialize the political vision of 'participatory democracy', in which citizens should be empowered in the development of society through co-creation within emerging cultural projects. The strategy calls for the active involvement of all Umeå's citizens, organizations and institutions, as well as actors from other cities and regions. The project organization aimed to 'open up cultural codes' in order to translate

and redefine culture in the eyes of its citizens, thereby providing a basis for new expressions and possibilities. The organizers emphasized that certain cultures arouse curiosity and create spaces that nurture innovation, energize the everyday life of the people, and become a driving force for the long-term sustainable development of society (City of Umeå, Strategies for Capital of Culture year 2014, website retrieved October 13, 2014).

In order for this strategy to materialize, the City of Umeå created a soft infrastructure that enabled a myriad of cultural projects to emerge; over 300 projects was registered in the start-up phase of ECoC 2014. Additionally, the city formed a joint venture with the University's College of Fine Arts, the Institute of Design, the School of Architecture, the Humanistic Laboratory (HumLab), the Arts Museum, the Creative Industry Incubator, and a private property owner whose business strategy is the development of the city; all these partners were committed to developing a 'cultural campus'. The cultural campus and its buildings are part of a larger plan for the ongoing development of the city, which includes improvement of the quay area with attractive parks between the cultural campus and the new constructed cultural centre building, labelled 'The Cultural Weave' inaugurated during the Capital of Culture year.

Those constructions belong to the developmental phase of the city's long-term strategy to expand demographically and to fulfil the city's cultural ambitions. Unlike similar investments in large cities, these designs by internationally renowned architecture firms will have a greater impact in shaping this small city, as the ongoing constructions cannot help but leave a clear mark in the townscape and in the life and work of the citizens. The expectations are high that these buildings will create a space where a kaleidoscope of interaction can pave the way for certain critical practices, to reach their peak during the city's Capital of Culture 2014 programme and beyond. Our group of researchers is currently analyzing these actions, exploring how people translated, enacted and materialized the city's ECoC 2014 strategy in their everyday practices.

An Ethnographic Study of Narrative Infrastructures and Narrative Dualities

We studied the everyday life changes during the operation of this initiative, using an ethnographic approach (Wåhlin, Kapsali, Näsholm, & Blomquist, 2013). Our approach draws upon anthropological studies of urban cultures (Hannerz, 1996) and on approaches which have been used in studies of big cities (Czarniawska, 2002). The data collection consists of observing and shadowing key strategic actors throughout the duration of the initiative (Czarniawska, 2007), followed by extensive interviews with people involved in the action nets and the manifestation of actions in projectified practices.

As a first step in reporting the process, this paper provides a historical account based on interviews, observations, documents and media accounts

during the start-up phase of ECoC 2014. The main purpose in this phase is to show how narratives are acquiring repeated and convincing plots (Dailey & Browning, 2014) and are communicated by mediating a narrative infrastructure (Fenton & Langley, 2011). In the process, the tensions grounded in what Dailey and Browning called ‘narrative duality’ –sameness and difference – are revealed. Thus a critique is presented, as expressed by the interviewees, but also articulated in extensive media coverage. We used focus group sessions, our media archive and complementary media databases to sort critical remarks concerning inclusive and exclusive mechanisms, tensions between cultural and commercial interests, and disagreements between city officials and politicians (see e.g. Näsholm & Blomquist, 2014).

As a second step, we scrutinize the most disputed architectural landmark of them all: the cultural centre called ‘The Cultural Weave’. This building by the riverside promenade has been designed by the renowned Norwegian architecture firm Snøhetta. It can be considered as the centre of the narrative infrastructure of the ECoC initiative and an example of an urban space comprising cultural activities and projects, implemented during ECoC 2014. This intervention in the public space can be viewed as a way to frame an urban space in which people and artefacts exist in relation to each other (Wählin, Kapsali, & Blomquist, 2013). The elaboration on narrative dualities in this case (Wählin, 2014) is thereby a way to explore ambiguities and paradoxes experienced when organizing and designing these ‘affective spaces’ (Reckwitz, 2012) in cities.

Data Collection and Methodology

This paper reports our data collection from late 2012 until the initial phase of the Capital of Culture year during spring 2014. The dataset includes 57 interviews conducted in an open-ended and semi-structured way (Silverman, 2011) and ranging from 60 to 90 minutes. A total of 48 interviews were tape-recorded and completely transcribed, and we made extensive notes during the other 9 interviews. Interviews were conducted with politicians involved in the development of the city strategy, the European Capital of Culture initiative and the applications to the European Union, and with extra-organizational actors such as real estate owners, architects, designers and institutional representatives. Table 1 summarizes the type of data collected.

Table 1: Data collection

TYPE OF DATA	Duration (h)	Ocassions
Interviews: Face-to-face, Tape-recorded	47,17	48
Interviews: Face-to-face, Notes	6,55	5
Interviews: Skype, Tape-recorded	1,35	1
Interviews: Phone, Tape-recorded	1	2
Interviews: Phone, Notes	0,2	1
Focus group sessions with project owners and participants, Tape- and video-recorded	20	10
Observations of Events: Notes, Photos (some tape and/or video-recorded), Conversation with visitors	27,66	16
Observations of Meetings: Notes, Photos, Power Points, (some tape and/or video-recorded), Conversation with participants	20,75	12
Observations of Presentations and Press Conferences: Notes, Photos, Power Points, (some tape and/or video-recorded)	7,75	7
Observations of Workshops: Notes, Photos, Power Points, (some tape and/or video-recorded), Conversation with participants	22	3
TOTAL	154,43	105

Interviews with politicians covered such themes as their vision for a strategy for the city, the goals of the initiative and stakeholder involvement. In line with the narrative approach applied in this study (Czarniawska, 2008; Fenton & Langley, 2011), the politicians were asked to tell their version of the story about the way the initiative emerged and how the overall organization took shape in the municipality. Interviews were also conducted with the management team of the Capital of Culture initiative. These interviewees were also asked to articulate their view of how the initiative evolved and became organized in the various phases of the development procedure. More specifically, they were asked to outline their role in the application process and in the programme formulation of ECoc 2014.

Observations were made during meetings of the political Capital of Culture committee, management meetings, programme presentations, press conferences, workshops and other meetings and events. Our data also include a number of materials: the two applications (City of Umeå, 2008; 2009), jury statements (European Council, 2009a; 2009b), urban planning documents, websites and documents from architectural firms (Henning Larsen Architects, 2014; Snøhetta Architects, 2014; White Architects, 2014), committee protocols, Government Bills (Proposition 1974:28; Proposition 2008/09:158; Proposition 2009/10:3), the City Between Bridges website (Umeå, 2013a), the programme book (Umeå, 2013b), the Umeå 2014 website (www.umea2014.se) and an extensive media archive.

In order to reveal the narrative dualities in the different phases of the development process, we conducted 10 focus group sessions – 2 to 4 participants per session – with cultural practitioners who have implemented or

will implement programme activities. Our special interest here was in the participants' experiences of the project application procedure and their communication with the ECoC project office. Our informal, impromptu meetings with the management team also provided valuable resources, allowing us to make sense of the dualities addressed. Finally, since the beginning of our project at the end of 2012, we have collected media articles both in paper form and through databases. In fact, many of our interviewees made reference to formulations in the local press. It was obvious that many of the tensions articulated in those articles were those of cultural practitioners, making their voices heard by a larger community.

The logic of discovery required us to follow an abductive principle, moving from the field to the desk and back, step-by-step, refining the emerging interpretations (Czarniawska, 2014). The first step consisted of producing a 'thick description' from the repeated narratives – as saturated as possible without a loss of complexity (Dailey & Browning, 2014). This iteration helped to shape a plot, which would serve as a narrative infrastructure (Fenton & Langley, 2011). The second step consisted of revisiting the main plot, but with the goal of a closer examination of the divergent aspects, expressed as narrative dualities (Dailey & Browning, 2014). This opened our eyes to the complexity of such a large development initiative and stimulated efforts to refine the theoretical framework, in order to capture analytically the complexity of a project with this magnitude. Consequently, the following description starts with a closer examination of the convergent aspects visible through narrative repetition. Next, the divergent aspects illuminated as narrative dualities will be revealed. Finally, the theoretical framework is revoked in order to provide the basis for the conclusions.

How the Initiative Evolved

Since 1974, when a government bill (Proposition 1974:28) was passed by the Swedish government to stimulate local investment in cultural activities, the City of Umeå has been making a greater investment in culture than has the average Swedish municipality. The local politicians saw cultural investments as a significant way for the city to grow, and gradually increased investments in cultural institutions and initiatives. The establishment of the university in 1965 significantly influenced Umeå's continuing growth and raised the demand for a cultural infrastructure that could increase the city's attractiveness. For the first time in 1999, the City of Umeå considered applying for the European Capital of Culture year initiative. The mayor was impressed by the effect of this initiative on other European cities, and she suggested that Umeå should consider applying as well. A new city manager had just been recruited, and he took the initiative to begin outlining a vision. He created a forum comprising the management heads of all city departments, who had undertaken annual environmental analyses and provided the politicians with that information. In dialogue with the politicians,

an action net began to take shape. Politicians and city officials visited previous ECoC-cities in order to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of various strategies within different contexts.

After over 40 years of political discussion about the relationship between culture and city development, a Capital of Culture initiative came to be seen as a significant step forward. After a great deal of internal anchoring, the City Council decided, in a near-unanimous 2005 decision, to apply for the candidacy. The city manager, an economist by profession, admitted that *'he saw himself as a society builder with culture-driven growth as his mission'*. Included in the long-term strategy, which extended to 2050, the vision of city development through cultural activities had to be translated into a strategy that was unique enough to allow Umeå to compete with other cities. At least ten cities in Sweden were conducting similar feasibility studies at that time, and the competition was tough.

Translating City Development into the ECoC Application Procedure

The politicians and the management team had many open meetings and seminars with citizens, cultural practitioners, associations, artistic institutions, and businesses to discuss how to continue with the application procedure. A long period of negotiation followed, based on feedback from these meetings, during which decisions were made about the themes to be given priority. Eleven people representing seven political parties were involved in the negotiation, and they tried to lay their political differences aside for the sake of the common good. As the discussion continued, the group agreed to rely primarily on eight themes that would serve as an umbrella for the application; they are outlined in the first phase of the application procedure in Appendix 1. They also decided to rely on their own resources; no external consultants were to be hired, and the team should become a temporary project organization –as small as possible, but enhanced by the utilization of management expertise in city administration. For that reason, many officials assumed double roles. The city manager was also the head of the project team, for example, and the person responsible for communication in the team was also head of information in the city.

When the Swedish government organized a competition to designate the Swedish city that could apply for the ECoC-year 2014, four cities, including Umeå, passed the first round and proceeded to develop applications following EU guidelines. A political steering group was established in Umeå, with the task of developing the application, and the city manager coordinated these efforts according to the requirements for proposals stated by the European Parliament and the questions set by the European Council panel. The steering group once again emphasized the opinion that external consultants should not be used. As the city manager declared, *'we should do it ourselves'*. Early in the process, the Northern dimension arose as an important aspect, as Umeå was to be the most northerly ECoCcity. The steering group emphasized that the Northern

dimension should not be understood as the periphery of Europe, however, but rather as an extension of its heart. Thus a heart became a symbol for the project, and was later materialized in the form of heart sculptures scattered all over the city. Umeå had to be ‘projected’ as a part of a larger context, and presented in that spirit.

The steering group rejected the management team’s first version of the application, which was, in fact, a rejection of its own proposal. Although many interesting themes were described in it, the mayor said that it was not focused enough: ‘I tore the application into pieces, pointing out that the application should not be a pamphlet filled with buzzwords’, she said in an interview. Additional staff was needed, and two new project leaders were recruited: one external person with experience within the cultural sector and one head of information – enrolled internally – to work with the city manager to develop the application. The development procedure started again: The developers were told to go back to the roots, to the main idea, to the heart of the project. The idea of *co-creation* – that all citizens should be involved in culture and city development – became the core concept.

In 2008, the European Parliament established a pre-selection panel to be held in Stockholm at a meeting organized by The Swedish Arts Council, to select for the second round two of the four candidate cities that had proceeded to the full application stage. Applications from Umeå and Lund were considered to be strong, because culture was prominent in their economic and development strategies. The panel noted, however, that Umeå must now reduce the number of slogans and focus more on the main concepts in their application. As interesting as the panellists considered the Northern dimension concept to be, for example, they believed that it needed to be closely linked to the Sami culture and the Sami people – the most northerly indigenous people of Europe.

Outlining Short-term and Long-term Objectives

During the second application round, greater emphasis was placed on the curiosity and passion of the citizens – how they could be enlisted into the Capital of Culture programme. Short-term objectives were translated into a more detailed programme, and long-term objectives outlined how cultural investments would contribute to the growth plan of the city up to 2050, with 200,000 citizens as the goal figure. The eight seasons recognized in the Sami culture, as shown in Appendix 1, were used to organize the programme activities and to demonstrate the importance of the Sami community. Every season was connected to the Sami heritage and was ascribed a particular meaning. Many open meetings were organized around these seasons under the label ‘open-source development’, by which various aspects of the project were discussed. Eight theme coordinators organized reference groups with varying degrees of local, regional, national and international representation. This approach resulted in hundreds of people being involved in the action net that

formulated the preliminary outline of the programme. A colourful process map illustrated all these thoughts with an explicit explanation of how the Capital of Culture year would be organized. Consequently, a more focused picture emerged – one that reduced the number of sprawling ideas in the first application.

In September 2009, the Swedish Arts Council conducted the final selection procedure. The EU's final selection panel stated that both Lund and Umeå responded well to the report from the pre-selection panel and that both bids were interesting, although the two cities had chosen very different approaches. Umeå had the clear intention of making the city and the North of Sweden more visible in Europe and had used culture as a central element in its regional development strategy. Lund's vision was to connect art and science and to create closer synergies between the university and society. Considering that the two main criteria in the European call were the 'European dimension' and the need for collaboration between 'citizens and cities', Umeå's application was chosen. The final selection report also gave recommendations on how Umeå should prepare for 2014 (European Council, 2009b).

Intensive work began after the nomination. The political steering group was transformed into a political Capital of Culture committee, which reported to City Council, and a five-member project management team was formed. The city manager became the director of the project. The artistic project leader became head of the city's culture department and later assumed the role of artistic director for the Umeå 2014 project. A great deal of networking occurred, and the idea of 'open-source development' was further discussed. The idea was to make the project a platform for the sourcing of small local initiatives and projects from cultural professionals and other citizens. The project team handled the small projects according to certain routines, and a website and a project application procedure were developed. Well in advance of 2014, simplified procedure called *The Cultural Boost* was introduced to encourage the development and testing of small projects and cultural initiatives from citizens. Applicants could obtain 20,014 SEK to develop activities that may or may not end up forming part of the programme or eventually become large projects.

Large projects were presented to the political committee for selection. The initiative givers involved such major cultural institutions as the opera; the theatre organizations; art and design museums; and festival organizers in music, dance, art, photography, film and literature. Their ideas were then translated into activities that could be included in the programme. Especially promoted were activities between genres that redefined the notion of culture, thereby raising the curiosity of the citizens. The project team adopted a wide definition of 'culture' and challenged what could be called an elite culture view, by inviting all citizens to express their point of view.

The selection of projects to be presented to the political committee was undertaken by the project team, based on criteria that translated the goals into the project application (specified as innovativeness, cultural development, co-

creation, equality, availability, diversity and sustainability). The selected project activities resulted in the preliminary programme released in January 2013 (Umeå 2014, 2013). As the artistic director told us, “The programme included 254 activities that we can stand for right now. The political Capital of Culture Committee decided on 90 of them, and 50 received resources from the Cultural Boost. Many are organized as recurring activities connected to the eight Sami seasons.”

Each phase of this development process included many tensions. Which activities should be given priority? How should the balance be achieved between bottom-up initiatives from citizens and more top-down initiatives from the management team and politicians? The rationale of using projects as a coordinating mechanism energized actions, but also excluded some actors. Freelance artists were not used with the project application procedures, for example, and in one of the focus groups, one of them told us, “We see how money flows around, but we rarely see that this money is awarded to us performing artists...rather, to a large degree, it is designated to cultural organizations with developed project routines.”

Narrative Dualities in the Projective City

Even if the application procedure was a success, the implementation was going to require a great deal of effort. When the projective city stretched the boundaries of its normal routines, new excluding mechanisms appeared, as Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) had predicted. Politicians and the project team tried to meet conflicting requirements in different ways without losing the main plot. Indeed, they often used what Dailey and Brown (2014) have called ‘narrative repetition’. In this case it meant the use of such catchphrases as ‘culture-driven growth’, ‘co-creation’ and ‘open-source development’, which were repeated again and again in the presentations. As Dailey and Brown noted, however, such narrative repetition is often used in a too simplistic a manner. Although these repeated concepts and connected stories attracted positive attention in the phase of planning, they received a great deal of criticism during the start-up of the Capital of Culture year. A more critical examination of ‘culture-driven growth’ began to take shape, and a group of left-wing politicians stated in one of the local newspapers that culture should be considered as ‘human growth’ rather than ‘economic growth’.

Additional interpretations began to emerge. Indeed, each telling and reading of the story produced another layer of context (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001), and individuals became engaged in developing interpretations and reactions to the main narrative. As Dailey and Browning (2014) pointed out, conceptualizations that are too complex for a single word require a duality, and in this case the duality became more and more visible as the programme implementation proceeded. The artistic critique took various directions and the meanings of the words were elaborated upon extensively. A professor of

literature and cultural reviewer for the press associated ‘culture-driven growth’ with the metaphor of an engine, by emphasizing its mechanical connotation. She saw it as reducing rather than stimulating curiosity: “Culture as an engine could be considered as a hallmark of a dead metaphor. It has stopped surprising us and stimulating our imaginative capacity...rather, a consciously crafted metaphor provides a starting point in the friction without ignoring that the reality will meet with resistance. To deny this resistance is to deny that other questions exist – with completely different answers.”

Considering that ‘co-creation’ and ‘open-source development’ were key terms in the application procedure, they also came under more and more scrutiny. According to the cultural professionals, open-source meetings were supposed to mean that they should become ‘co-creators’ in the programme development. The project application procedure excluded quite a few actors from the youth hard-core music scene, however. They lacked the experience in project application procedures and in organizing co-financing, and thus found it difficult to receive funding. Speaking on behalf of the voluntary sector as a whole, one representative of the hard-core scene said: “**The main root** of my anger relates to the fact that the vital voluntary sector, which, to large extent, created the brand that marketed the city as a candidate for the Capital of Culture title, was left outside. In a movie that informed the European jury about the application process, the hard-core movement was an important part of Umeå’s identity. Yet this scene has repeatedly been denied project funding in the whole development process. Now, at the eleventh hour, the project team finally found the money to implement some of our suggested programme activities during the year. This decision came after the famous musician, Dennis Lyxzén, spoke on television and criticized the programme.”

The rationale illustrated in the programme planning (see Appendix 1) needed to be adjusted when the programme came into effect. Even if the inauguration became a magnificent event with 55,000 visitors, it also received a great deal of criticism. In keeping the process liquid, despite the tensions, the project team had to argue for the way ahead, navigating between contradictions and competing demands. The implementation of the programme was not automatic; in order to turn the project and the programme activities into action, the team members needed to be alert to criticism. The programme was being enacted and re-enacted on a day-to-day basis, and when it came to creating actual actions into nets, it required a relatively reflexive attitude in relation to the visionary statements made in the application procedure. Orchestrating the performance of significant events really depends upon the citizens’ evaluation of the programme activities (Sevón, 2004), and translating these attempts into popular values is a complex task. The project team was increasingly aware of the fact that the dominant language excluded some discursive structures and excluded others (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Both enabling and constraining forces were prominent, a fact that became even more accentuated in the debate

around the most disputed landmark of them all: the cultural centre called ‘The Cultural Weave’ (Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Cultural Weave (Snøhetta Architects, 2014)



The building that became finalized during the Capital of Culture year was a part of the city’s development strategy. In addition to the completed ‘Cultural Campus’, this building will be a continuation of the City Between Bridges initiative that aims to create a connecting route between the Cultural Campus and the Cultural Weave. The constructed space is intended to turn the central parts of the city towards the waterfront zones. The joint commitments of both private and public stakeholders are supposed to provide returns, not least because of increased tourism. Thus a novel romance between culture and commerce has indeed emerged in the City of Umeå, as in many other cities. Symptomatically, the building is constructed in close proximity to a new high-rise hotel.

Yet even if ‘co-creation’ between culture and commerce can be mutually beneficial, the antagonistic relationships between these two spheres of activities are still present (Roberts, 2012), as illustrated by a question asked by one of the local culture journalists: “Is the Cultural Weave a monument erected to house the dreams of the business community and the local politicians?” She continued by saying that ‘cultural lighthouses’ must be filled with cultural activities and meanings that make them “...worth staying for: A lighthouse, no matter how clear it shines, is, as viewed as a home, both impractical and a solitary place.”

The situation became more and more critical for the project team, particularly when the members considered how intertwined the Capital of Culture initiative was with the infrastructure investments and city development as a whole. Because of the project team’s visibility in the media, it was held responsible for decisions far beyond its mandate. From this perspective, it was a relief that the construction of the building was delayed. The concentrated efforts invested in the inauguration of the ECoC year required all the energy of the

team members, and a simultaneous opening of the cultural house in the first season would probably have been too much for the team to cope with. But considering the importance and the long-term legacy of the Cultural Weave investment, the project team now had to turn its attention to that. And, bearing in mind that this economic investment is *more than twice as large in monetary terms* as all investments made in the Capital of Culture programme, it requires closer collaboration of all municipal bodies. For that reason, another team concentrated on the Cultural Weave project– one that is supposed to utilize expertise from both the temporary and the permanent organization – became established. The legacy aspects of the Capital of Culture programme, its translation into the Cultural Weave investment, and its connection to the city’s overall strategic plan are the three issues that top the new team’s agenda.

Turning Creative Cities into Action – Organizing Projective Cities

When one considers the large investments made in the Capital of Culture programme, together with the large investments made in infrastructure and buildings, the complexity of this strategic endeavour becomes obvious. Projectifying actions and projecting city development are not easy tasks, not least in the cultural domain, in which multifarious ways of organizing are the rule rather than the exception. Each attempt to intervene in the urban space creates both enabling and constraining forces and consequently brings tensions, ambiguities and paradoxes to the surface. In the vocabulary of this paper, it can be said that the projective city tries to navigate between the dualities of enabling and constraining through iterative procedures. Many restarts and reflective turns seem to be necessary in order to make things happen on a day-to-day basis, especially when the simultaneous coexistence of contradictory yet interrelated elements is taken into account (Gaim&Wåhlin, 2013). Temporal and spatial separation often appears to be the solution, and this case is no exception. The specified focus in time comprised by the Capital of Culture year stimulated actions with the aim of turning the stylized notion of ‘the creative city’ (Andersson, 2011) into practice through energized and co-creative actions. In a simplified manner this could be illustrated by the comparison between ‘the creative city’ and what we label as ‘the projective city’ (see figure 2 below). While the notion of the creative city focuses on conditions, the notion of the projective city focuses on actions (note the *verb*-form emphasizing the ongoing nature).

Figure 2: Comparison between the creative city and the projective city

The creative city	The projective city
A pool of creative, knowledgeable and talented people	Energizing action in innovative ways
An open city with tolerance for cultural diversity and with accessible arenas for exchange of new ideas	Empowering and stimulating citizens in co-creative projects
An urban design considering cultural resources as a raw material and value base	Projecting urban spaces and facilities that aims to generate a flow of inventions
A diversified trade and communication flows with other regions globally	Translating global influences in a local context (i.e. glocalization)
A critical mass of accumulated wealth and economic growth	Creating an entrepreneurial milieu that stimulates businesses and job creation

However, the rationale of project organizing excludes some actors and includes others. Many creative initiatives get lost because of a lack of experience with project routines – a lack which is particularly salient in the voluntary sector. So even if combined and overlapping initiatives among public, private and voluntary sectors finally work in concert, the principle of organizing by projects does generate new excluding mechanisms (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005).

The spatial separation illustrated by the construction of the City Between Bridges initiative and its manifestation in the Cultural Weave building could also be considered as examples of both enabling and constraining forces. When the dream meets reality, many tensions necessarily occur. Even if the architectural qualities of the building can be seen as a manifestation of art, the artistic community criticizes them. People’s ‘will to form’ (Burrell, 2013) takes many different routes, and urban design can be discussed in terms of the often-mentioned tension between form and function in architectural work. The architect’s perceptions are not always in harmony with the perceptions of its observers and users. As with every piece of art, a building can provoke and stimulate reflexivity. Independent of aesthetic concerns for us humans, however, there is a continuous interplay between form and function. Trajectories of people and things crisscross, and citizens do not always follow the architects’

intentions. To fill voids in the urban space by projecting architectural landmarks is no guarantee that the action will follow prescribed routes. Although a strategizing approach encourages city planners to think big, it also enacts a particular representation of reality (Kornberger & Clegg, 2011). Each attempt of urban design constitutes the city as a spatial object and legitimates a certain kind of action through talk about a desired future on behalf of the public. But when ideas of strategists meet citizens and when ideas of designers meet users, they could clash and become translated in various ways. It is therefore necessary to be able to capture such paradoxes and tensions, rather than prompting for their resolution. This is where the meshwork metaphor can be of help.

Following Czarniawska's (2013) advice, it is good to remember that metaphors, by definition, are never a perfect fit with the phenomenon. But the point is not whether the metaphor is a correct label. As Eco (1979/1983) noted, the truly rewarding metaphors are those that produce "the tension, the ambiguity, and the difficulty which are characteristic of the aesthetic message" (p. 82). Particularly in the cultural domain, such an aesthetic message fits the purpose. Cultural performances are a reflective (or rather, a reflexive) mirror of the society. When translated into the language of organizing, such reflexivity sharpens the awareness of what Beyes and Steyaert (2012) call the 'provisional spatio-temporal constitution' of all organizational attempts and highlights, they believe, everyday creativity and experimentation. The meshwork metaphor provides an additional layer of interpretation that goes beyond spatio-temporal artefacts and organizational recipes. Organizing and strategizing are in a meshwork perspective – simply a never-finished business whose existence illuminates the multifarious options available in creative processes. People do not always follow routes to destinations outlined in maps; neither will they always become visitors in architectural landmarks. Yet the metaphor of a meshwork emphasizes the perspective that actions *can* be tied and meshed together in interwoven trails (Ingold, 2007; 2011). In the case of the City of Umeå, actions concerning culture and city development became meshed. Although the practitioners do their best to weave these processes together, our zoom-in–zoom-out approach reveals the paradoxical nature of the meshwork and helps us to understand the complexity of this endeavour.

Conclusion

The purpose of the paper was to demonstrate how organizing unfolds in the context of a Capital of Culture initiative. By analysing the city's *projectivization* in the relationship between culture and city development, the complexity of a project with this magnitude could be outlined. Narrative repetition encouraged the participants to think big and stick to the main plot that had been successfully used in the application procedure to the European Union. Projectifying organizational design energized actions and focused the participants' attention on set goals. Due to 'projecting' urban spaces, public and private stakeholders

combined their resources for large investments in buildings, inviting an outstanding architectural design that was never before seen in the city. Yet the – probably necessary – *temporal separation in projects* and the *spatial separation of spaces* created both enabling and constraining conditions.

The exploration of narrative dualities made the diverging opinions visible. Although the rationale of organizing by projects was clearly justified, it also excluded people who were not used to such routines, especially volunteers. They simultaneously criticized the organizers' lack of understanding about the situation facing the performing artists, noting that creative processes are performed unconditionally. These frictions also turned our attention to a closer examination of concepts used in the narrative infrastructure. Narrow interpretations reduced curiosity rather than stimulated innovative processes; simplistic metaphors that lacked surprising effects halted reflexivity.

We have also scrutinized the representation of spatial intents into the 'cubes' of architectural landmarks. Thus when the projective city translated its aesthetic message into a representative cultural building, it also became fully immersed in a certain kind of desired future – blinding people to other perspectives. The three-dimensional intervention in the urban context focused the strategic intents, but also silenced voices addressing the intertwining of form and function. Spacing the city is a complex endeavour that requires the consideration of multiple forces in order for spaces to become filled with activities; otherwise they will become isolated islands.

Consequently, weaving together culture and city development is a complex striving that requires collaboration between citizens in order to create urban commons. As a way of embracing this complexity, we suggested a meshwork metaphor, which reveals the paradoxical nature of cities and permits the registering of both enabling and constraining conditions created by city projects. It illuminates the multifarious options available for organizing. Our future research will further explore the fruitfulness of this conceptualization, and we hope to be able to compare it with results obtained by other researchers of city action nets.

References

1. Åkerlund, Ulrika & Dieter K. Müller (2012): 'Implementing Tourism Events: Discourses of Umeå's Bid for European Capital of Culture 2014'. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 12 (2), 164-180.
2. Altés Arlandis, Alberto & Oren Lieberman (2013): *'Interventions, Durations, Effects. Notes of expansive sites and relational architectures'*. Umeå School of Architecture. Baunach, Germany: Spurbuchverlag.
3. Andersson, Åke E. (2011): *'Creative people need creative cities'*. In Andersson, David Emanuel; Åke E. Andersson & Charlotta Melander (eds.). *Handbook of Creative Cities'*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

4. Bengtsson, Maria, Tomas Müllern, Anders Söderholm and Nils Wåhlin (2007): '*A Grammar of Organizing*'. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publications.
5. Beyes, Timon & Chris Steyaert (2012): 'Spacing organization: non-representational theory and performing organizational space'. *Organization*. Vol. 19(1) 45–61.
6. Boltanski, Luc & Eve Chiapello (2005): '*The New Spirit of Capitalism*'. London: Verso.
7. Boltanski, Luc & Laurent Thévenot (2006): '*On justification. The economies of worth*'. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
8. Burrell, Gibson (2013). '*Styles of organizing. The will to form*'. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
9. Chiapello, Eve (2013): 'Capitalism and its criticisms'. In: du Gay, Paul & Glenn Morgan (eds.): '*New spirit of capitalism? Crises, justifications, and dynamics*'. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
10. City of Umeå (2008): '*Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation, part 1*'. Retrieved October 13, 2014. http://193.254.4.72/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ansokan_1_eng.pdf
11. City of Umeå (2009): '*Curiosity and Passion – The Art of Co-Creation, part 2*'. Retrieved October 13, 2014, http://www.umea2014.se/download/18.1443bdf712a6d2242968000286/ansokan_del2_engelsk_090630.pdf
12. City of Umeå: '*Strategies for Capital of Culture year 2014*'. Retrieved October 13, 2014 from <http://www.umea2014.se/inenglish/makingithappen/oubjectivesandstrategies/strategies.4.5ae6b78f12b6597d14080007081.html>
13. Clegg, Stewart R. (1989): '*Frameworks of power*'. London: Sage.
14. Czarniawska, Barbara & Guje Sevón (2005): '*Global Ideas: How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy*'. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.
15. Czarniawska, Barbara (2002): '*A tale of three cities or the glocalization of city management*'. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
16. Czarniawska, Barbara (2004): 'On time, space and action nets'. *Organization*. Vol. 11(6), 777-795.
17. Czarniawska, Barbara (2007): '*Shadowing and other techniques for doing fieldwork in modern societies*'. Malmö: Liber/Copenhagen Business School Press/Universitetsforlaget
18. Czarniawska, Barbara (2008): '*A theory of organizing*'. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
19. Czarniawska, Barbara (2010): 'Translation impossible? Accounting for a city project'. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, Vol. 23(3), 420-437.
20. Czarniawska, Barbara (2013): '*On meshworks and other complications of portraying contemporary organizing*'. GRI-report 2013:3. University of Gothenburg: School of Business, Economics and Law.

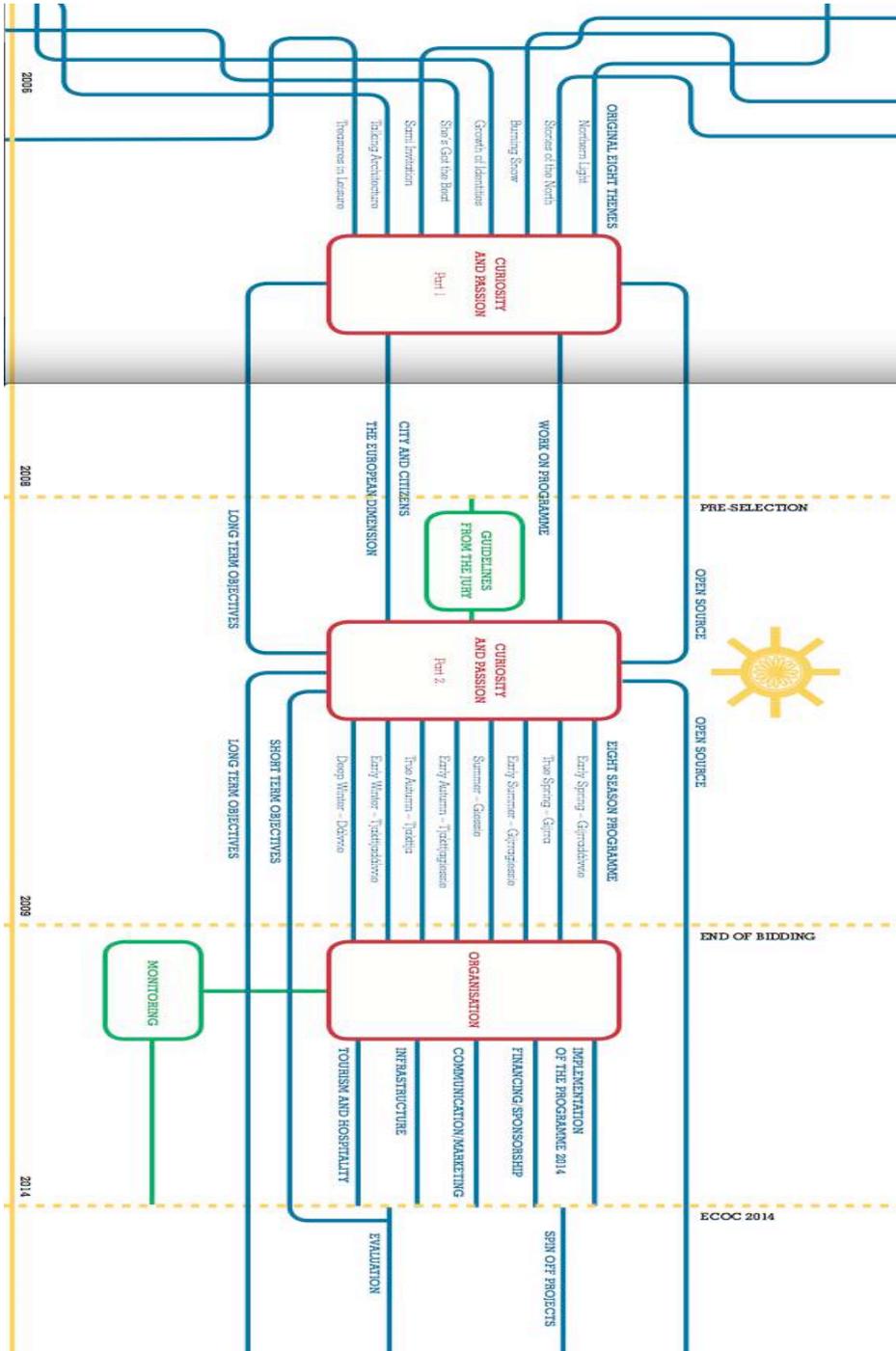
21. Czarniawska, Barbara (2014): *'Social Science Research. From Field to Desk'*. London: Sage Publications.
22. Dailey, Stephanie L. & Larry Browning (2014): 'Retelling stories in organizations: Understanding the functions of narrative repetition'. *Academy of Management Review*. Vol. 39(1), 22-43.
23. De Landa, Manuel (1995): *'Homes: Meshwork or hierarchy?'* (<http://www.mediamatic.net/5914/en/homes-meshwork-or-hierarchy>, retrieved 2014-01-13)
24. Eco, Umberto (1979/1983): *'The role of the reader. Explorations in the semiotics of texts'*. London: Hutchinson.
25. European Commission: *'European Capital of Cultures'*. Retrieved October 13, 2014 from http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc413_en.htm
26. European Council (2009a): *'Designation of a European Capital of Culture for 2014 in Sweden'*. Pre-selection report, January 2009.
27. European Council (2009b): *'Selection of a European Capital of Culture for 2014 in Sweden'*. Final selection report, September 2009.
28. Fenton, Christopher & Ann Langley (2011): 'Strategy as Practice and the Narrative Turn'. *Organization Studies* 32(9): 1171-1196.
29. Gaim, Medhanie & Nils Wåhlin (2013): 'In search of a creative space: A conceptual framework synthesizing paradoxes via design thinking'. *Paper presented at the 29th European Group of Organization Studies (EGOS) Colloquium*, Montreal, Canada, July 4-6.
30. Hannerz, Ulf (1996): *'Transnational connections'*. London: Routledge.
31. Ingold, Tim (2007): *'Lines. A brief history'*. London: Routledge.
32. Ingold, Tim (2011): *'Being alive. Essays on movement, knowledge and description'*. London: Routledge.
33. Kornberger, Martin & Stewart Clegg (2011): 'Strategy as performative practice: The case of Sydney 2030'. *Strategic Organization*, 9(2): 136-162.
34. Kornberger, Martin, and Stewart R. Clegg (2004): 'Bringing space back in: Organizing the generative building'. *Organization Studies*, Vol. 25(7): 1095-1114.
35. Landry, Charles (2000/2008): *'The Creative City'*. New York: Earthscan.
36. Latour, Bruno (2005): *'Reassembling the social'*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
37. Lee, Christopher & Sam Jacoby (2011): *'Typological Urbanism: Projective Cities: Architectural Design'*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
38. Lefebvre, H. (1974/1991) *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.
39. Lundin, R. A. & Anders Söderholm (1995). 'A theory of the temporary organization'. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 11(4), 437-455.
40. Lundin, Rolf A and Anders Söderholm (1998): 'Conceptualizing a Projectified Society'. In Lundin, Rolf A & Christophe Midler: *Projects as Arenas for Renewal and Learning Processes*. Boston: Kluwer Academic.

41. Lundin, Rolf. A., Christophe Midler and Nils Wåhlin (2015): '*Projectification Revisited/ Revised*', Paper to be presented at the IRNOP conference, UCL, London, June 22-24.
42. Näsholm, Malin & Tomas Blomquist (2014): 'Narrating city development: Umeå as a European Capital of Culture 2014 in the local newspaper'. *Paper presented at the 30th European Group of Organization Studies (EGOS) Colloquium*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands, July 3-5, 2014.
43. Proposition 1974:28 (Government Bill): '*Regeringens proposition angående den statliga kulturpolitiken*' (*Government Bill concerning public cultural policy*). Stockholm: Regeringens propositioner.
44. Proposition 2008/2009: 158 (Government Bill): '*Regeringens proposition: Från erkännande till egenmakt. Regeringens strategi för de nationella minoriteterna*' (*From recognition to empowerment. Government Bill concerning the Government's strategy for the national minorities*). Stockholm: Regeringens propositioner.
45. Proposition 2009/10:3 (Government Bill): '*Regeringens Proposition: Tid för kultur (Time for Culture)*'. Stockholm: Regeringens propositioner.
46. Reckwitz, Andreas (2012): 'Affective spaces: a praxeological outlook. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*. Vol. 16:2, 241-258.
47. Roberts, David (2012): 'From cultural contradictions to the creative economy: Reflections on the new spirit of art and capitalism'. *Thesis Eleven*. Vol. 110:1, 83-97.
48. Scott, James C. (2012): '*Two cheers for anarchism*'. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
49. Sevón, Guje (2004): 'Företags publika framställning'. In Sevón, Guje & Lennart Sjöberg (red.). '*Emotioner och värderingar i näringslivet*'. Stockholm: EFI.
50. Silverman, David (2011): '*Interpreting qualitative data*'. The 4th edition. London: Sage.
51. Tsoukas, Haridimos & Mary Jo Hatch (2001): Complex thinking, complex practice: The case for a narrative approach to organizational complexity. *Human Relations*, 54, 979-1013.
52. Umeå (2013a): '*City between Bridges Website*' (Retrieved: October 13, 2014).
53. Umeå 2014 (2013b): '*A Programme Year In The Making– Capital of Culture year Umeå 2014*', http://issuu.com/umea2014/docs/2014_programbok_eng_lr
54. Umeå 2014: Website (Retrieved: 2014). www.umea2014.se
55. Vaara, Eero & Richard Whittington (2012): 'Strategy-as-Practice: Taking Social Practices Seriously'. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 6 (1), 285-336.
56. Wåhlin, Nils, Maria Kapsali & Tomas Blomquist (2013): 'Strategizing through boundary spaces: Materializing a Capital of Culture' *Paper*

presented at the 29th European Group of Organization Studies (EGOS) Colloquium, Montreal, Canada, July 4-6.

57. Wåhlin, Nils, Maria Kapsali, Malin Näsholm & Tomas Blomquist (2013): 'The case of a self-emerging community', *Paper presented at the 8th Organization Studies Workshop, Mykonos, Greece, May 23-25.*

Appendix 1: A chronological account of the application procedure 2006–2014



Probing Participatory Urban Development: ECoC and Urban Strategies in Post-millennial Pécs

Katalin Füzér

University of Pécs, Department of Sociology

Abstract: *Urban development in cities that lie outside of economic growth regions relies heavily on redistribute processes, a sector that experienced a major transformation in the course of project proliferation in the European realm. Participation in urban development is contested among three chief groups of actors: traditional local elites (political, administrative, business), the local project class, and local partnerships involving local citizens, professionals, and civil organisations. Pécs, ECoC 2010 offers a case study of participation in three settings: the planning and implementation of ECoC 2010, urban strategy making leading to Pécs2020 and Pécs2030 strategies, and social urban rehabilitation. The social capital of actors is analysed by using the models of community led local development (CLLD), beneficarianism, clientalism and annexation. While all are rooted in CLLD, only social urban rehabilitation managed to retain this posture due to the UNDP method of community coaching. The conclusion is that commitment to the ideals of CLLD is not enough, participation has to be assisted by community coaching professionals in each and every phase of urban development, co-created by relevant stakeholders in a shared learning process.*

Keywords: *urban development, project proliferation, participation, CLLD, project class.*

The Context of Post-socialist Capitalisms and Project Proliferation in the European Realm

There is a complex set of factors that shape the social, political and economic context of urban development in the peripheral regional centre of South Transdanubia in Hungary. Pécs¹, European Capital of Culture of 2010 tried to find its way around the post-socialist transformational crisis² that had dismantled its heavy industry (coal and uranium mining), reduced its

¹ The present scientific contribution is dedicated to the 650th anniversary of the foundation of the University of Pécs, Hungary.

² Iván Szelényi, "Cities under Socialism – and After." In *Cities After Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflicting Post-Socialist Societies*, edited by Gregory Andrusz, Micheal Harloe, Iván Szelényi, 286-317. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 309. Eyal, G., Szelényi, I., Townsley, E. *Making Capitalism without Capitalists* (London: Verso, 1998).

manufacturing industries to portions (e.g. leather, gloves, porcelain, meat) leaving the public sector of the post-socialist era the chief urban employer (university, schools, local and regional governments, cultural agencies, etc.). The question is how the contours of local economy, politics and society are being drawn by the type of local capitalism that has emerged, instituting the fundamental positions of capital, labour and social exclusion.

The relevant model of Central European post-socialist capitalism was aptly characterised by Bohle and Greskovits³ as embedded neoliberalism where extensive welfare measures compensate for the social costs of transformational crisis and provide some shield against the social consequences of an internationalized market economy predicated upon high intensity foreign direct investment (FDI) and the presence of transnational companies (TNC) that exploit socialist legacies of manufacturing industries and a trained work force. The implications of regional disparities, however, are not appreciated to the necessary extent.⁴ The regional positions vis-à-vis the economic power house of complex manufacturing and services industries extending from south-west Poland, over much of the Czech Republic, to the north-west of Slovakia and Hungary⁵, mark divergent postures for local capitalisms even within the embedded neoliberal model for cities inside and outside of this growth region. For cities beyond the edges of this regional economic power house, the significance of the redistributive, publicly managed and funded sectors of the economy play a central role: where FDI or significant domestic investments are scarce, EU and domestic development funds constitute an essential form of financial resource for businesses and public entities alike. It is in this context that urban development takes on added significance in these cities as a number of vital dimensions of local development from economic growth, through social services, to infrastructural investment and community building have to be covered by urban development funds. In terms of local labour markets, these cities experience daily the structural significance of the low-skill and high-skill divide in the Central European regional labour market as there is a flight of

³ Dorothee Bohle, Béla Greskovits, *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 138-181. Beside the embedded neoliberal model used in the analysis of the Visegrád countries of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Hungary, the other three models of post-socialist capitalisms developed by Bohle and Greskovits are the neoliberalism of the Baltic state where neoliberal economic policies are married to nationalism, not welfare (ibid, 96-137); the neo corporatist regime of Slovenia where labour, domestic business and other organised interests co-decide on the very industrial and economic policies that are non-negotiable in the two neoliberal models; and the weak states of Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia, where, during the 1990s, unstable institutional configurations provided meagre coordination and manoeuvring state capacities (ibid. 182-222).

⁴ Katalin Füzér, Review of *Capitalist Diversity* in *Demográfia* English Edition (2013 (56:5): 89-93.), 91.

Katalin Füzér, The project class: making and breaking social capital in urban and rural development. In *Szociális Szemle* (2013 (1-2): 28-34.), 29.

⁵ Bohle, Greskovits, *Capitalist Diversity*, 168.

high-skill workforce migrating to the growth regions.⁶ They also experience the fact that labour markets are segmented by sectors with strong regional demarcations where the borders are drawn by a league of TNCs, not the League of Nations (or its successors).

The local economies, societies and polities of cities like Pécs, located outside of growth regions, are thus integrated primarily not via capital or labour but via redistribution to an internationalized economy in the process of European integration, namely through EU funds. This is a venue that puts these cities onto the mainstream European stage as one of the most important transformations that all European societies have recently experienced is project proliferation.⁷ This new form of redistributing money and power within the European realm is arguably more readily perceivable in rural areas,⁸ but urban development too has been reshaped in the wake of the “projectification” of development regimes. Project proliferation is becoming an increasingly important form of redistributing public funds and power within the European realm. The process implies a massive transformation of public administration from traditional bureaucratic hierarchies to a short-term set of activities performed by networked participants operating under strict budgets.⁹ Projects spread over many different fields of European societies’ lives: from development policy on EU, national, regional and local levels, through universities and the educational sector, to professional assistance services and traditional bureaucracies, including the churches. Project proliferation also gave rise to a new social class: the project class.¹⁰ The social and political function of the project class is the mediation of funds and information to potential beneficiaries and actual recipients of project funds. The project class provides access to funds and networks that otherwise would remain distant to potential beneficiaries. In terms of recruitment, the project class draws on various high skilled professional groups such as legal and financial service providers (chiefly

⁶ In the Hungarian context demonstrated on internal migration census data by Zsolt Németh, *Az urbanizáció és a térbeli társadalomszerkezet változásai Magyarországon 1990-2001 között.* (KSH NKI, 2011).

⁷ Sjöblom, S., Andersson, K., Ecklund, E. & Godenhjelm, S. (eds.). *Project Proliferation and Governance.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2006. Sjöblom, S., Andersson, K., Marsden, T. & Skerratt S. (eds.). *Sustainability and Short-term Policies.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. Böröcz, J. & Sarkar, M. What is the EU? *International Sociology* 2005 20 (2): 153-173. Kovách, I. & Kristóf, L. “The Projectification of Power. The Impact of European Integration on Power and Society” (pp. 191-205). In Bayer, J. & Jensen, J. (eds.) *From Transition to Globalization.* Budapest: MTA PTI, 2007.

⁸ Csurgó, B., Kovách, I. & Kucerova, E. "Knowledge, Power and Sustainability in Contemporary Rural Europe." *Sociologica Ruralis* 2008 48 (3): 292-312. Kovách, I. (2000). LEADER, The New Social Order and Central and Eastern European Countries. *Sociologica Ruralis* 2000 40 (2): 181-190.

⁹ Sjöblom et al., *Project Proliferation.* Sjöblom et al. *Sustainability.* Kovách & Kristóf, “The projectification of power.”

¹⁰ Kovách, I. & Kucerova, E. The Project Class in Central Europe: The Czech and Hungarian Cases. *Sociologica Ruralis* 2006 46: 3-21. Füzér, “The project class.”

as) project managers and many other types of professionals, depending on the thematic focus of projects. These professionals typically possess shared “project class skills” beside their particular expertise: these range from management skills, networking skills, advanced level (project) English competence to IT skills, as well as flexibility of time use in work and a flexible life style. Given the increasing significance of development funds in practically all, not only in the new member states of the EU, the project class has acquired a share in the power of political and economic elites, especially on local levels.

ECoC and Urban Development in Post-millennial Pécs

The three empirical arenas this paper investigates have mobilized actors around EU funds that are supposed to remedy structural challenges resulting from the social, political and economic context discussed above. First of all, large scale cultural infrastructural investments are expected to set the city on a new course of economic development under the flagship of cultural and creative industry in the wake of European Capital of Culture 2010 projects. Secondly, social urban rehabilitation funds are targeting several dimensions of social exclusion in the former coal mining colonies of Pécs East, including disadvantageous positions in education, labour market, housing, income, health and social capital. Thirdly, the process of urban strategy making for the 2014-2020 period of EU funds creates an opportunity for various political languages of urban development and their dominant carrying actors to contest the terms of the future in the urban strategies of Pécs2020 and Pécs2030.

The issue of participation in these three terrains is examined in a social capital theoretical framework. Social capital is prerequisite, a resource and a vital area of impact of urban development in general. Focusing on participation in particular allows us to identify concrete groups of actors and empirically substantiate the ways in which their social capital plays a role in these various settings of urban development.

Drawing on earlier studies¹¹ we employ the social capital research framework that distinguishes among three types of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking, which bring together the three sociological dimensions of trust, social networks and norms of cooperation in unique ways. Bonding social capital is inherent in networks that build on a high degree of personal trust as well as honesty, reciprocity and trustworthiness in relationships such as family, relatives and close friends. Those who do not belong to these networks are closed off from them. Bonding social capital plays a vital role in the lives of all social groups since it is a guarantee of wellbeing, interpreted as realising various levels of satisfaction with life, as opposed to the material dimension of welfare. The relations belonging to bridging social capital are predicated upon generalised trust among people, and require a considerable degree of honesty

¹¹ Füzér, *The project class*. Füzér, *Social Capital, Social Exclusion*.

and reciprocity. These relations connect us to people belonging to social groups other than our own, such as classmates, neighbours or colleagues. Bridging social capital is, on the one hand, vital to social integration and, on the other hand, constitutes a resource which is supportive of progress in terms of both the individual career and of household status. The concept of linking social capital is applied to the relations within hierarchical structures of society, which connect us to people in positions of influence ('good connections'). In such cases, expectations of honesty and reciprocity prevail but in very different configurations compared to the two previous types: linking social capital can, for example, thrive in a web of favours that can be interpreted as a system of corruption – a witness to the warning that social capital does not always and necessarily have only positive social implications. It is evident that, in any society, linking social capital plays a central role in attaining and retaining advantageous social positions. This type of social capital is predicated upon a mix of trust in the formal, institutional structures of the society as well as on trust in informal connections that often override formal hierarchies.

The challenge of participation in urban development rests on an important shift from the fundamentally bureaucratic mode of coordination exercised by governments on national, regional and local levels to governance¹² where relevant stakeholders are mobilised to devise and implement public measures, chiefly in the area of development. This challenge is particularly pressing for urban governments as the fate of the European economy is supposed to be anchored in city regions where larger urban centres have to perform multifunctional tasks affecting economic and social integration. Local ownership of strategic plans is indispensable when it comes to successful implementation,¹³ a principle that motivated the EU's LEADER program, and is now extended to urban development as well in the framework of Community Led Local Development (CLLD) projects.

Beside the EU model of CLLD, we use the models of beneficiaryism, clientalism and annexation¹⁴ to discuss the making and breaking of social capital in our three empirical settings of urban development.

The EU ideal of development policy schemes, *the model of community led local development* (CLLD), envisions a non-problematic, smooth cooperation among the three chief actors of the projectified terrain: the political elites, the project class and partnerships. Political elites share power with the project class to the extent of the latter's role of providing access to development funds, all to the benefit of communities more or less organised into supporting partnerships. The project class provides access to funds and networks that

¹² Pálné Kovács Ilona, Pécs, as the victim of multi-level governance: the case of the project "European Capital of Culture" in *Urban Research and Practice* 2013 6: (3): 365-375.

¹³ Katalin Pallai, Participatory Approaches to Dealing with Community Conflicts and Disputes: Part 2. Participatory Processes for Complex Cases In: Ágnes Jenei (ed.) *Communication with the public: From the local government perspective*. Budapest: BCE, 2012: 101-110.

¹⁴ Developed earlier in Füzér, "The project class".

otherwise would remain distant to potential beneficiaries. This connection therefore embodies a prime example of linking social capital where the relationship is predicated upon a high level of confidence in the institutional structures that serve as resource providers (such as EU funds providers, national development agencies), and a high level of trust between members of the project class and beneficiaries that enables long term cooperation between the actors whose position is very different in the social and political hierarchy. Members of the project class occupy positions of influence: they are positioned not only above potential beneficiaries but also next to traditional political and economic elites with whom they share power due to their inevitable mediator role. Access to developments funds is especially crucial for communities whose economies are short on material capital and investments. In such settings, the influence of the project class becomes critical. Members of a well-functioning project class are held together chiefly by bridging social capital that relies on the trust emanating from a professional ethos: long term and effective cooperation is predicated upon the expertise, management skills and reliability of project class members, skills that are often put to extreme tests under the conditions of running projects that, by definition, require performance in short-term (non-permanent) organisational forms that are usually complicated but at the same time have to comply with strict budgets and deadlines. Partnerships are formed from the networks of potential beneficiaries and stakeholders whose very presence vis-à-vis the project class depends upon the stock of bridging social capital shared among these “lay actors”: in case they can build on generalized trust to cooperate with each other and are able to exercise reciprocity within their circles, partnerships can be able partners of project class endeavours. Otherwise “public” or “community” involvement in development activities remains a matter of complying with project indicators.

Under *the model of beneficiaryism*, the lack of bridging social capital among locals and their resulting incapability to form partnerships is posing a great challenge to the project class: in order to “produce” participation, techniques of traditional community building or other methods of involvement of locals into project and policy planning, implementation and long term maintenance of project results and activities might be applied. These activities, however, rarely fit the class posture of the project class. Such capacity building needs local presence and the building up of a minimal level of institutionalized trust towards professionals. Only then can the development of generalized trust among locals themselves be triggered and channelled into a self-reinforcing process of the development of their local bridging social capital. The passive acceptance of certain development project benefits (such as renovated dwellings) is also sought to be turned into a robust version of linking social capital, where locals have both institutionalized trust towards as well as reciprocal expectations from the project class. This can rarely be accomplished as part of the activities of a particular development project – when done separately, as a traditional community building project, the lack of real stakes

(and the investment of serious monies) might leave the project class under-motivated and locals downgraded to the status of “indicator people.” Therefore, only complex development projects with interdisciplinary teams of professionals (including social workers with experience both in case work and community work) as project class, have the chance of overcoming this dire outgoing situation and turn beneficarianism into a meaningful development project that does not entrench the lack of bridging and linking social capital but finds the particular, locally configured ways of developing both kinds of social capital. Should that not succeed, parochial political culture¹⁵ is to reign, allowing little or no bridging social capital among locals, offering minimal institutional confidence towards political institutions and development agencies, resulting in little or no linking social capital in the framework of beneficarianism’s development regime.

In the case of *the model of clientalism*, development projects deteriorate into the provision of selective favours for local clients, a practice which has detrimental consequences for local bridging social capital: it destroys the generalized trust that makes cooperation among locals possible in the first place. The few threads of linking social capital that become reinforced among local clients and patron project class members under this model can in no way “compensate” for the breaking of social capital that occurs in the wake of these practices. Besides being detrimental to bridging social capital among locals, *clientalism* is arguably also damaging the professional ethos that prevails among members of the project class and contributes to the breaking of trust and therefore bridging social capital among project class members. Clientalism’s selective reinforcement of linking social capital among local clients, project class members and, of course, the usual masterminds behind such schemes, certain members of the political elite, provide a prime example of the potential negative overall social impact of social capital.

Annexation happens when local (or national) political and economic elites avoid sharing power with new actors and occupy the positions of project class themselves. This move prevents the making of new assets of linking social capital that would have otherwise emerged among the local community and the project class. The making of extra bridging social capital among locals in the course of forming partnerships becomes very unlikely, given that the political takeover of development project position has demobilizing instead of mobilizing effects for local communities, with the exception of extreme cases of protest and/or resistance.

Our empirical research on participation in the three settings of European Capital of Culture 2010, social urban rehabilitation and urban strategy making is based on focus group and personal interviews with the major protagonist as well

¹⁵ Almond & Verba, 1963.

as on document analysis in the respective settings.¹⁶ Our preliminary findings are summarised in the table below, where the three types of social capital are abbreviated as follows: bonding social capital (bonding SC), bridging social capital (bridging) SC and linking social capital (linking SC).

	ECoc2010 (2004-2011)	Pécs2030 and Pécs2020 urban strategy making (2011-2015)	Social urban rehabilitation (2005-2015)
Pre-existing social capital	Bridging SC: local professionals proposing and compiling ECoC bid Linking SC: lobby during national city selection Linking SC: local and national political elite's initial commitment to CLLD	Bridging SC: self-mobilization of local professionals for participation (City Cooperation, Urban Lab at University of Pécs, afal.hu for community dialogue) Linking SC: commitment of local political elite to CLLD (promotion of the ideals of participatory strategy planning, institutionalization in the form of Coordination Committee of the local government)	Bonding and bridging SC: scarce among socially excluded populations of segregated neighbourhoods Linking SC: Maltese Charity's Presence Program Linking SC: academic interest in urban segregation by several research groups at University of Pécs Linking SC: UNDP project, community coaching method Linking SC: commitment of local political elite to CLLD
Social capital as resource	Linking SC: global and Bp based consultant firms compile ECoC funding documents Bridging SC: local project class in ECoC management agency Bridging SC: ECoCvolunteers, civil micro projects Linking SC: the "show" during the year 2010 is put on	Linking SC: participation outsourced as independent project by local project class Linking SC: participation managed by local professionals Bridging SC: planning team's (15 local professionals) intensive year-long cooperation and shared learning in internal workshop on sustainability	Bridging SC: UNDP community coaching adapted by Maltese Charity social workers Linking SC: community coaching assisted, not managed participation of locals Bonding SC: neighbourhood SC manifest in community meetings, select-(wo)men, micro projects Bridging SC:

¹⁶ Research for this article was funded by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund, OTKA PD 104150 „Social Capital and Urban Development”.

	by Bp based cultural agency	Bridging SC: among local professionals in City Cooperation, Urban Lab and afal.hu participants Linking SC: Modern Cities program ties Pécs2020 to national political elite	participation in wider lower middle class residential area festivities
Impact on social capital	Rise of local project class: linking SC, bridging SC Linking SC: mixed participatory legacy of EcoC Bridging SC: ECoC volunteers organised around Volunteer Centre Bridging SC: reinforced professional carriers (esp. architects) Bridging SC: new cultural facilities and renovated public spaces offer terrains of urban encounter for various groups Linking SC: failure of cultural turn in urban development	Linking SC: fragmented participation and ex-post consultation on Pécs 2020 development goals in Modern Cities program weakened public confidence among local professionals Linking SC: reinforced among and between project class and local political elite, and in relation to national political elite Linking SC: a few of the local professionals and participants of the independent participation project ran for office in the 2014 local elections	Bonding SC: self-confidence, collective subjective competence, local solidarity Bridging SC: image of neighbourhood in urban public opinion Linking SC: image of neighbourhood in local public administration and service providers Linking SC: (subjective and intersubjective) local citizenship of the socially excluded in segregated neighbourhoods; empowerment; trust in local public institutions (social services, schools, service providers, local government) and connections to representatives of these institutions via elect-(wo)men

Our findings indicate that the initial commitment to CLLD can be followed through in various settings of urban development processes only if participation is conceived not as a separate “participation project” but as one of the elements of planning, implementation and maintenance. No matter how eager and prepared prospective participants are, the pre-existing stock of social capital in and of itself is no guarantee of successful participation. If squeezed into the confines of an independent “participation project” or worse, suffocated by project class, political or business interests, the end result is not only no participation but the weakening of the backbone of linking social capital: public

confidence. Ironically, with little or no pre-existing stock of social capital, it was segregated neighbourhoods in the former coal mining colonies of Pécs East that were able to experience meaningful participation and increase their stock of social capital of all three types. Their bonding social capital has been reinforced by the development of their sense of neighbourhood solidarity and collective subjective competence, i.e. the feeling of being able to think together and do something collectively about the local peril. Their bridging social capital increased in the course of a gradual upgrading of the image and the prestige of their neighbourhoods in the eyes of urban public opinion as well as by virtue of their participation in wider lower middle class residential area festivities. The most important asset they gathered thanks to community coaching concerns the field of linking social capital: these socially excluded groups acquired local citizenship not only subjectively, by developing some confidence in local public institutions and maintaining an active connection with the representatives of these institutions, but also inter-subjectively, via the recognition of their problems and practical attempts at finding solutions, with the locals themselves, mostly within the confines of social urban rehabilitation projects. Our comparative analysis suggests that the critical momentum was the quality of participation: not only could community coaching create real stakes for taking part in devising local strategies (after all, segregation has always been a social integration problem of the whole settlement, whether rural¹⁷ or urban), it was also able to assist locals to come together, identify community and shared family problems, set priorities and find the minimal resources already at their disposal to remedy some of their own problems. Surely, the link coaches provide to mainstream local society is of vital importance for these locals but so is the professional learning experience that traditional social work has undergone in the course of adapting UNDP's community coaching method: instead of conserving their clients in (partly newly acquired) positions of social service recipients, social workers turned into community coaches and enabled locals to become active citizens who can cast a vision on their horizon of the future and act together in improving living conditions in their own neighbourhoods, educating themselves, and reintegrating into society via schools, jobs (chiefly in the public sector) and local services.

The case of community coaching in the framework of social urban rehabilitation came as close to realizing the ideals of CLLD as possible – equally instructive was the failure of the other two settings in doing so. ECoC went from CLLD to be dominated by national political and cultural elite groups, and by the local project class. Pécs2020/2030 strategy planning went from CLLD to be dominated first by local planning professionals and the local project class, to turn finally into annexation by national political elite groups in the Pécs2020 consultative media campaign and public opinion survey.

¹⁷ János Ladányi, Iván Szelényi, *A kirekesztettség változó formái*. Budapest: Napvilág, 2004: 41-69.

Conclusion

Social capital is closely related to material and human capital, but while the latter two are dominated by the market, the former is intimately intertwined with redistribution, especially with its projectified version, which plays a central role outside of economic growth regions. In the context of urban development, the possibility is there to make but also to break social capital. Our findings suggest that the quality of participation seems to be a key factor in making or breaking social capital in urban development, which in turn has a great impact upon the fate of local societies on the periphery of Central Europe's semi-peripheral growth region.

References

1. Almond, G. A., Verba, S. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Newbury: Sage, 1963.
2. Bohle, D., Greskovits, B. *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery*. Ithaca, London. Cornell University Press, 2012.
3. Böröcz, J. & Sarkar, M. What is the EU? *International Sociology* 2005 20 (2): 153-173.
4. Bukowski, A., Füzér, K. „Problems and alternatives in urban rehabilitation policy co-ordination across cities and regions of Europe. The case of CASE (“Cities against Social Exclusion” Interreg III C).” In: *Urban Rehabilitation in Segregated Districts of Central and Eastern European Cities: Studying Social Exclusion and Developing Urban Policy*, eds. Bukowski, A., Füzér, K., Jabłońska, B., Smagacz, M., 11-24. Krakow: RABID, 2007.
5. Czibere, I., Kovách, I. *Fejlesztéspolitika – Vidékfejlesztés*. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2013.
6. Csurgó, B., Kovách, I., Kucerova, E. “Knowledge, Power and Sustainability in Contemporary Rural Europe.” *Sociologica Ruralis* 2008 48 (3): 292-312.
7. Eyal, G., Szelenyi, I., Townsley, E. *Making Capitalism Without Capitalists: Class Formation and Elite Struggles in Post-communist Central Europe*. London: Verso, 1998.
8. Field, J. *Social Capital*. London: Routledge, 2003.
9. Fukuyama, F. *Trust: the Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
10. Füzér, K. Review of *Capitalist Diversity* by D. Bohle and B. Greskovits in *Demográfia English Edition* 2013 (56) (5): 89-93.
11. Katalin Füzér, The project class: making and breaking social capital in urban and rural development. In *Szociális Szemle* 2013 (1-2): 28-34.
12. Füzér, K. (2007). „The role of social capital in social exclusion: the segregating district of Pécs East in the light of EU-SILC 2006.” In: *Urban Rehabilitation in Segregated Districts of Central and Eastern European*

- Cities: Studying Social Exclusion and Developing Urban Policy*, eds. Bukowski, A., Füzér, K., Jabłońska, B., Smagacz, M., 43-73. Krakow: RABID, 2007.
13. Füzér, K. „Social Urban Rehabilitation Policies and Universities: The Case of Pécs, European Capital of Culture and the University of Pécs” (pp. 153-161). In *Inclusion through Education and Culture*, ed. Coudenys, W., 153-161. Sibiu: UNeECC Forum. Vol. 3, 2011.
 14. Füzér, K. „Urban development beyond the European Capital of Culture Programme. The local project class and local partnerships: allies, rivals or foes?” In: *Ageing Society, Ageing Culture?* Coudenys, W. (ed.), 249–257. Sibiu: UNeECC Forum. Vol. 4., 2013.
 15. Füzér, K., Monostori, J. (2012). Social Capital, Social Exclusion and Rehabilitation Policy in the Hungarian Urban Context (pp.). In: *Urban Social Capital: Civil Society and Urban Life*, Lewandowski, J. & Streich, G. (eds.), 31-75. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
 16. Füzér, K., Sik, E., Gerő, M., Zongor, G. *A társadalmi tőke növelésének lehetőségei fejlesztéspolitikai eszközökkel*. Budapest: TÁRKI, 2005.
 17. Gittel, R. & Vidal, A. *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy*. Thousand Oaks –California: Sage Publications, 1998.
 18. Halpern, D. *Social Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.
 19. Kovách, I. „LEADER, The New Social Order and Central and Eastern European Countries” In *Sociologica Ruralis* 2000 40 (2): 181-190.
 20. Kovách, I., Kristóf, L. „The Projectification of Power. The Impact of European Integration on Power and Society” (pp.). In *From Transition to Globalization*, Bayer, J. & Jensen, J. (eds.), 191-205. Budapest: MTA PTI, 2007.
 21. Kovách, I., Kucerova, E. „The Project Class in Central Europe: The Czech and Hungarian Cases.” *Sociologica Ruralis* 2006 46: 3-21.
 22. Kovách, I., Kucerova, E. „The Social Context of Project Proliferation – The Rise of the Project Class.” *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 2009 11 (3): 203-220.
 23. Ladányi, J., Szelényi, I. *A kirekesztettség változó formái*. Budapest: Napvilág, 2004.
 24. Németh, Zs. *Az urbanizáció és a térbeli társadalomszerkezet változásai 1990 és 2001 között Magyarországon*. Budapest: KSH NKI, 2011.
 25. Pallai, K. „Participatory Approaches to Dealing with Community Conflicts and Disputes: Participatory Processes for Complex Cases” In: *Communication with the Public: From the Local Government Perspective*. Ágnes Jenei (ed.), 101-110. Budapest: BCE, 2012.
 26. Pálné Kovács, I. „Pécs, as the victim of multi-level governance: the case of the project “European Capital of Culture” in 2010.” *Urban Research and Practice* 2013 6: (3): 365-375.
 27. Putnam, R. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

28. Putnam, R. „Bowling alone: America’s declining social capital.” *Journal of Democracy* 1995 6: 65-78.
29. Putnam, R. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon&Schuster, 2000.
30. Sjöblom, S., Andersson, K., Ecklund, E., Godenhjelm, S. (eds.) *Project Proliferation and Governance*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2006.
31. Sjöblom, S., Andersson, K., Marsden, T., Skerratt S. (eds.). *Sustainability and Short-term Policies*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
32. Szelényi, I. „Cities under Socialism – and After.” In *Cities After Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies*, edited by Gregory Andrusz, Micheal Harloe, Iván Szelényi, 286-317. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
33. Woolcock, M., Deepa, N. „Social capital: implications for development theory, research, and policy.” *World Bank Research Observer* 2000 15 (2): 225-249.
34. Woolcock, M. „The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes.” *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research* 20012 (1): 1-17.

The Use of New Technologies in Creating an Interactive Map of the Industrial Heritage of Zagreb

Ana Dadić

Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia – University of Zagreb

Abstract: *Since the industrial heritage resources in Croatia are insufficiently known and recognized, at local or national level, for either repurposing projects or sustainable use, the newly developed technologies will be used to facilitate information access to a large number of people - in this case, the example of an interactive map -, efforts will be made to raise public awareness and influence a positive opinion on the industrial heritage, and also encourage relevant institutions and their representatives to take into consideration repurposing and sustainable development of existing facilities.*

Keywords: *industrial heritage, conservation, repurpose, mapping.*

Introduction

Industrial heritage resources in Croatia, particularly in the capital city Zagreb, are neither sufficiently affirmed as cultural property, nor are they sufficiently recognized as potential for repurpose projects and sustainable use. Zagreb abounds with industrial heritage dating from the 19th century until the end of the 1980s. Railway construction towards Budapest in 1862 indicates the beginning of general and industrial development, repositioning Zagreb from the rural area of the Monarchy into a rapidly developing center.

Today, a great number of these buildings are abandoned and in decay; while just a small part is repurposed presenting a positive step in industrial heritage conservation. Since most of the sites are located in the town center, repurposing them would largely enrich Zagreb's cultural and touristic offer. In my thesis, I will develop an interactive map that will help interested parties, whether they work in the field of culture, tourism, or simply cultural consumers, to receive the information about Zagreb's industrial heritage localities, and a chance to participate in its upgrading, in order to raise awareness and public sensitivity of Zagreb's industrial heritage and to simulate the reflection on repurposing some of the localities, to protect them and their sustainability.

Publishing this map will raise awareness of the industrial heritage that is insufficiently explored and will enable prompt locality condition monitoring,

since the objects are changing daily, despite the fact that they are protected by law. The map will cover only protected industrial heritage that has been processed by institutional studies and conservationists' reports, and registered in national Registry of Cultural Property of the Ministry of Culture. I will enrich every mapped locality with several pictures and a short description (in English) of its history, purpose, status, state and possible repurposing of the object.

1. Industrial Heritage: An Overview

Traditional architectural monument preservation (for residential, industrial and other active applications) was first provided by the declaration in 1957 (repeated findings from 1971 and 1977) of the International Council of Museums (ICOM)¹, according to which architectural heritage must be protected in situ, and when this is not possible only then can be moved to the newly-chosen location, which is qualitatively equivalent to the prior location.

Their reopening for new purposes and contents is allowed by revitalization processes. Further identification, elaboration, evaluation and protection of industrial heritage followed after the establishment of the ICOMOS² in 1964 and the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and sites was ratified, which inter alia states “ that the value of architectural heritage is not only in its incidence, but also in the integrity of all its components... therefore removing internal structures and retaining only the facade does not correspond to the principles of conservation.”³ Industrial heritage terminology and security policies were defined in the Charter for the industrial heritage of the International Committee for Protection of Cultural Heritage (TICCIH), ICOMOS (advising body), in the field of industrial heritage, in July 2003 in the Russian city of Nizhny Tagil. The definition states that “ industrial heritage consists of industrial culture oddments, historical, technological, architectonic, and social values, and implies buildings, machinery, shops, factories, mines, places for treatment and processing, storages, places used for energy generation, transition and usage, transport and related infrastructure”.⁴ Jelinčić states that industrial heritage is defined as an aspect of cultural heritage that specifically deals with buildings and artifacts that are inherited from past generations, being kept in present and handed on to

¹ International Council of Museums.

² International Council on Monuments and sites.

³ Helena Bunijevac, „Željeznička industrijska baština – resursi koji vaze za identifikacijom i valorizacijom,” *Informatica museologica* 38, 1/2 (2007): 34, accessed April 17, 2015, URL: [http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/IM_38\(1-2\)_WEB.pdf](http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/IM_38(1-2)_WEB.pdf)

⁴ International Council on Monuments and sites. „The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage, July, 2003,” accessed April 17, 2014, <http://www.icomos.org/18thapril/2006/nizhny-tagil-charter-e.pdf>

future generations, and often presents significant touristic attraction.⁵ Since it reflects social biography, industrial heritage value is cultural, and increased awareness on importance of industrial history has developed a scientific discipline: industrial archeology⁶.

Although this discipline changed various definitions from its emergence in 1955, when British historian Michael Rix of the University of Birmingham first used the concept of industrial archeology, when he almost exclusively tied it to the preservation of industrial heritage which has been affected by new development, all definitions share the claim that industrial archeology explores the remains of technology and industry⁷.

Industrial heritage was poorly valorized till most recently, as a registered and protected discipline, not only in Croatia but also worldwide.

The concept of industrial archeology emerged at a time when industry in Europe began to stagnate, especially heavy industry (e.g. mines in England and Germany), followed by shipbuilding, and manufacturing (Italy and Sweden). New technologies, new labor and energy costs led to the decline of big industrial facilities, especially steel plants and shipyards⁸. Europe converted to postindustrial economy, and big cities were left with abandoned complexes of former industrial areas, shipyards, harbors and mining settlements. Areas containing infrastructure, architecture of big proportions and outdated machinery, with industrial waste and pollution no longer have their purpose⁹.

Monument protection is present for over half a century in West European practice (especially in Great Britain), and 25 years ago first industrial objects were placed on UNESCO List of World Heritage¹⁰.

Industrial architecture in the world is usually saved by repurposing into cultural purposes. In that way many abandoned industrial buildings receive modern museum use, and industrial artifacts become museum exhibits.¹¹ Jelinčić states that industrial heritage revitalization examples are divided into three categories: regeneration of entire cities, regeneration of city districts (neighborhoods), and regeneration of individual buildings. Use of such projects

⁵ Daniela Angelina Jelinčić, „Kultura kao lijek za propalu industriju,” in *Kulturna dediščina industrijskih panog. 11. Vzorednice med slovensko in hrvaško etnologijo/Industrijska kulturna baština. 11. Hrvatsko-slovenske etnološke paralele* / ed. Alemka Černelič Krošelj et al. (Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 2011), 3.

⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷ Marijana Marinović, „Industrijska baština u nastavi povijesti,” *Povijest u nastavi*, 15, 1 (2012), 8, accessed April 18, 2015, URL: <http://hrcak.srce.hr/82534>

⁸ Sonja Jurković, „Industrijska baština kao prostorni potencijal razvoja grada za urbanotvorni iskorak Rijeke“ (paper presented in Proc. 1st Int. Conf. on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Torpedo Factory in Rijeka and the Preservation of the Industrial Heritage in Rijeka, Croatia, Rijeka, 2005).

⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁰ Goran Arčabić, „Industrijska baština: Kulturni kapital i razvojni potencijal“ (paper presented at the annual meeting Dijalozi s baštinom, Croatia, Rijeka, 2013).

¹¹ Marinović, „Industrijska baština u nastavi povijesti”, 8.

brings the most benefits to the cities, because cultural and urban politics has to be combined¹².

Newcastle and Gateshead¹³ along with Tampere^{14/15} fall into first category of regeneration of entire cities. Examples for second category of regeneration of city districts are East-End London¹⁶, Electropolis in Berlin¹⁷ and Gasometer¹⁸ in Vienna. Under the third category of regeneration of individual buildings fall Musée d'Orsay¹⁹ and Tate Modern in London²⁰.

¹² Jelinčić, „Kultura kao lijek za propalu industriju,“ 3.

¹³ Both Cities, located opposite each other, base their cultural and tourist offer on industrial past. With the beginning of new millennium, and after urban regeneration Gateshead changed from unsightly town into center of modern art, music, habitation and club scene, and Newcastle, once a heavy industry center, became a center of rich tourism, catering and cultural life and is known as a center of entertainment. *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁴ Finnish town Tampere is an example of transformation from a typical Scandinavian industrial center into „City of Museums“. Arčabić, „Industrijska baština: Kulturni kapitali.“

¹⁵ The city was founded in 1779. It began developing through industrialization: the paper factory was founded in 1783 and factory for production of cotton fabrics in 1820. Due to its industrial past the town was named „Finnish Manchester“.

¹⁶ With cultural and urban regeneration this specific London district, that originally rested on sea related industry, was transformed into artistic and trade zone. The area of the Old Spital fields market, is now the place for numerous creative companies from fashion and marketing sector located in the brewery facilities. Revitalized inner covered area is a place for festivals, theater and cinema performances, concerts, exhibitions and sport activities. Area around Hoxton square became the center of British contemporary art, one of the leading commercial contemporary art galleries in the world is located there. Jelinčić, „Kultura kao lijek za propalu industriju,“ 7-8.

¹⁷ Electropolis Berlin example showed how public and corporate interests can be balanced. Inventive approach in managing construction heritage owned by Berlin Electricity production and distribution company ensured „new life“ to technologically outdated objects and helped building up company's positive image. Arčabić, „Industrijska baština: Kulturni kapital.“

¹⁸ The gas tank, built as part of the City Gas company, was in use since 1899, until 1984. It was shaped to make four tanks with a capacity of 90,000 liters each. Each tank is 70 meters high and 60 meters wide. During that time it was the largest building in Europe. In 1995, Vienna decided to renovate protected buildings, so four established architects worked on four gas tanks. Tanks were renovated into several residential zones, apartment on top, offices in middle floors and various shopping and entertainment centers in lower floors. Department stores from different tanks are interconnected with bridges. The brick exterior was preserved. One of the architects designed one of the tanks to be in use of hotel and major world economic institutions. Indoor facilities include a Gasometer music hall with capacity of two to three thousand people, a Film Theater, a student dormitory, the City archives, and a variety of other facilities. The original brick walls make two-thirds of the walls. Today Gasometers have developed into an important settlement and we can say that it is a city within the city; „Gasometer,“ Wikipedia, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gasometer>

¹⁹ One of the biggest and most famous museums of the world, Musée d'Orsay, is located in a 135 meters long and 40 meters wide building that was originally constructed as a railroad station on the occasion of the World Exposition in 1900. In 1977, the French government adopted a decision to repurpose railroad station into a museum. The museum was opened in December 1986; „Musée d' Orsay,“ Wikipedia, accessed April 22, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mus%C3%A9_d'Orsay.

²⁰ The Tate Modern art national gallery was opened in 2000 in facilities of a power plant that stopped working in 1982. The power plant was made of a huge turbine hall, 35 meters high and 15 meters long, in parallel with it there was a heating space. In the turbine hall large sculpture

2. The Industrial Heritage of the City of Zagreb

Industrial heritage resources of Croatia, including Zagreb, are not sufficiently renowned as a type of cultural property, nor are they sufficiently recognized as potential for repurposing projects and sustainable use. Zagreb abounds with industrial heritage dating from the 19th century to the end of the 1980s. Railway construction towards Budapest in 1862 indicates the beginning of general and industrial development, repositioning Zagreb from the rural area of the Monarchy into a rapidly developing city. Today, most of these buildings are abandoned and decaying, while just a small part is refitted and presents a positive step in industrial heritage preservation. From all 8625 registered cultural properties in Croatia, there are only fifty examples of industrial heritage²¹, i.e. only 0.58% of the total number.

Industrial heritage in Croatia lacks supervision, and can be described as a casualty of the weaknesses of the local government system, of the superficial and short-term spatial planning, of the lack of transparency in the urban development plans implementation, of the uninventive architectural performance and unprincipled and slow law enforcement. The main problems of managing industrial heritage in Croatia are: insufficient awareness on possibilities of industrial heritage potential usage in urban and economy development; regressive approach in reflecting the transformation of attractive locations, financial interests excluding the heritage, lack of positive foreign experiences usage, excessive influence of local / national authorities in deciding on the management methods, protection and repurposing of valuable objects; nonexistence of industrial heritage locations repurposing models²².

“The act on the protection and preservation of cultural goods of the Republic of Croatia does not specifically state industrial heritage, but as an immovable cultural good protects individual buildings or complex of buildings, technical objects with devices and other similar objects. Directions on method of determining of security measures for immovable cultural property proposed for registration in the Register of Cultural Goods under individual civilian buildings/complexes are handcraft and industrial buildings, engineering structures as well as farm buildings listed. Within the conservatory profession, recording and valorizing is the most comprehensive while developing conservatory prepositions for spatial planning documentation needs. Although industrial heritage determines numerous city areas of historical towns, it is not

projects are exhibited and the heating space is repurposed into three-level galleries, stretched throughout the entire building. Jelinčić, „Kultura kao lijek za propalu industriju,”8-9.

²¹ Biserka Dumbović-Bilušić, „Stanje i mogućnosti zaštite industrijske baštine u Hrvatskoj” (paper presented at the meeting Industrijska baština: od prepoznavanja do prenamjene, Hrvatska, Zagreb, April 11-12, 2013).

²² Nika Šimičić, „Konzervatorsko-restauratorski projekt za zgradu kraljevskog povlaštenog Zagrebačkog parnog i umjetnog mlina“ (Master's thesis, University of Zagreb, 2014), 30-31.

uniquely valorized and the criteria for protection and conservation are not clear.”²³

Based on the provisions of the Act on the protection and preservation of cultural goods (Official Gazette 69/99, 151/03, 157/03, 87/09 i 88/10) Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Zagreb and according to the measurements of protection and conservation of immovable cultural goods determined by the existing Conservatory documentation for General urban plan (GUP) of the City of Zagreb, conducts inventory and valorization of existing architectural structure (OG 69/99, article 56)²⁴.

Intervention on protected cultural property subjects to the provisions of the Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Goods and obligations of obtaining special conditions and prior approval of the City's Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Monuments as a responsible authority (OG 69/99, article 60. i 62. law).²⁵ As the main principle, Paladino states that historical spatial identity needs to be preserved and affirmed by quality new architecture, and that quality and diversity in the architecture, as well as in the city image, needs to be nurtured as an urban and architectural tradition extension.²⁶

Depending on the conducted evaluation and categorization of certain industrial sites of Zagreb, the industrial heritage protection system is divided into the three main groups: 1) Industrial archeology inscribed in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2 (5 assembly and six individual buildings), 2) Industrial archeology under preventive protection (currently there are no buildings and sites of industrial archeology under preventive protection) and 3) Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban ensemble of the City of Zagreb (5 assemblies and six valuable architectural and urban design in the image of the city). The basic groups divided into subgroups, depending on whether they are complete assemblies or individual buildings, which are also independent or integrated into the larger assemblies²⁷.

Industrial plants and buildings of this type are invaluable because they significantly influence, not only the development of the City of Zagreb, which was one of the leading industrial centers of Southeast Europe in the 20th century, but also its visual identity and it is precisely for this reason necessary to raise awareness where all industrial heritage can be found. It is also necessary to try

²³ Ivana Miletić-Čakširan and Vlatko Čakširan, „Zaštita industrijske baštine grada Siskana primjerima tvorničkog kompleksa Segestice, zgrade Munjare i starog mosta,” *Croatian Cultural Heritage Protection Yearbook* 35 (2014): 143.

²⁴ Zrinka Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine izradbom konzervatorskih elaborata Gradskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode u Zagrebu,” *The Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Croatia*, 33/34 (2012): 147, accessed April 21, 2015, URL: <http://hrcak.srce.hr/93497>

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

to define aspects of the industry as cultural heritage and industry potentials as a valuable heritage of modern society. Arčabić states that the majority of land and old industrial buildings in the wider city center, built in the period from the 1890s to the 1940s, is expecting transformation into business zones, residential or mixed purpose²⁸. “ By changing the attitude towards the evaluation and repurposing of industrial heritage, Croatia would, in most cities, successfully solve many problems related not only to the museum and gallery locale, but spaces with wide repurposing possibilities, and also to expand the touristic offer - from traditional stereotypical cultural sights tours to an attractive and active approach that follows the development of a particular area through all segments of the socio-cultural, economic, technological, architectural, urban to religious, but in an educational manner” .²⁹

2.1. Examples of Industrial Heritage of the City of Zagreb: Repurposing and Evaluation

2.1.1. The leather factory / Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts Gliptoteka HAZU

One of the most popular industrial heritage repurposing and evaluation example in Croatia is for sure Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts *Gliptoteka HAZU*.

Vatroslav Štern's Leather factory's first building was constructed in 1869 according to the project of Janko Jambrišak. The large industrial complex was continuously upgraded throughout the years according to architects Janko Grahors, Kuno Waidmanns, Martin Pilars and Janko Holjcs, until the conflagration in 1926. The avant-garde idea of placing the museum in the industrial architecture was achieved during the 1940s and even today stands as an example of successful adaptation and revitalization of the constructional heritage by repurposing while conserving the original construction substance³⁰.

Original purpose: Leather factory

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia to the list 2; single building)

Repurpose: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts *Gliptoteka HAZU*

²⁸ Goran Arčabić, „Industrijska baština Zagreba“ (paper presented at the manifestation Dani europske baštine 2013., Hrvatska, Sisak, September 20 – October 5, 2013).

²⁹ Šimičić, „Konzervatorsko-restauratorski projekt.“

³⁰ „Registar kulturnih dobara: Kompleks zgrada Gliptoteke HAZU,“ Ministry of Culture, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174524343>.



Picture 1, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts Gliptoteka HAZU

2.1.2. The former Cavalry barracks riding arena building/LAUBA – A House for People and Art

Construction of the Herman Pollak and Sons Cotton Industry Factory was granted in 1924 according to the design of engineer Đuro Ehrlich, along the western edge of the Cavalry barracks parcel (built in 1910, a construction company Emil Eisner and Adolf Ehrlich). Integrating in the present structure, the army barracks experienced a lot of changes, but regardless of the adaptation, and due to the value and recognizability of original construction, formational characteristics and specific purpose, the riding arena building stands out.³¹

Former Cavalry barracks riding arena building was a warehousing space for Zagreb textile plant until 2008, when it was repurposed as LAUBA – House for People and Art and in 2014 nominated for the European Museum of the Year³².

Original purpose: Former Cavalry barracks riding arena, Cotton Industry Factory, Zagreb textile plant warehouse.

³¹ „Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada jašione bivše konjaničke vojarne,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174533891>.

³² European museum of the year has been granting European museum of the year award for the last 37 years. European museum of the year is the organization that operates under the auspices of the Council of Europe, with the aim of developing public quality of European museums. Since 1977, the European museum forum has been organizing annual European museum of the year award, granted to the museums distinguished by innovation and public content. Museums from 47 European countries, members of Council of Europe, may participate in the competition, if they have carried out modernization or expansion in the past two years; „Lauba nominirana za Europski muzej godine,” *Culturenet.hr*, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.culturenet.hr/default.aspx?id=57094>.

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods of Republic of Croatia to list 2; single building)
Repurpose: LAUBA - House for People and Art



Picture 2, LAUBA

2.1.3. Zagreb Tobacco Factory / Croatian History Museum

Zagreb Tobacco Factory building was constructed in 1881/2 according to the plans of engineer Rupert Melkus, leading architect and the head of the City constructions office, with the technical support of Milan Lenucis and Aleksander Sećs. Technological solution was prepared by Leopold Lipp, director of the Hungarian Royal Tobacco Factory from the city of Rijeka. Tobacco Factory in Zagreb is the only fully preserved object of industrial architecture dating from the second half of the 19th century with exceptional structural and design features.³³

Zagreb Tobacco Factory building presents future home for Historical Museum of Croatia. In 2007 The Ministry of Culture signed the agreement on former Zagreb Tobacco Factory building to be purchased for History Museum of Croatia. The location permit was issued in 2008, the amendments in 2009, and in 2011 the reconstruction project certification was obtained for repurposing the Zagreb Tobacco Factory into the History Museum, and construction of business - cultural building with underground garage and transformer station.

³³ "Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada tvornice duhana," Ministry of Culture, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534199>.

Although in 2012³⁴ it was announced that the construction will start, and then again in 2013³⁵, the reconstruction work has not started yet.

Original purpose: Zagreb tobacco factory

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods of Republic of Croatia to list 2; single building)

Repurpose: hopefully Croatian History Museum.



Picture 3, Croatian History Museum

2.2. Zagreb City's endangered heritage

2.2.1. Historical Entity of City Slaughterhouse and Cattle Market Industrial Assembly

The decision to build a new City Eastern markets slaughterhouse in Heinzelova Street was made in 1921. The project was created by German architect Walter Frese. Construction works were carried out by the joint stock company "Union" between 1928 and 1931. The construction was directed by architect Joseph Gaupp, under the supervision of architect Ivan Zemljak and consultant supervisory of architect Peter Behrens. Škoda Company delivered technological equipment and internal transport system. Concept of Integrated process industrial block was applied in complex spatial resolution. Environmental

³⁴ "Sažetak konstituirajuće sjednice Hrvatskog muzejskog vijeća, July 17, 2012," Ministry of Culture, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=10999>.

³⁵ Minister of Culture Andrea Zlatar Viočić said that construction of History museum is classified under the Public-private partnership program, and that the beginning of the construction is expected by the end of the year. Interdisciplinary administration of the project is formed and will follow forming of permanent exhibition, and estimates that costs of new museum will rise up to 160 million., Intervju ministrice kulture Andree Zlatar Viočić," Ministry of Culture, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=9290>.

subordinate architecture of accompanying buildings that compounds with process block avant-garde architecture were chosen very thoughtfully and successfully³⁶.

Original purpose: City slaughterhouse and Cattle Market

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods of Republic of Croatia to list 2; assembly)

State: Industrial complex out of function

Repurpose: /



Picture 4, Historical entity of City slaughterhouse and cattle market industrial assembly

2.2.2. „Badel” Block

Residences and offices were built in 1898 according to the plans of the architect K.Greiners designs. In 1915, 1918 and 1926 the block was upgraded by Ignjat Fischer. The refinery and distillery building, later part of “Gorica” company, were built in period from 1918 to 1919 (I. Fischer), production building of Foam Factory from 1918 to 1921 (I. Fischer, Josip Dubskey) and business – operational tract in front of main buildings – warehouse building (I. Fischer, J.Dubskey). Badel block, realized on location around former “Arko” factory, is located in Eastern part of the town that was planned and defined as urban in the first half of the 20th century. Along with preserved buildings from first and second “Arko” factory’s development phase, original core facilities are preserved inside Badel factory construction structure³⁷.

Original purpose: Alcoholic beverages production factory

³⁶ “Registar kulturnih dobara: Gradska klaonica i stočna tržnica,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534749>.

³⁷ Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine,” 162.

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; assembly

State: Zagreb City, as the owner of the complex, is renting a part of the complex for commercial purposes, and making profit while not investing into maintenance.

Repurpose: International tender was published in 2012 with goal of renovating the Badel block. There were 242 project proposals from 49 different countries received, but unfortunately none was accepted, so Badel continues to decay³⁸.



Picture 5, The „Badel” Block

2.2.3. Former „Iskra” Candle Factory Operational Building

Former „Iskra” factory boiler house with factory chimney is a part of factory complex that was built during the 1920s in Peščenica. Factory building constructed in 1923 was converted from 1926 to 1928 according to the needs of “Iskra” candle factory (project Josip Dubskey)³⁹.

Original purpose: „Iskra” candle factory

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; individual buildings)

State: Boiler house with factory chimney is conserved in original architectural, construction and formative characteristics, typical for the time of

³⁸ Viktorija Macukić, „ZAGREPČANI I STRUKA U STRAHU Čeka li blok Badel ista sudbina kao i srušeni Paromlin?,” *Jutarnji list*, August 11, 2014, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.jutarnji.hr/propadanje-spomenika-industrijske-bastine-ceka-li-blok-badel-ista-sudbina-kao-paromlin-/1212503/>

³⁹ “Registar kulturnih dobara: Pogonska zgrada tvornice Iskra,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174540615>.

construction and building purpose and presents valuable conserved example of early industrial architecture; building is abandoned and in very poor condition.

Repurpose: /



Picture 6, Former „Iskra” candle factory building

2.2.4. “Penkala” Factory

Hönigsberg and Deutsch, famous architecture studio from Zagreb designed the factory in 1909 and it gained its current appearance in 1919 when it was redesigned by prominent architect Rudolf Lubynski. For decades object served as textile factory „Nada Dimić”⁴⁰.

Original purpose: „Nada Dimić” Textile Factory

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; individual buildings.

State: Factory is in ruinous state ever since the part of it collapsed in 2007.

Repurpose: Construction of business-residential building is planned



Picture 7, “Penkala” factory

⁴⁰ Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine,” 167.

2.3. Industrial Heritage in Use with Original or Modified Purpose

2.3.1. Silk Factory

Former silk factory, big commercial building, located north of the Faculty of Agriculture, probably dating from the same period as Haulik mansion. The exact date of construction is unknown, but the record show that the building already existed in 1835. Inner premises were used to keep silkworm cocoons.⁴¹

Original purpose: Silk Factory

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; individual buildings)

State: In function

Repurpose: Inner premises repurposed into warehouse space



Picture 8, Silk factory

2.3.2. Parts of „TEŽ” Electric Bulbs Factory Assembly

Factory was designed and constructed from 1947 to 1953. The most significant intervention was made by the main production hall adaptation and construction of testing tower in 1963. Even today Horvat's electric bulbs testing tower presents unique architecture solution that is preserved for decades, with a recognizable characteristics, but also generally “luminous” symbol of Zagreb.⁴²

Original purpose: „TEŽ” Electric Bulbs Factory

⁴¹„Registar kulturnih dobara: Svilana u parku Maksimir,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174541016>.

⁴²„Registar kulturnih dobara: Dijelovi sklopa Tvornice električnih žarulja,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 22, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174544210>.

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; individual buildings)

State: The original spatial organization with main factory entrance from Folnegovićevea street and service access from Kornatska street is preserved to this day and has a function of the factory

Repurpose: /



Picture 9, Parts of „TEŽ” electric bulbs factory assembly

2.3.3. “Boethe i Ehrmann” Furniture Factory

Factory was built in 1906 by the plans of an architect Ignjat Fisher, and its facilities were adapted in 1958/59.⁴³

Original purpose: Furniture Factory

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; individual buildings

State: In function

Repurpose: Student center is located in repurposed facilities



Picture 10, “Boethe i Ehrmann” furniture factory

⁴³ Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine,” 166.

2.3.4. *Parts of Former First Croatian Oil Factory Assembly*

Administrative building, originally built as a settlement building, was constructed in 1912 by Vjekoslav Heinzels designs. Boiler room, engine room and water supply plant were built in 1924 according to the plans of constructors Pollak and Bornstein.⁴⁴

Original purpose: First Croatian Oil Factory

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; assembly

State: Out of function, building is being repaired

Repurpose: Allegedly Croatian Football Federation is interested in buying the building⁴⁵



Picture 11, Parts of former First Croatian oil factory assembly

2.3.5. *“Borongaj Airport” – Historical Entity*

Airport location was chosen wisely, in the city's vicinity with easy access via historical Borongajska main road and along the railroad tracks, with special service tracks for transportation. Terminal building was built in 1929. The shaping of architecture volume and methods of separation of the facade and the interior shows stylistic features of modernism with late Art Deco details.

Three groups, by two hangars each, were built from 1928 to 1932. A modern engineering construction made of reinforced concrete, was applied, and the facades were shaped in the modernistic manner.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁵ Vanja Nezirović, “Hrvatski nogomet seli u staru uljaru: Šuker kupuje novu kuću nogometa za 2 milijuna eura?,” *Jutarnji list*, September 21, 2012, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://www.jutarnji.hr/suker-kupuje-novu-kucu-nogometa-za-2-milijuna-eura/1055247/>.

Horticulturally, this area is defined by peripheral tree alley, used as visual and sound isolation for the settlement.⁴⁶

Original purpose: Airport

Status: Protected cultural Goods (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; assembly)

State: In function

Repurpose: “Končar” factory in the southern part of the complex and warehouse space for several different companies



Picture 12, „Borongaj airport” historical entity

2.3.6. Former State Railway Engine Room Assembly

When state train station was built in 1890, State Railway began the construction of engine room assembly in Trnjanska street in 1983/84. The oldest preserved building construction segments dating from the late 19th and early 20th century are Shops for locomotive equipment manufacturing: turning shop, forge, shops for train wagon equipment, paintwork and wood shops with interesting design solutions, elements of the supports and original luminaire. Engine room assembly spatial pattern is in line with the urban tendencies of the time of its creation and the city urban matrix, with its octagonal spatial structure and measures.⁴⁷

Original purpose: State railway engine room

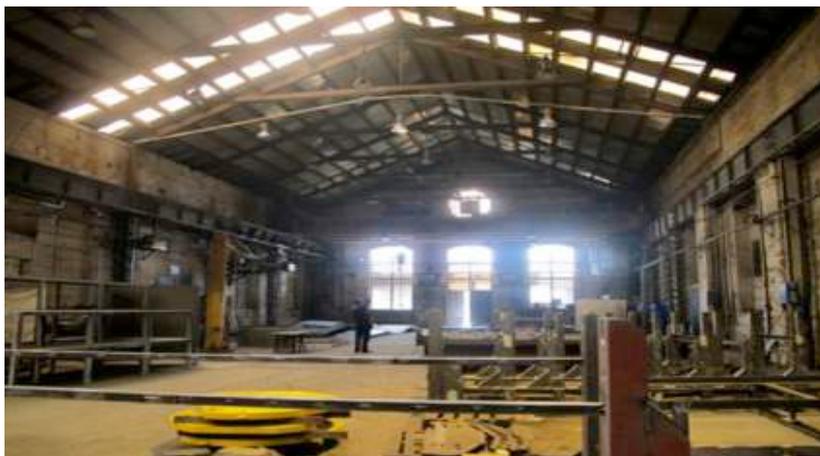
⁴⁶ „Registar kulturnih dobara: Aerodrom Borongaj”, Ministry of Culture, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174633905>

⁴⁷ „Registar kulturnih dobara: Kompleks nekadašnje Strojarnice državne željeznice”, Ministry of Culture, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174634289>

Status: Protected cultural Goods (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; assembly)

State: Shops for railway wagon development

Repurpose: /



Picture 13, Former State Railway engine room assembly

2.3.7. City Gasworks

New City Gasworks administrative and medical buildings were built in 1911 along with the gas production facilities, and settlements for Gasworks employees from 1911 to 1912 by the design of Dionis Sunko. City gasworks industrial assembly possesses historical architecture structure features worth conserving.⁴⁸

Original purpose: City gasworks

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; assembly

State: Still in function as City Gasworks

Repurpose: /

⁴⁸ Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine” 163.



Picture 14, City Gasworks

2.3.8. Former Automatic Telephone Exchange and Post Office

By the design of architect Stjepan Planić, automatic telephone exchange construction began in 1942. The object becomes the property of „Nikola Tesla” telephone devices factory and was adapted and finished in 1950. The object presents conserved example of industrial architecture of quality and functional solutions realized according to modern architecture principles.⁴⁹

Original purpose: Automatic telephone central and post office

Status: Protected cultural good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; individual buildings)

State: In function

Repurpose: In use of the ambulance service and „Ericsson-Nikola Tesla” Institute and Restaurant



Picture 15, Former automatic telephone central and post office

⁴⁹„Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada nekadašnje samospojne središnjice i pošte danas Ericsson Nikola Tesla”, Ministry of Culture, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174637292>.

2.3.9. “Franck” Factory

Factory hall, warehouse, shipping room, filling room, employee apartment building, port, carpentry, hut and woodshed were built in 1892 by the designs of Kuno Waidmann. Officer building and drying rooms were built within a year. In 1895 drying rooms were upgraded by the design of construction company “Pilar, Maly and Bauda” , and in 1904 employee settlements according to Martin Pilar's design. Fewer interventions on assembly architecture were done in 1927 by Lav Kaldas design.⁵⁰

Original purpose: “Franck” factory

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; assembly

State: in function “Franck” factory

Repurpose: /



Picture 16, “Franck” Factory

2.4. Destroyed Industrial Heritage

2.4.1. Historical Entity of “Paromlin” Industrial Assembly

Historical entity of “Paromlin” industrial assembly was built in late 19th and early 20th century. Production assembly buildings were originally leaning towards proto-industrial architectonics of classicistic stylization (Honigsberg&Deutsch studio projects, constructor Ivan Štefan), and later in the spirit of secession modernism (Kalda and Štefan studio projects). The only preserved object of the first Paromlin, directorate building, (1880 Janko Jambrišak project, from 1895 - 1900 the project of remodeling and reshaping), holds characteristics of high historicism. Factory chimney (H. R. Heinicke

⁵⁰ Paladino, „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine,” 165.

Company from Wien 1916.) gave an attractive composition accent of Paromlin complex.⁵¹

Original purpose: Royal privileged Zagreb steam and artificial mill

Status: Protected cultural Good (Industrial archeology registered in the Register of Cultural Goods to list 2; assemblies)

State: Long-term neglect of responsible institutions for rehabilitation of one of the most valuable monuments of Croatian industrial heritage; led to tower destruction in July 2014 and widening of a City parking for 130 places.

Repurpose: Location is being mentioned as a future City library address



Picture 17, Historical entity of “Paromlin” industrial assembly

2.4.2. Ševčik Brother Fabric

Mechanical shop and foundry were built in 1928 by the design of architect Srećko Florschütz. The factory was upgraded in the mid-1930s, and was one of the first companies manufacturing machine tools in Croatia. The complex came in possession of former „Prvomajska” factory in 1945 and it was used as a warehouse.⁵²

Original purpose: Mechanical shop and foundry

Status: Industrial archeology with the characteristics of historical architectural structures protected as an integral part of the protected historic urban entity of Zagreb; assembly

⁵¹ „Registar kulturnih dobara: Kulturno povijesna cjelina Paromlina,” Ministry of Culture, accessed April 23, 2015, <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534750>.

⁵² Goran Arčabić, „Bivša tvornica Braće Ševčik/Prvomajska,” *Zagreb public space*, March 1, 2013, accessed April 24, 2015, <http://zagrebjavni prostor.tumblr.com/post/44304396434/bivsa-tvornica-brace-sevcik-prvomajska-bez>.

State: *VMD promet Company*, current owner, demolished the factory and constructed a business complex. The tower within the complex was preserved and reconstructed.

Repurpose: /



Picture 18, Ševčik brothers' factory

3. About Digital Maps

Interactive internet maps have a great potential in regard to paper maps. Various similar maps can be found on the internet, with the advantage of the ones that are interactive, giving more information to the user and being easy and quick to search. Lukić defines digital map as every cartography visualization in digital form that can be printed or shown on computer screen.⁵³ There are two different kind of maps that can be found on the internet. One type is interactive with options of changing the criteria, views, information and topics displayed on a map. Others are static maps with one view similar to a paper map. For maps in digital form, special attention should be paid to simple interaction with user and all the functions on such map should be supported by simple and intuitive use, as well as additional information on a particular cartographic object. Users must have the opportunity to change and choose shown objects and have an insight of their characteristics.⁵⁴ Since digital cards enable space perception, Lukić considers the possibility of creating concrete perception (map) as very

⁵³ Aleksandar Lukić, „Digitalna karta - ususret geografiji budućnosti?,” *Edupoint* 3 (2003): 20, accessed April 30, 2015, URL: http://edupoint.carnet.hr/casopis/cimages/edupoint/ep_19_1.pdf.

⁵⁴ Robert Župan and Stanislav Frangeš, „Interaktivne karte na webu,” *Ekscentar* 6 (2004): 40, accessed April 30, 2015, URL: http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=17260

dangerous, because of the creator's lack of knowledge on designing cartographically correct space perception. Once, map development was exclusively in cartographer's hands, but nowadays, anybody in possession of computer can develop a digital map. Since digital cartography conditioned decentralization of maps development, Lukić notes that it is necessary to consider education for digital maps designers and to consider the new role expected of cartographers in this training, but also in founding of digital maps development system.⁵⁵

“Zagreb Industrial Heritage” Interactive Map Development

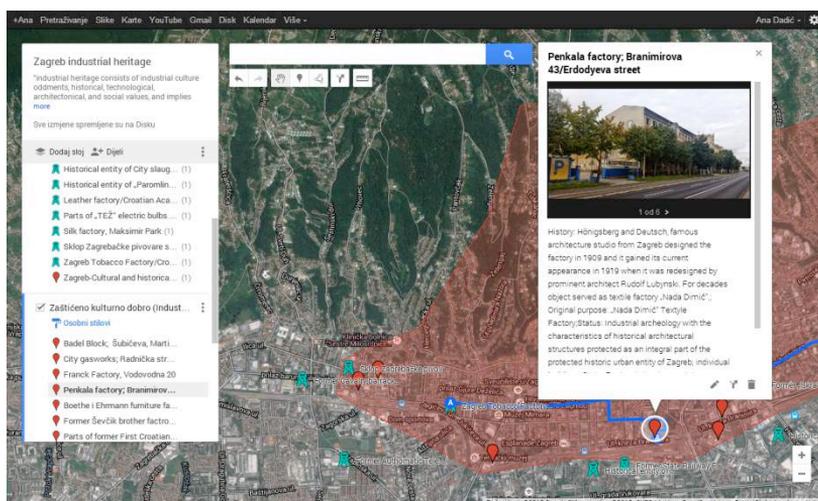
To contribute to rising public awareness and sensitivity to Zagreb Industrial Heritage and to encourage reflection on repurposing some localities, in order to protect them and their sustainability, the interactive map aims to help all interested parties, whether they are employees in culture or tourism sector, or only cultural consumers, to get basic information about industrial heritage sites of Zagreb in one place, and if they are willing to participate in its upgrades. *Google maps* was chosen to develop this map because it is a simple tool and enables everybody, with no prior experience in programming or web sites development, to develop personalized and interactive map adjusted to all their needs and requests.

As a first step, I opened *Google maps* in Google search engine. Then I chose option *my maps* after interface opening. Then it was necessary to sign into my Google account, or create one if needed. When map development options opens, one needs to click on it, and then interface for future interactive map will appear and open. I gave the map its name and description. The address of the new interactive map is now available in share settings, and I can share it via social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Google+ or Gmail. Also, here I decide who has access to my interactive map: Private (only you have access to), Public on the web (retrieval and access to all users on the Internet - registration is not required), all with a link (access is available to all users who have connection - registration is not required) or just with the selected individual(s) (shared with certain people). In sharing options, there is an option offered to map owner for he or she is the only one to change permits (in that case, editors cannot add or remove anyone or change item visibility) or it allows editors to add individuals and change permits (editors have full control over adding, removing and changing item visibility; only owner can erase the item). Since the purpose of this map is promotion of industrial heritage I will make it publicly available. By adding various functions and markers, I will shape my interactive map and enrich it with some functions. First of all, I determine where I want a center of my map to be located (in this case the City of Zagreb). I will add tools for zooming in and out and moving around the map. Then I will

⁵⁵ Lukić, “Digitalna karta - ususret geografiji”, 24-27.

improve the map's accuracy. I will add tags to my map – labels that mark the places of interest.

On the example of “Zagreb Industrial Heritage Map” there are 18 permanent spots in City area that I marked as Zagreb Industrial Heritage localities. I added a short description in English regarding history, original purpose, status, state and eventual repurpose of the object with several pictures. Since windows that open by clicking on the location are rather small, unfortunately it is not possible to enter a large amount of content. Since the photo should have the author's permission for its use, it is possible to search for authorized contents, using the advanced search in Google and Flickr, or record your own photos and use them by entering a URL address. In this case, I decided to use my own photos, authorize them and make them publicly available.



Picture 19, “Zagreb Industrial Heritage” Interactive Map

Industrial Heritage of the City of Zagreb shown on the map is exclusively one so far protected or treated by institutional studies and conservation elaborates, and registered at the National Register of Cultural Goods of the Ministry of Culture.

An interactive map is available at the link below: https://mapsengine.google.com/map/edit?mid=zGBPU54wivhY.k_23yEKrn9MQ

Conclusion

Industrial facilities and buildings of this type are of great importance because they influenced not only the development of the City of Zagreb as one of the leading industrial centers of southeastern Europe in 20th century, but also the

modern visual identity of the Capital City of Croatia, and is therefore necessary to raise the awareness of locations where industrial heritage can be found. Mapping Zagreb's industrial heritage is one of the ways to preserve historical identity of the City area. Changing attitude towards repurposing and conversion of industrial heritage would solve many problems related to the museums and galleries, spaces with variety of possibilities of repurpose and would greatly expand the tourist offer of the City. Since the majority of localities are found in the town center, their repurposing would greatly enrich Zagreb cultural and touristic offer.

In order to become an integral part of urban-design, industrial heritage should be one of the main topics while discussing City's development and its future. Revitalization projects should face innovative and educative project preparation approach: 1) Heritage based industrial projects, 2) Artistic and recreational projects, and 3) Cultural and artistic projects for tourism development.⁵⁶

The advantages of this interactive map are that it provides basic information about the sites of industrial heritage in Zagreb (name, address, history, status, current status, repurpose), promptly monitoring the status of sites, easy interaction with users, the possibility of changing and choosing the displayed objects and insight into their characteristics, quickly finding sites in the real world (the creation of space perception) and the possibility of sharing and promotion using social networks. Content is translated into English to be more visible and accessible to a larger number of people. By involving the public into the project, it is planned to map the entire industrial heritage of the City of Zagreb and Croatia, all with a goal of protecting and sustaining valuable industrial localities. In this way, the knowledge base of industrial heritage would be created through mutual cooperation and joint efforts.

References

1. Arčabić, Goran. „Bivša tvornica Braće Ševčik/Prvomajska,” *Zagreb public space*, March 1, 2013. Accessed April 24, 2015. <http://zagrebjavni prostor.tumblr.com/post/44304396434/bivsa-tvornica-brace-sevcik-prvomajska-bez>.
2. Arčabić, Goran. „Industrijska baština Zagreba.” Paper presented at the manifestation Dani europske baštine 2013, Croatia, Sisak, September 20-October 5, 2013.
3. Arčabić, Goran. „Industrijska baština: Kulturni kapital i razvojni potencijal.” Paper presented at the annual meeting Dijalozi s baštinom, Croatia, Rijeka, 2013.

⁵⁶ Miletić-Čakširan and Čakširan, “Zaštita industrijske baštine grada,” 13.

4. Bunijevac, Helena. „Željeznička industrijska baština – resursi koji vape za identifikacijom i valorizacijom.” *Informatica museologica* 38, 1/2 (2007): 34. Accessed April 17, 2015. URL: [http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/IM_38\(1-2\)_WEB.pdf](http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/IM_38(1-2)_WEB.pdf)
5. Culturnet.hr. „Lauba nominirana za Europski muzej godine.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.culturenet.hr/default.aspx?id=57094>.
6. Dumbović-Bilušić, Biserka. „Stanje i mogućnosti zaštite industrijske baštine u Hrvatskoj.” Paper presented at the meeting Industrijska baština: od prepoznavanja do prenamjene, Croatia, Zagreb, April 11-12, 2013.
7. International Council on Monuments and sites. “The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage, July, 2003.” Accessed April 17 2015. <http://www.icomos.org/18thapril/2006/nizhny-tagil-charter-e.pdf>
8. Jelinčić, Daniela Angelina. „Kultura kao lijek za propalu industriju.” In *Kulturna dediščina industrijskih panog. 11. Vzporednice med slovensko in hrvaško etnologijo/Industrijska kulturna baština. 11. Hrvatsko-slovenske etnološke paralele*, edited by Alemka Černelič Krošelj, Željka Černelič and Helena Rožman, 1-13. Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 2011.
9. Jurković, Sonja. „Industrijska baština kao prostorni potencijal razvoja grada za urbanotvorni iskorak Rijeke.” Paper presented in Proc. 1st Int. Conf. on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Torpedo Factory in Rijeka and the Preservation of the Industrial Heritage in Rijeka, Croatia, Rijeka, 2005.
10. Lukić, Aleksandar. „Digitalna karta - ususret geografiji budućnosti?” *Edupoint*, 3 (2003): 18-29. Accessed April 30, 2015. URL: http://edupoint.carnet.hr/casopis/cimages/edupoint/ep_19_1.pdf.
11. Macukić Viktorija. „ZAGREPČANI I STRUKA U STRAHU Čeka li blok Badel ista sudbina kao i srušeni Paromlin?” *Jutarnji list*, August 11, 2014. Accessed April 12, 2015. <http://www.jutarnji.hr/propadanje-spomenika-industrijske-bastine-ceka-li-blok-badel-ista-sudbina-kao-paromlin-/1212503/>.
12. Marinović, Marijana. „Industrijska baština u nastavi povijesti.” *Povijest u nastavi*, 15, 1 (2012): 7-20. Accessed April 18, 2015. URL: <http://hrcak.srce.hr/82534>
13. Miletić-Čakširan, Ivana, and Čakširan, Vlatko. „Zaštita industrijske baštine grada Siska na primjerima tvorničkog kompleksa Segestice, zgrade Munjare i starog mosta.” *Croatian Cultural Heritage Protection Yearbook* 35 (2014): 143-56.
14. Ministry of Culture. „Intervju ministrice kulture Andree Zlatar Violačić.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=9290>.
15. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Aerodrom Borongaj.” Accessed April 23, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174633905>.
16. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Dijelovi sklopa Tvornice električnih žarulja.” Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174544210>.

17. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Gradska klaonica i stočna tržnica.” Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534749>.
18. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Kompleks zgrada Gliptoteke HAZU.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174524343>.
19. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Kulturno povijesna cjelina Paromlina.” Accessed April 23, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534750>.
20. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Pogonska zgrada tvornice Iskra.” Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174540615>.
21. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Svilana u parku Maksimir.” Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174541016>.
22. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada jašione bivše konjaničke vojarne.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174533891>.
23. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada nekadašnje samospojne središnjice i pošte danas Ericsson Nikola Tesla.” Accessed April 23, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174637292>.
24. Ministry of Culture. „Registar kulturnih dobara: Zgrada tvornice duhana.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kdId=174534199>.
25. Ministry of Culture. „Sažetak konstituirajuće sjednice Hrvatskog muzejskog vijeća, July 17 2012.” Accessed April 21, 2015. <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=10999>.
26. Nežirović, Vanja. „Hrvatski nogomet seli u staru uljaru: Šuker kupuje novu kuću nogometa za 2 milijuna eura?” *Jutarnji list*, September 21, 2012. Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://www.jutarnji.hr/suker-kupuje-novu-kucu-nogometa-za-2-milijuna-eura/1055247>.
27. Paladino, Zrinka. „Zaštita Zagrebačke industrijske baštine izradbom konzervatorskih elaborata Gradskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode u Zagrebu.” *The Preservation of Cultural Heritage in Croatia*, 33/34 (2012): 147-52. Accessed April 21, 2015. URL: <http://hrcak.srce.hr/93497>
28. Šimičić, Nika. „Konzervatorsko-restauratorski projekt za zgradu kraljevskog povlaštenog Zagrebačkog parnog i umjetnog mlina.” Master's thesis, University of Zagreb, 2014.
29. Wikipedia. „Gasometer.” Accessed April 22, 2015. <http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gasometer>
30. Wikipedia. „Musée d'Orsay.” Accessed April 22, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mus%C3%A9_d'Orsay

31. Župan, Robert, and Frangeš, Stanislav. „Interaktivne karte na webu,” *Ekscentar* 6 (2004): 40-42. accessed April 30, 2015. URL: http://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=17260

Indigeneity, Cultural Transformations and Rethinking the Nation: Performative Aspects of Sámi Elements in Umeå 2014

Anne Heith

Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University

Abstract: *In a discussion of how ethnic identity is performed in contemporary Sámi art, the article explores ways in which the idea of the homogeneous nation-state is challenged in the work of Sámi artists. The material examined is a series of exhibitions called “Eight Sámi Artists”, which was shown at Bildmuseet in Umeå during 2014 when Umeå was a European Capital of Culture. The marginalisation of Sámi culture as a result of homogenising nation-building and colonialism is highlighted as a historical context and backdrop of contemporary Sámi artists’ explorations of themes like identity loss and stigmatisation. In particular, Katarina PirakSikku’s exhibition Nammaláhpán, which deals with the theme of Swedish race biology, is discussed as an example of contemporary Sámi art’s deconstruction of the narrative of the culturally, ethnically and linguistically homogeneous nation-state. Another explored theme is the embedding of the series in Bildmuseet at Umeå University, a museum for contemporary art and visual culture.*

Keywords: *Sámi art; Eight Sámi Artists; performing ethnicity; Bildmuseet, Umeå; Sámi counter-narratives*

Performing Culture

This article discusses how Sámi culture is performed in a series of exhibitions shown at Bildmuseet in Umeå during 2014 when Umeå was a European Capital of Culture. The ‘performative turn’ is the theoretical foundation of the discussion; this entails the notion that culture, as well as identities, is performed. The concept of the ‘performative turn’ refers to a shift in social studies and the humanities that rests upon the assumption that human practices are performed. This implies that culture is seen as a dynamic phenomenon and that human agency plays a role for constructions of social life.¹ Following this line of thought, heritage and culture may be seen as performative processes. This theme is explored by Laurajane Smith who has authored a number of books about

¹ Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002).

museology and heritage understood as a performative process.² One theme explored by Smith and her co-author Emma Waterton is ways in which community groups define and negotiate memory and identity, and ways in which these expressions are used, or taken up, in struggles over cultural recognition.³

The issue of memory and identity is at the core of the Sámi elements in the programme of Umeå 2014. The planners of Umeå 2014, and the local politicians who were engaged in the event, wished to present Umeå as a place where culture contributes to growth – a key concept during the planning phase was “culture and growth”. However, this was not necessarily the point of departure for the Sámi artists who contributed to the programme. In fact, it became evident that there is a potential conflict between the image of Sámi culture, which officials and politicians wished to promote and the experiences of Sámi actors and artists engaged in a struggle for cultural recognition. The chairman of the NGO Sáhkie, Umeå Sámi Association,⁴ emphasized that from a Sámi vantage point it was important that the Sámi had the opportunity to speak with their own voice. He acknowledged the existence of a power asymmetry, underlining that the Sámi have to be pragmatic because of their subordinate position. With this in mind, Sáhkie made the decision to be part of a reference group with Sámi and artistic competence. The role of the group was to partake in the planning of the programme.⁵

While the programme of Umeå 2014 no doubt made Sámi culture more visible, this focus on culture did not go hand in hand with political recognition. Sweden has not ratified Convention No. 169, a legally binding international instrument dealing with the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples.⁶ The Convention, also known as the ILO-convention 169 (International Labour Organization Convention), is the most important operative international law guaranteeing the rights of indigenous peoples. It deals with the issue of assimilationist policies, which have marginalised the cultures of indigenous peoples, stating that indigenous peoples should have the right to choose whether to integrate and assimilate, or to maintain their cultural and political integrity. The Sámi people who participated in the planning and implementation of the programme of Umeå 2014 contributed in various ways to confirming, challenging, and deconstructing the dominant narrative of the Swedish nation. A

² Laurajane Smith, *The Uses of Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

³ Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, *Heritage, Communities and Archeology* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2009).

⁴ Sáhkie, Umeå Sámi Association: <http://www.sahkie.se/en/>, 10 April 2015.

⁵ Anne Heith, “Interview with Michael Lindblad, Chairman of Sáhkie, Umeå Sámi Association”, 10 April 2015.

⁶ Convention No. 169: <http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang--en/index.htm>, 9 March 2015.

central theme of this article is the role of the Sámi in this narrative. While definitions and negotiations are central elements of performances, it must be kept in mind that there is a power asymmetry between Sámi actors and the Swedish political and cultural elite, a fact emphasized by the Chairman of Umeå Sámi Association.

According to performance theories, culture has no inherent meaning, but meanings are produced through practices – performances – in specific contexts. Following this, performances are events that are contextually framed and are produced by individuals in interaction with a specific context, which contributes to shaping the meaning of the performance. These ideas have also influenced theories of identity formation. Judith Butler, in particular, has explored connections between gendered identities and performativity, claiming that there is no essential gender, but that gender is performed.⁷ Following a similar strain of thought, ethnic identities are seen as constructed by individuals who are ‘performing ethnicity,’⁸ or engaging in bordering practices, which distinguish them from other groups. The main argument of the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth’s influential discussion of the formation of ethnic groups in the introduction of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* is that distinguishing markers are used in order to mark differences between groups.⁹ In an analysis of identity formation in Northern Norway Paulgaard emphasizes that: “Identities are created by means of experiencing similarity and differences. Encounters with differences and otherness are important to the perception of the self as distinctive in personal, social and cultural terms.”¹⁰ A core theme of indigenous studies is the issue of from what vantage point distinctions are made. While colonisers made distinctions, which marginalized and disempowered indigenous peoples, indigenous, postcolonial counter-narratives are produced today which challenge colonizing discourses.¹¹

Eight Sámi Artists at Bildmuseet in Umeå

This article explores how present-day Sámi art engages in a dialogue with the past and what strategies artists use in order to promote Sámi identity formation. The series of exhibitions called “Eight Sámi Artists” consists of solo exhibitions by contemporary Sámi artists from Sweden, Norway and Finland, respectively:

⁷ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁸ Anne Heith, ”Platsens sanning. Performativitet och gränsdragningar i tornedalsk litteraturhistoria och grammatik”, *Nordlit* 30:2012, 71-85.

⁹ Fredrik Barth, ”Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1999), 9-38.

¹⁰ Gry Paulgaard, ”Re-centring Periphery: Negotiating Identities in Time and Space”, in *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern Peripheries*, Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and Brynhild Granås eds, (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 50.

¹¹ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

- Katarina PirakSikku, Sweden: Nammaláhpán
- MarjaHelander, Finland: Silence
- Per Enoksson, Sweden: The Forest in Me
- LiselotteWajstedt, Sweden: The Lost One
- CarolaGrahn, Sweden: A Cry From the Expanses
- JoarNango and FFB, Norway: Searching for Smooth Space
- Geir Tore Holm, Norway: Fughetta
- Anders Sunna, Sweden: Area Infected

The artists have their roots in Sápmi, the traditional homeland of the Sámi people and they have in common that they explore their Sámi ancestry, Sámi history and culture. They use Sámi identity markers in their works of art in various ways. The exhibitions were commissioned by Bildmuseet and were curated by the museum's personnel.¹² The artists were chosen on the basis of the artistic qualities of their work; they all have a formal art education. Initially, a number of artists were invited to present their work and in a dialogue with the museum's personnel eight artists were chosen to create artwork for a solo exhibition each. A prerequisite was that those chosen were comfortable with being presented as *Sámi* artists.¹³

The location of the exhibitions is significant because Bildmuseet is a museum for contemporary art and visual culture. It is both part of state-run Umeå University and a cultural institution. The museum has been praised both for its architecture and for its international focus and high quality exhibitions. Its location and architectural qualities are proudly emphasized on its website: "Since 2012 Bildmuseet has been housed in an acclaimed building by the shores of the Ume River, right next to Umeå Academy of Fine Arts, Umeå Institute of Design and Umeå School of Architecture. The new museum building, designed by Henning Larsen Architects in collaboration with White, has been named one of the world's most beautiful university museums."¹⁴

Providing space for eight Sámi artists in a place like this, where their work is exhibited together with works by other contemporary artists that have gained attention and praise on the international art scene, is in itself a statement about contemporaneity, significance and creativity. A paradigm in nation-building was that the Sámi were seen as part of a pre-modern culture incompatible with modernity. A central issue in postcolonial studies and indigenous studies is whose histories are being told and for what purpose. In the case of the Sámi, they have not fitted into the idea of the homogeneous nation-state sharing a common history, culture and homeland. Recent studies of colonial complicity in the Scandinavian countries highlight the circumstance that histories of colonialism and assimilationist policies have tended to be

¹² Anne Heith, "Interviewwith Katarina Pierre, Director of Bildmuseet, Umeå", 13 April 2015.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Bildmuseet's webpage, <http://www.bildmuseet.umu.se/en/about/about-bildmuseet/>, 7 April 2014.

suppressed because they do not support cherished self-images of the Nordic nation-states as exceptionally democratic and equal.¹⁵

Today Sámi history is critically examined with theoretical tools from postcolonial studies and indigenous studies. One vantage point for present day criticism is that the traditional Sámi homeland Sápmi was colonized and divided when the nation-state borders were established in the north. This affected the Sámi people severely because they became citizens of different nation-states. The construction of a Sámi nation is a central element of present day cultural and political mobilization. In this context, culture and art play vital roles for establishing a specific Sámi cultural identity. Grini points out that Sápmi, the traditional Sámi area, can be understood as a nation embracing four nation-states: Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.¹⁶ She goes on to highlight connections between the production of art history and the constitutions and maintenance of different nation-states: "Since the 19th century, the history of art has been considered part of the nation-state's inventory."¹⁷ This compliance between narratives of the nation-state and the history of art is a major backdrop of different ways of framing Sámi material art objects in national and global art discourses. While cultural homogenization characterizes the building of the modern Swedish welfare state,¹⁸ the focus has shifted today to narratives influenced by postcolonial studies. Changes in narratives of the nation, from the idea of the many as one to narratives of diversity and hybridity, are discussed by Bhabha. He proposes that the nation may be seen as a narrative susceptible to modification through challenges and alternative stories proposed by formerly marginalized groups.¹⁹ In the shift from the paradigm of the idea of a homogeneous national art to the notion of multiple traditions in multicultural, multi-ethnic societies, Sámi art can be framed within a discourse of multiculturalism, but also within an indigenous discourse evolving against the background of historical marginalization and assimilationist policies.

As mentioned above, the artists represented in the series "Eight Sámi Artists" have a formal art education. This is a relatively new phenomenon. John Savio (1902-1938), the first Sámi to pursue a formal art education, studied at the National Academy of Craft and Art Industry in Norway's capital Kristiania, today's Oslo.²⁰ Sámi artists did not become more visible until the 1970s, in connection with the cultural mobilization of the times and through conflicts with

¹⁵ Suvi Keskinen et al. eds, *Complying with Colonialism* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁶ Monica Grini, "Historical Reflections on Sámi Art and the Paradigm of the National in Norwegian Art History," in *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, eds. Charis Gullickson and Sandra Lorentzen (Stamsund: Orkanaforlag AS, 2014), 49.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Gösta Arvastsson, "Inledning," in *Järnbur eller frigörelse? Studier i moderniseringen av Sverige* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999), 9-24.

¹⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, "Dissemination: Time, Narrative and the Margonof the Modern Nation," in *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 199-244.

²⁰ Charis Gullickson, "The Artist as Noadi," in *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, eds. Charis Gullickson and Sandra Lorentzen (Stamsund: Orkanaforlag AS, 2014), 11.

the majority society, which engaged artists. The Sámi art scene flourished in the 1970s, which is related to the fact that a number of artists received higher education in art. In 1978, the “Sámi Artists Group” was formed in northern Norway. One goal of the group was to redefine Sámi identity, “which at the time was ridden with stereotypes”.²¹ The 1970s was the time when critical, modern Sámi art emerged, which was intent upon getting rid of colonising paradigms that had marginalised the Sámi people. This is also the context of the work of the first major, modern Sámi author and multimedia artist, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1903-2001),²² by many seen as the national poet of the Sámi.²³

Valkeapää’s Criticism of the Modernist Museum

Historically, the relationship between museum exhibitions and the Sámi is problematic as museums contributed to marginalising the Sámi. This is a theme of indigenous studies claiming that it is a paradigm that indigenous peoples were showcased as primitive.²⁴ The shifting roles of museums that have occurred have been described as a move away from the modernist museum presenting a Eurocentric, Western view of culture, developing into contemporary museums, sensitive to cultural diversity and the fact that populations are segmented.²⁵

A prominent theme of the original Sámi version of the Sámi poet Nils-Aslak Valkeapää’s *Beaiváhčážan, The Sun, My Father*, which contains a large number of photographs from the collections of various museums, is how strangers came to the land of the Sámi to take photographs and collect items that later were exhibited in museum collections.

²¹ Gullicksen, “The Artist as Noadi,” 13.

²² Harald Gaski, “Nils-Aslak Valkeapää: Indigenous Voice and Multimedia Artist,” in *AlterNative*, 4: 2, 2008, 156-178.

²³ Anne Heith, “Särskiljandets logik i en kolonial och en antkolonial diskurs, Nils-Aslak Valkeapääs *Beaiváhčážan*,” in *Edda. Nordisk tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap*, nr 4, 2010, 335-350; Anne Heith, “Aesthetics and Ethnicity: The Role of Boundaries in Sámi and Tornedalian Art,” in *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*, Lars Jensen and Kristín Loftsdóttir eds (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 159-173; Anne Heith, “Challenging and Negotiating National Borders: Sámi and Tornedali – an Alter Native Literary History,” in *Crossing Borders, Dissolving Boundaries*, Hein Viljoen ed. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2013), 75-91; Anne Heith, Valkeapää’s Use of Photographs in *Beaiváhčážan*: Indigenous Counter-history versus Documentation in the Age of Photography,” in *Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies*, 31:1, 2014, 41-58.

²⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2008); Susan Sleeper-Smith, “Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives,” in *Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, Susan Sleeper Smith (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 1-8.

²⁵ Elaine Hooper-Greenhill, “What is a Museum?” in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Elaine Hooper-Greenhill ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 1-22; Elaine Hooper-Greenhill, “Preface,” in *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Elaine Hooper-Greenhill (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), ix-xiv.

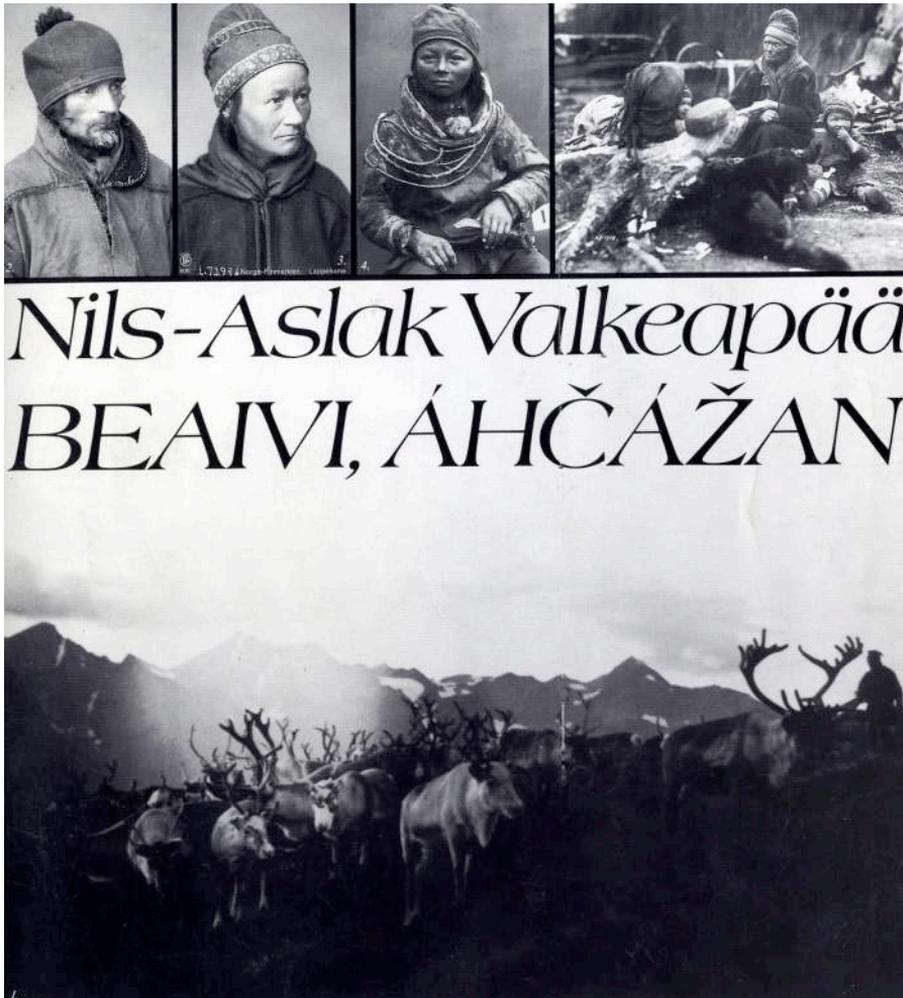


Illustration 1: Front cover of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's *Beaiviáhčážan*. Source: Publisher DAT.

One role of the modern museum as a national institution was to demonstrate didactically how the people of the nation are distinguished from other peoples. While the majority population of Sweden was seen as modern and progressive (at least that was the ideal), the Sámi were showcased as primitive and strange. This is paradigmatic for the view of the Sámi, who were seen as the *Others* of the modern nation-state.²⁶ Thus, it is of importance that

²⁶ Anders Mebius, "Föreställninge om samerna som de Andra," in *Järnbur eller frigörelse? Studier i moderniseringen av Sverige*, Gösta Arvastson ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999), 106-118; Mikael Vallström, "Att möta Andra. Etnologins praktik och reflexivitetens konsekvenser," in

Sámi artists are given space at a museum, where their work is framed as contemporary, modern and future-oriented, as opposed to being shown as pre-modern.

On the website of Bildmuseet, “Eight Sámi Artists” is presented with reference to the specific Sámi way of dividing the year into eight seasons; in other words, to the existence of a specific Sámi culture: “During the capital of culture year Bildmuseet will showcase eight artists with Sami roots in eight different exhibitions – one for every season. The artists are based in Sweden, Finland and Norway and work with many different forms of expression, including painting, sculpture, photography and film as well as installations and performance art. Running alongside the exhibitions will be lectures, talks with the artists, workshops and seminars.”²⁷

It is significant that the museum explicitly addresses the issue of didacticism, thus acknowledging that one role of museums is to teach the public about culture in general, and national cultural diversity more specifically. As mentioned above, the existence of a specific Sámi traditional homeland, which was split as a result of colonialism and the establishment of nation-state borders, is a theme which has been highlighted in contemporary anti-colonial mobilization. This potentially controversial theme forms part of a history that the Swedish political elite has been reluctant to recognize, since this would imply taking a stand in the issue of Convention No. 169 about the rights of indigenous peoples. Multimediality and a didactic purpose are also issues that are addressed. The fact that the Sámi artists are framed as contemporary artists, using contemporary media in their works, implies a break with the view of Sámi artists as primarily a kind of crafts-(wo)men dealing with traditional themes and forms of expression. While the Western tradition has distinguished between ‘fine art’ and ‘craftwork’, this separation has not been used in traditional Sámi communities. Here, the concept ‘duodij’ is employed, which today is often used synonymously with Sámi ‘craftwork’ or ‘applied art’.²⁸

The series “Eight Sámi Artists” has received funding support from Umeå 2014. Most of the exhibitions are also co-funded by Nordic Culture Point, Kulturkontakt Nord; this is a cultural organisation working with the whole of the Nordic region as its platform. Thus, at a municipal local level, as well as at the level of joint cultural ventures by the Nordic countries, willingness is manifested to support the exhibition of contemporary Sámi art. This involves providing space for the cultural expressions of an indigenous people that historically has been marginalised. On the website of Nordic Culture Point it is pointed out that the Nordic region, “or ‘Norden’ in Scandinavian, comprises Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden as well as Greenland, the

Järnbur eller frigörelse? Studier i moderniseringen av Sverige, Gösta Arvastson ed. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999), 133-146.

²⁷ Bildmuseet’s webpage: <http://umea2014.se/en/project/8-samiska-konstnrer/>, 8 April 2015.

²⁸ Grini, “Historical Reflections on Sámi Art and the Paradigm of the National in Norwegian Art History,” 50.

Faroe Islands and the Åland Islands”.²⁹ Generally, this is not the region that comes to mind when discussing northern Scandinavia, where the traditional homeland of the Sámi is located. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the concept of the Barents Region was promoted as a name of international cooperation between the northernmost municipalities of Norway, Sweden, Finland and north-western Russia. This regional cooperation was formally opened in 1993.

The Sámi Presence: Colonial and Post-colonial Discourses

There is a strong focus upon the Sámi presence in Umeå and the northern Scandinavian region in Umeå’s application to become a European Capital of Culture, as well as in the programme of Umeå 2014. This focus marks a shift compared to the historical marginalisation of the Sámi that characterises Swedish nation-building during the late 19th century and the first part of the 20th century. Studies show that the building of the modern Swedish welfare-state is characterised by a cultural homogenisation that marginalised the Sámi people, along with other ethnic and linguistic minorities. The marginalisation of the Sámi is related to a number of historical processes, such as the colonisation of the northern parts of Scandinavia whereby settlers from the south came north and claimed the lands that traditionally had been used by Sámi people.

During the period when industrialisation had begun and there was a need for cheap electricity, the states of Sweden and Norway decided to take over parts of traditional Sami land and to dam rivers in order to construct hydroelectric power plants. Sámi communities living in areas close to rivers suitable for damming had to leave their lands and eventually the traditional livelihood of reindeer husbandry became problematic, if not impossible, as the lands where the reindeer could graze diminished. This is a theme addressed by one of the eight Sámi artists exhibited at Bildmuseet. In the first exhibition of the series, Katarina Pirak Sikku had drawn sketches straight on the white museum walls; these were accompanied by texts about Sikku’s family history. This involved the story of members of the family who had been subjected to compulsory transfer because the Swedish state had decided to dam a river that would flood the land where the family lived. Another factor that contributed to the marginalisation of the Sámi people is the modern science of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly the science of race biology, which flourished in Sweden in the 1920s and 1930s. According to race biologists, the Sámi people were a remnant from ancient times that would not be able to survive in the modern world.³⁰ This is also a theme explored in Sikku’s exhibition at Bildmuseet.

²⁹ “Fakta om Norden”, website of Nordic Culture Point: <http://www.kulturkontakt nord.org/motesplats/sv/norden/fakta-om-norden>, 7 April 2015.

³⁰ Mebius, “Föreställning om samerna som de Andra,” 105-118.

The popular view of the Sámi people was, and still is, ambiguous. On the one hand, they were seen as a people doomed in the modern world, on the other as a kind of noble savages living in harmony with nature. In either case, they were seen as different from the Swedish majority population. Today, attempts have been made by the Swedish Government to compensate minorities for historical discrimination. In the year 2000, five languages, among them Sámi, were granted official status as historical minority languages in Sweden. Furthermore, the government has proposed that the position of minorities ought to be strengthened and that knowledge about their languages and cultures should be produced and disseminated. This policy is expressed in the proposition “From Recognition to Self-Determination: The Government’s Strategy for the Domestic Minorities” from 2008.³¹

Nammaláhpán: Old Reindeer who have been Deprived of their Names

The first exhibition in the series “Eight Sámi Artists” was Katarina Pirak Sikku’s Nammaláhpán. “Nammaláhpán” is a Sámi word that refers to aging reindeer that have lost their names. PirakSikku uses the term metaphorically, making connections between reindeer without names and unnamed Sámi people who were included in the documents of race biological archives during the 20th century. When they were included in the material, they lost their names and were reduced to numbers, according to Pirak Sikku.³² Most visitors and people who read about the exhibition will probably not be familiar with the term ‘Nammaláhpán’, which comes from the life-world of the reindeer-herding Sámi. Of course, PirakSikku’s choice of a name connoting loss is significant; it exemplifies a strategy in the present day Sámi struggle over cultural recognition and the production of an alternative Swedish, and Sámi, history produced from the perspective of a member of a marginalized group.

On the webpage of the museum and in the exhibition, there is a photograph of the artist herself dressed in a traditional Sámi costume, holding a measuring device in a manner reminiscent of how skulls were measured by Swedish race biologists.

³¹ Government proposition 2008/09:158, “Från erkännande till egenmakt – regeringens strategi för de nationella minoriteterna”, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/11298/a/122769>, published 9 March 2009, accessed 7 April 2015.

³² Anna Sahlén, “Gijrragiessie – Katarina Pirak Sikku”: <http://www.minabibliotek.se/145315/gijrragiessie-katarina-pirak-sikku>, 22 December 2014.



Illustration 2: Detail from Katarina Pirak Sikku's work *Muitobálgát /The Map of Memories* (2014). © Katarina Pirak Sikku

Authentic photographs of researchers measuring skulls of Sámi people are included among the photographs of Valkeapää's previously mentioned book. Swedish race biology and the consequences it had, and still has, for the Sámi is a theme explored in Pirak Sikku's exhibition. It is a personal multimedia narrative of her attempts to come to terms with how the Sámi people, and among them her own family members, were used as examples of an inferior race. Pirak Sikku particularly dwells upon the role of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, founded in Uppsala in 1922, and its director, the once influential researcher Herman Lundborg. Lundborg, who was an anti-Semite, cooperated closely with German race biologists in the 1930s and he was

appointed honorary doctor at the University of Heidelberg. One of his most successful publications is *The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation* published in 1926.³³ This work contributed to position Sweden at the fore-front of race biological research. The book contains a number of photographic illustrations aiming at visually showing racial differences. One of them has the title: “LAPP PROTOTYPE. Relatively pure.”

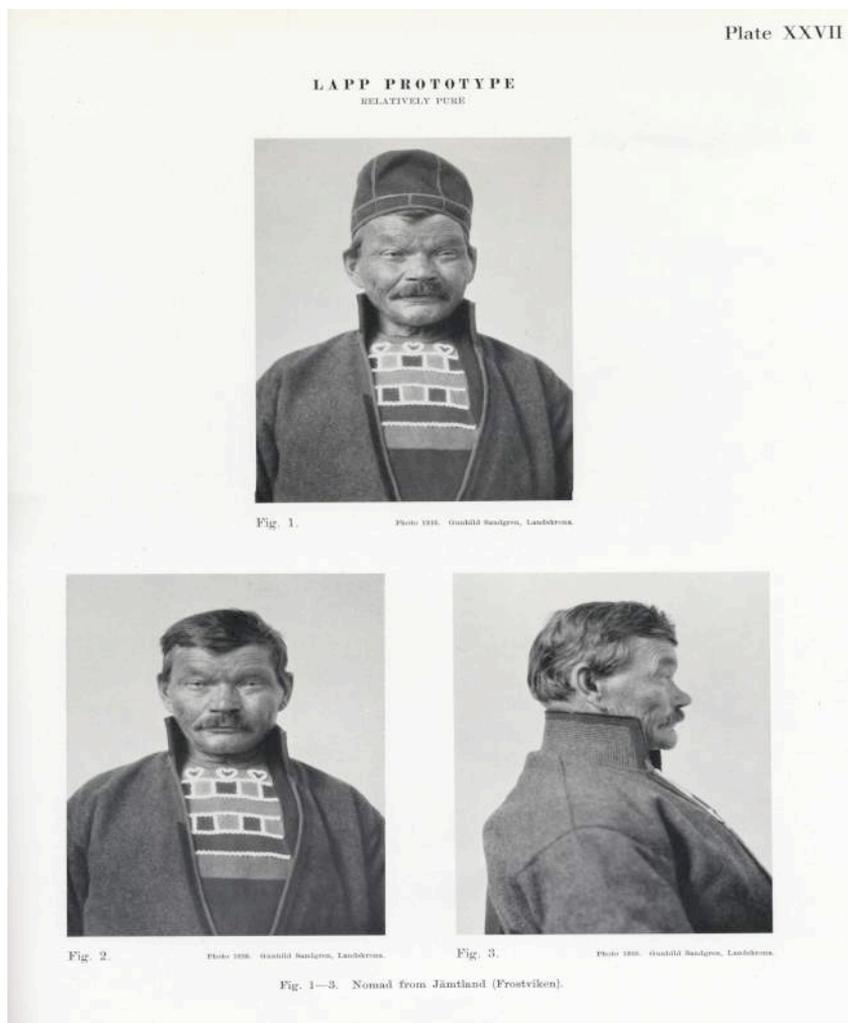


Illustration 3: “LAPP PROTOTYPE. Relatively pure”. Illustration from Herman Lundborg and F.J. Linders, *The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation*.

³³ Herman Lundborg and F.J. Linders, *The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation* (Stockholm: Anthropologica Suecica MCMXXVI, 1926).

According to Lundborg, the Nordic racial character was superior to other races, and he was extremely preoccupied with the idea that the Nordic race would degenerate if it were to be mixed with other races.³⁴ Lundborg did not see the Sámi as a threat to the Nordic racial character, but as a remnant from the past. Lundborg and his colleagues were great friends of measuring skulls and producing series of photographs for the didactic purpose of teaching the public about racial differentiation. This is a historical backdrop of PirakSikku's exhibition. The series of photographs produced by Lundborg and his colleagues were thought to be objective and scientific, but as can be seen from the images of a Sámi man, clothing was used as an attribute indicating what racial character a person belonged to. This is of importance for PirakSikku's use of the traditional Sámi costume, as this garment was connoted in the past with an inferior culture, or at least a culture seen as alien to modernity. PirakSikku's re-contextualisation is one example of how elements from traditional Sámi culture are re-activated in present-day cultural production. It visualises how they gain specific meanings in layers of historical contexts such as colonialism and categorisations of the Sámi from the vantage point of anthropology and race biology, as well as cultural homogenisation, during the building of the modern welfare state.

Nationalism Deconstructed: Sámi Counter-Narratives

A cherished idea during the first part of the 20th century was that Sweden should distinguish itself as a modern, progressive nation. This had a great impact on the national self-image and for the creation of boundaries distinguishing the modern nation from elements seen as incompatible with modernity. The creation of this national self-image is one element in the marginalization of the Sámi in a Swedish nation-state context. A researcher of nationalism, Umut Özkirimli, discerns three sets of claims that underpin what he calls the nationalist discourse: 1) identity claims, 2) temporal claims, and 3) spatial claims.³⁵ All three sets of claims are deconstructed by the series of exhibitions called "Eight Sámi Artists", which in various ways presents alternative narratives of the nation, influenced by experiences of belonging to a group that has been marginalized historically. The various exhibitions testify to the fact that "we," the people, do not consist of an ethnically, culturally and linguistically homogeneous population, and that "we" do not share a common origin or history. Neither do "we" share a common historical homeland.

³⁴ Herman Lundborg, "Degenerationsfaran," in *Svensk Tidskrift*, Elfteårgången 1921: <http://runeberg.org/svtidskr/2921/0288.html>, 23 August 2013; Herman Lundborg, *Degenerationsfaranochriktlinjerfördessförebyggande*. Series: Svenskasällskapetförrashygienen, skriftserie (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1922).

³⁵ Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 208-209.

According to Özkirimli and other nationalism researchers,³⁶ historical diversity was suppressed by the homogenizing nationalist discourse, which influenced nation-building in European nation-states. The idea of the homogeneous nation-state is based on the metaphorical idea that the nation-state is a closed container, with a content that must be kept pure. The alternative narratives conveyed by the series “Eight Sámi Artists” contradict this narrative of historical purity and homogeneity by performatively enacting the colonized space of Sápmi with a culture and history of its own. According to new theoretical perspectives from cultural and human geography, places do not simply exist, they are enacted through human encounters, activities that take place, and the emotions, memories and narratives that are produced by people’s responses.³⁷ Pirak Sikku’s contribution to the series “Eight Sámi Artists” enacts Sápmi as a colonized space, where encounters between colonisers and Sámi people have resulted in traumatising and identity loss for the Sámi. This enactment of Umeå in Sápmi, the site of the 2014 European Capital of Culture, presents an alternative narrative compared to that of official narratives of Sweden as a culturally homogeneous, democratic nation-state. The fact that the series is exhibited at Bildmuseet with links to the state contributes to negotiating the role of museums in their narrations of the nation. By framing and embedding “Eight Sámi Artists” in an institution with a focus on international contemporary art, the narrative of Sámi culture becomes oriented towards the present and future, and the theme of the Sámi as a primitive people doomed in modernity is explicitly contradicted. In this respect, the series represents a form of counter-narrative.

References

1. Arvastson, Gösta. “Inledning.” In *Järnburellerfrigörelse? Studier imoderniseringen av Sverige*, edited by Gösta Arvastson, 9-24. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999.
2. Ashcroft, Bill, Griffiths, Gareth and Tiffin, Helen. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. London and New York, 2009.
3. Barth, Fredrik. ”Introduction.” In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth, 9-38. Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1999.

³⁶ Björn Hettne, Sverker Sörlin and Uffe Østergård, *Den globala nationalismen* (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2006).

³⁷ Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and Brynhild Granås, ”Places and Mobilities Beyond the Periphery,” in *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern Peripheries*, Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and Brynhild Granås eds, (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 6-7.

4. Bhabha, Homi K. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation." In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha, 199-244. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
5. Bildmuseet's webpage, <http://www.bildmuseet.umu.se/en/about/about-bildmuseet/>, 7 April 2014
6. Bildmuseet's webpage: <http://umea2014.se/en/project/8-samiska-konstnrer/>, 8 April 2015.
7. Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge, 1990.
8. Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole and Granås, Brynhild. "Places and Mobilities Beyond the Periphery." In *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern Peripheries*, edited by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and BrynhildGranås, 1-10. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
9. Convention No. 169: <http://www.ilo.org/indigenous/Conventions/no169/lang--en/index.htm>, 9 March 2015.
10. Gaski, Harald. "Nils-AslakValkeapää: Indigenous Voice and Multimedia Artist," in *AlterNative*, 4: 2, 2008, 156-178.
11. Government proposition 2008/09:158, "Frånerkännande till egenmakt – regeringensstrategiför de nationellaminoriteterna", <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/11298/a/122769>, published 9 March 2009, accessed 7 April 2015.
12. Grini, Monica. "Historical Reflections on Sámi Art and the Paradigm of the National in Norwegian Art History." In *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, edited by Charis Gullickson and Sandra Lorentzen, 49-67. Stamsund: Orkanaförlag AS, 2014.
13. Gullickson, Charis. "The Artist as Noadi." In *Sámi Stories: Art and Identity of an Arctic People*, edited by CharisGullickson and Sandra Lorentzen, 9-33. Stamsund: Orkanaförlag AS, 2014.
14. Heith, Anne. "Särskiljandetslogiki en kolonialoch en antikolonialdiskurs. Nils-AslakValkeapääsBeaivíáhčázan." In *Edda. Nordisk tidskriftför litteraturvetenskap*, 4: 2010, 335-350.
15. Heith, Anne. "Platsenssanning. Performativitet och gränsdragningaritorne dalsk litteraturhistoria och grammatik." In *Nordlit* 30:2012, 71-85.
16. Heith, Anne. "Aesthetics and Ethnicity: The Role of Boundaries in Sámi and Tornedalian Art." In *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic Region*, edited by Lars Jensen and Kristín Loftsdóttir, 159-173. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.
17. Heith, Anne. "Challenging and Negotiating National Borders: Sámi and TornedalianAlterNative Literary History." In *Crossing Borders, Dissolving Boundaries*, edited by Hein Viljoen, 75-91. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2013.
18. Heith, Anne. "Valkeapää's Use of Photographs in *Beaivíáhčázan*: Indigenous Counter-history versus Documentation in the Age of Photography." In *Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Societies*, 31:1, 2014, 41-58.

19. Heith, Anne. "Interview with Michael Lindblad, Chairman of Sáhkie, Umeå Sámi Association", 10 April 2015.
20. Heith, Anne. "Interview with Katarina Pierre, Director of Bildmuseet, Umeå", 13 April 2015.
21. Hettne, Björn, Sörlin, Sverker and Østergård, Uffe. *Den globalanationalismen*. Stockholm: SNSFörlag, 2006.
22. Hooper-Greenhill, Elaine. "What is a Museum?" In *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, edited by Elaine Hooper-Greenhill, 1-22. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
23. Hooper-Greenhill, Elaine. "Preface." In *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Elaine Hooper-Greenhill, ix-xiv. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
24. Keskinen, Suvi et al. eds. *Complying with Colonialism*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
25. Lundborg, Herman. "Degenerationsfaran." In *SvenskTidskrift*, Elfteårgången 1921:<http://runeberg.org/svtidskr/2921/0288.html>, 23 August 2013.
26. Lundborg, Herman. *Degenerationsfaran och riktlinjerfördessförebyggande*. Series: Svenskasällskapetförrashygien, skriftserie. Stockholm: Norstedts, 1922.
27. Lundborg, Herman and Linders, F.J. *The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation*. Stockholm: Anthropologica Suecica MCMXXVI, 1926.
28. Mebius, Anders. "Föreställningeomsamernasom de Andra." In *Järnburellerfrigörelse? Studier i moderniser ingenav Sverige*, edited by GöstaArvastson, 106-118. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999.
29. Studentlitteratur, 1999.
30. Paulgaard, Gry. "Re-centring Periphery: NegotiatingIdentities in Time and Space." In *Mobility and Place: Enacting Northern Peripheries*, edited by Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and BrynhildGranås, 49-59. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
31. Nordic Culture Point, "FaktaomNorden": <http://www.kulturkontaktnord.org/motesplats/sv/norden/fakta-om-norden>, 7 April 2015.
32. Sahlén, Anna. "Gijrragiessie – Katarina PirakSikku": <http://www.minabibliotek.se/145315/gijrragiessie-katarina-pirak-sikku>, 22 December 2014.
33. Schechner, Richard. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2002.
34. Sleeper-Smith, Susan. "Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives." In *Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, Susan Sleeper Smith, 1-8. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
35. Smith, Laurajane. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
36. Smith, Laurajane. *TheUses of Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

37. Smith, Laurajane and Waterton, Emma. *Heritage, Communities and Archeology*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 2009.
38. Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2008.
39. Sähkö, Umeå Sámi Association:<http://www.sahkie.se/en/>, 10 April 2015.
40. Vallström, Mikael. "Attmöta Andra. Etnolog ins praktik och reflexivitet enskonsekvenser." In *Järnburellersfrigörelse? Studier i moderniser ingenav Sverige*, edited by Gösta Arvastson, 133-146. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999.
41. Özkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. Houndmills Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Culture and Sustainable Urban Development: Valuing a Common European Heritage in Croatian Candidates for the ECOC

Nataša Urošević
Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia

Abstract: *The paper will explore cultural policies and strategies for sustainable urban development in Croatian cities that have announced candidacy for the European Capital of Culture 2020. Comparative study will show how individual cities use their local cultural resources, a common European heritage and creative potential of their citizens in sustainable development and international cooperation. The research will focus on cultural specificities of each city, their cultural identity and cultural diversity, which make them unique on the cultural map of Europe. On the other hand, we will explore the elements of a common European identity, multicultural history and heritage. Culture is thereby considered an essential driver and enabler of sustainable urban development based, in a broader context of cultural economy, on the strategic use of local culture, local resources and local participative democracy.*

Keywords: *culture, sustainable development, cultural policy, heritage management, ECoC.*

Introduction

European Capital of Culture is one of the most prestigious and ambitious European programmes which promote the idea of Europe, the richness of its cultures, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. In time of economic crisis and growing political and social instability, culture can be a very powerful tool for sustainable development at all levels. Culture through tangible and intangible heritage, creative industries and various forms of artistic expressions as well as philosophy, tradition, attitude and behaviour, is a powerful contributor to economic development, social stability and environmental protection¹

Celebrating 30 years of the European Capital of Culture and two years of EU accession, Croatian cities Pula, Rijeka, Osijek and Dubrovnik have been shortlisted for this prestigious title in 2020. After evaluation of applications of 9

¹ UNESCO (2013).

competing Croatian cities (Dubrovnik, Đakovo, Osijek, Pula, Rijeka, Split, Varaždin, Zadar and Zagreb), a panel of independent experts assessed in May 2015 each bid against the six main criteria (contribution to the long term strategy, European dimension, cultural and artistic content, capacity to deliver, outreach and management) and recommended the bids of selected cities to be further developed, based on a participatory cultural strategy, innovative and sustainable cultural programme and a strong European dimension.

In this paper we will try to explore how Croatian candidates for the ECoC 2020 use their unique local cultural resources and elements of a common European identity, multicultural history and heritage in sustainable urban development. We were particularly interested in the intersection between European dimension, heritage management and sustainable development, since valuing a common European heritage should be one of the main objectives of the European Capital of Culture programme. As defined in the guidelines for the candidate cities, the main goals should be: „To safeguard and promote the diversity of cultures in Europe and to highlight the common features they share as well as to increase citizens' sense of belonging to a common cultural area, on the one hand, and to foster the contribution of culture to the long-term development of cities in accordance with their respective strategies and priorities, on the other hand”².

As a theoretical framework, we used results of two recent projects (*COST Action Investigating Cultural Sustainability* and *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe*), to explore possible roles of culture *in, for* and *as* sustainable development (as a fourth pillar, as a mediator and as a foundation for sustainable development)³, keeping in mind that a common European cultural heritage is considered a strategic resource for sustainable Europe⁴.

After mapping of cultural resources, we analyzed how selected Croatian cities use their public spaces, cultural infrastructure, local traditions, values and memories in attracting visitors, encouraging community interaction and contributing to local perceptions of quality of life. The paper will discuss European and local best practice in heritage management and sustainable urban development (Dubrovnik), as well as a huge potential in valorization of former industrial heritage (Rijeka) and military and fortification heritage (Pula). Osijek will be analyzed as a multicultural heritage city, where the candidature could help to solve important social and economic problems. Our hypothesis was that all Croatian candidates have great potential for obtaining the prestigious title of the European Capital of Culture. On the other hand, we assumed that one of key

² ECOC (2014). http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls/general/2014-eac-a03/call-for-proposals_en.pdf.

³ COST (2015). <http://www.culturalsustainability.eu/conclusions.pdf>.

⁴ Europa Nostra, ENCATC (2015). *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe – Final Report*. http://www.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CHCfE_FULL-REPORT_v2.pdf.

challenges will be financial sustainability in the context of the current global recession and budget cuts.

Theoretical Framework: Culture and Sustainable Development

The role of culture in sustainable urban development was not discussed until recently⁵. The most cited definition of the concept, although often criticized for its potential ambiguity, derives from the report *Our Common Future* of the UN World Commission on Environment and Development – WCED which in 1987 defined sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development embrace three aspects of sustainability: social sustainability, i.e. creation of conditions for growth of social capital through social cohesion, respect of cultural identity, social justice, etc.; economic sustainability, i.e. valuation of natural, social and human capital in the balance of accounts and internalization of negative externalities and environmental sustainability, i.e. responsible use of natural resources and environmental protection.

The UN *Agenda 21* from 1992, a corner stone document of sustainable behaviour, included culture as an important segment of social sustainability. But, in the last ten years culture has been considered also as a fourth pillar of sustainable development, as a new, innovative and proactive aspect of sustainable development. Defining culture as a fourth pillar of sustainable development started in 2002, when the proposal of the document *Agenda 21 for Culture* was conceived. It was the first document advocating the mobilisation of cities and local governments towards cultural development and connecting cultural planning with sustainable development. It was approved by the 4th Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion of Port Allegre, held in Barcelona in 2004. This *Agenda 21 for Culture* focuses on five main themes: the need to respect cultural rights as a part of human rights, the relevance of participatory governance in local development in the field of culture, the recognition of cultural diversity as a component of sustainability just as biodiversity (culture as an ecosystem), the importance of culture for social inclusion and as a driver for economic development in terms both of jobs and income. Until the end of 2014 the document was accepted by more than 500 towns, municipalities and organizations worldwide.⁶

In Bilbao, in March 2015, local government representatives from across the world adopted *Culture 21: Actions*, to highlight the interdependent relationship between citizenship, culture and sustainable development and to emphasize the essential role of culture in the *UN Post-2015 Sustainable*

⁵ See Hristova S., Dragičević Šešić M., Duxbury N. (2015).

⁶ *Agenda 21 for Culture* (2008).

Development Agenda.⁷ International experts agreed that *Post 2015 Development Agenda* should take into account the critical lessons learned on the two ways in which culture fosters sustainable development: as a driver and as an enabler. Culture can be a powerful driver for sustainable urban development, with community-wide social, economic and environmental impacts. Cultural heritage, cultural and creative industries, sustainable cultural tourism and cultural infrastructure can serve as strategic tools for revenue generation. Since cultural and creative industries represent one of the most rapidly expanding sectors in the global economy, investment in culture and creativity has proven an excellent means for revitalize the local economy. Today, many cities use cultural heritage and cultural events and institutions to improve their image, stimulate urban development, and attract visitors as well as investments⁸. One such event is certainly the European Capital of Culture.

Current projects, aimed at researching multiple benefits of investing in a common European heritage and promoting sustainable urban development, proposed the transition from the four pillar approach to sustainable development to the holistic four domain approach.

Picture 1. The holistic four domain approach to sustainable development



Source: Europa Nostra, ENCATC (2015): *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe – Final Report*, p 101.

⁷ Culture 21: Actions (2015). http://www.agenda21culture.net/images/a21c/summits/bilbao/report_CultureSummit-CGLU-Bilbao_ENG-low.pdf.

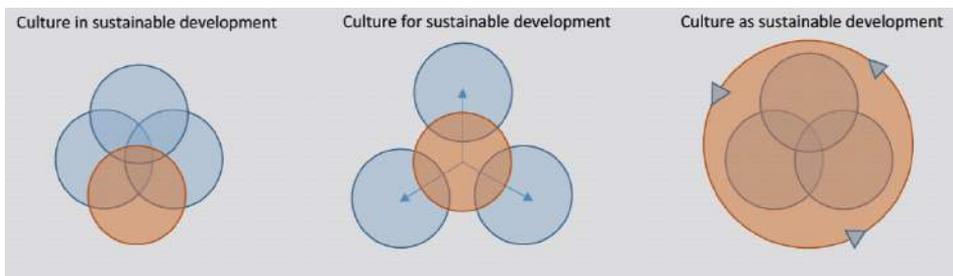
⁸ UNESCO (2012).

On the other hand, innovative concepts, developed in the framework of the COST Action *Investigating Cultural Sustainability*, propose three roles of culture in sustainable development, as presented in Picture 2:

- Culture added as a fourth pillar (“in”)
- Culture mediating between the three pillars (“for”)
- Culture as the foundation for sustainable development (“as”).

Culture *in* sustainable development expands the conventional sustainable development discourse by adding culture as a more or less self-standing fourth pillar. Culture *for* sustainable development moves culture into a framing, contextualising and mediating mode that can balance all three pillars and guide sustainable development which grows out of human cultural aspirations and actions. Culture *as* sustainable development sees culture as the necessary overall foundation and structure for achieving the aims of sustainable development. All those *roles* are not mutually exclusive, but rather represent different ways of thinking and organising values, meaning and norms in relation to discussions on sustainable development.

Picture 2. The three roles of culture in sustainable development



Source: University of Jyväskylä, COST. *Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development* (2015). <http://www.culturalsustainability.eu/conclusions.pdf>.

Research Methodology

Using the comparative approach and qualitative methodology (interviews with key stakeholders), we tried to analyze how individual cities use their local cultural resources, a common European heritage and creative potential of their citizens in sustainable urban development and international cooperation. The research was conducted in the framework of the courses *Cultural Identity of Croatia* and *European Identity* at the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism, University of Pula, Croatia. Since one of the main goals was to train students for critical reflection on key values of local, national and European identity and international cultural cooperation, as well as to inform and involve local citizens in the current projects related to promotion of a common European identity, students interviewed key stakeholders (local

citizens, local and regional administration, civil society, cultural sector). The research included mapping of cultural resources and situational analysis of each candidate city. We compared available data: web-pages, cultural strategies and bid books of Croatian candidate cities with former European capitals of cultures and discussed examples of good practice.

We started from the concept of European heritage, defined as the inheritance from previous generations of Europeans and the legacy for those to come; an irreplaceable repository of knowledge and a valuable resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion, a source of inspiration for thinkers and artists, and a driver for our cultural and creative industries. Our cultural heritage and the way we preserve and valorise it is a major factor in defining Europe's place in the world and its attractiveness as a place to live, work, and visit.⁹ Culture was thereby considered an essential driver and enabler of sustainable urban development based, in a broader context of cultural economy, on the strategic use of local culture, local resources and local participative democracy.

Results of the Research: Valuing a Common European Heritage in Sustainable Cities

The comparative analysis of Croatian candidate cities and former ECOC indicated models of good practice for sustainable urban development, such as: reuse of the former military heritage and fortifications in the most attractive harbor zone in Pula and clustering local creative potential in creative districts; transformation of neglected ex-industrial heritage in Rijeka in new cultural quarters, and promotion of a common European heritage, multiculturalism and cross-border cooperation in Osijek. Our respondents agreed that Dubrovnik is already the most recognizable Croatian brand and symbol of national culture and history, but, on the other hand, the city needed innovative participatory cultural policy models which would try to solve problems related to sustainability of actual tourism development.

Pula

A city of three thousand years of historical continuity, with its urban identity formed in the key periods of the Roman, Venetian and Austro-Hungarian rule, Pula is today recognizable for the abundance of cultural heritage sites (with the Arena as the iconic symbol of the city), industrial and ex-military heritage, developed cultural industries and festivals (one of the oldest film festival in the

⁹ European Commission (2014). *Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe*, Bruxelles, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/library/publications/2014-heritage-communication_en.pdf. See also: Ashworth, G., Howard, P. (1999): *European Heritage, Planning and Management*. Wiltshire: Cromwell Press.

region – the Pula Film Festival, Pula Book Fair in the ex-Marine Casino and popular music festivals in the Austrian fortifications), and the nearby Brijuni Islands (Tito's former residence), a unique cultural landscape and national park.

The comparative analysis of European examples of good practice indicated possible models of sustainable management and valorization of specific categories of heritage (former military, fortified heritage), which could at the same time enhance the process of urban regeneration and social revitalization. As a good practice example, we used the Seaplane Harbour Museum in Tallinn, where the reconstruction of former seaplane hangars marked the start of transformation of a neglected ex-military zone in the harbor in the new cultural quarter.

Since we have a similar situation in Pula (there is still a well preserved infrastructure and the hangars of seaplane and submarine harbours from the former Austrian and Italian as well as Yugoslav naval base in the city port) we were interested if we could use the available European models of good practice to improve the neglected military heritage in the most attractive zone in the harbour. The process of regeneration of the devastated military zones in Tallinn and their transformation in a very popular cultural quarter and the most visited tourist attraction in Estonia started during the candidacy for the European Capital of Culture title. We believe that the current competition between Croatian cities for this prestigious title could be a good opportunity to start a similar process in Pula.

Another example of good practice is the Suomenlinna fortress in Helsinki, a former fortified military base, transformed into a tourist attraction protected by UNESCO and a very popular recreation zone for local people. The largest maritime fortress in the world today is revitalized as a unique cultural district. With its 850 permanent inhabitants and 350 people working there year round it is not simply a big museum but a living community. We believe that this model of transformation and participatory management of the protected fortified heritage, which successfully narrates the multicultural history of Finland and its neighbors through a high quality cultural and tourism offer and at the same time ensures the quality of life and employment for the local community is very useful and applicable in the former military zones in Pula and Croatia.

Rijeka

The Rijeka application is based on the topic of „Port of Diversity”, which includes three thematic areas: Water, Work and Diversities, as unique and recognizable elements of the local urban identity. The city emphasized its image as a multicultural and intercultural city, which is „the Croatian synonym for non-standard, liberal, anti-nationalist and tolerant”. It is recognizable for its alternative culture and very strong civil sector. The ECOC programme seeks to accelerate the launch of modernization of the cultural and creative sector and to

presents Rijeka's heritage and contemporary artistic scene to a wider European public¹⁰. It includes ambitious programmes of urban regeneration and transformation of the former industrial heritage (ex-factory „Rikard Benčić”) in the new cultural quarter with the museum of contemporary art and the city library. The bid has been prepared after consultation with a wide cross section of society, so it includes a participatory and inclusive cultural strategy.

As European good practice examples for urban regeneration of this post-industrial harbour city we proposed Glasgow, Liverpool, Genova and Marseille.¹¹ In all these cities the ECOC programme was an opportunity for transformation of neglected industrial heritage in the city port in new cultural districts with attractive museums and other cultural institutions. The event also improved the image of the cities, created new jobs, attracted visitors and generated economic growth.

Osijek

Osijek tried to explore its multicultural history, urban identity, European heritage and borderland position by establishing a partnership with cities in three neighbouring countries: Pecs (Hungary), Novi Sad (Vojvodina, Serbia) and Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The city used the motto “We believe in diversity”, and its cultural strategy has three strategic goals: “to work together”, “to learn together” and “to live together”. The process of candidacy will be used to face the main challenges of sustainable urban development and re-examine the models of governance in the field of culture, economy and administration. Using an interactive web-portal, local enthusiasts organized participatory brainstorming with all stakeholders, including local artists, intellectuals and scientists, reflecting on the unique elements of the city's identity as well as a common European heritage. The ECOC programme is based on four themes: Culture Park, Living Fields, Hacking the Future and Bridges over Water, which connect heritage, new technologies and experimental cultural expressions. Innovative programme, rooted in the regional culture and environment aims at modernizing culture and the social landscape in a city burdened by economic stagnation and with a history of recent conflict.¹²

Former and future ECOC, such as Pecs, Graz, Wroclaw, Plzen, San Sebastian or Aarhus can be European models of good practice for Osijek in connecting the richness of a common European heritage and contemporary artistic production, reflecting on its borderland position, as well as combining tradition as a creative resource with participatory co-creation of sustainable city.

¹⁰ ECOC (2015).

¹¹ See Palmer/Rae Associates (2004).

¹² ECOC (2015).

Dubrovnik

Sustainable heritage management, cultural creativity and audience development in the framework of innovative cultural policy are the main long-term goals of Dubrovnik as a candidate for the prestigious ECoC title. The proposed ECOC programme “City in the Making” has four pillars: “Reclaiming the public space”, “Releasing Creative Energy”, “Redefining Identity” and “Connecting Europe”. The organizers emphasized the problem of the historic heritage core becoming increasingly gentrified and dominated by tourists. The European dimension and transnational approach is coordinated with partners in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro.

Our research conducted in the last four years showed that the city is already internationally recognizable as the most popular Croatian brand and the symbol of national culture. Although more than 60% of our respondents believe that Dubrovnik is a favourite, the current concept of the project prefers marginalized borderland cities, where culture can help to resolve important economic and social problems.

Conclusion

The conducted research has shown that all Croatian candidates have great potential for obtaining the prestigious title of the European Capital of Culture. The key issue for all finalists will be how to develop innovative participatory models of sustainable urban development and high-quality programs of valorization of a common European heritage; how to become a creative and artistic regional center, equally attractive because of its high standard of living and the rich cultural offer for the local community, tourist and investors. The main challenge will be to map and emphasize the elements of a common European identity and multicultural history: from architecture and urban planning, to literature, art and gastronomy. The winner will try to improve the range, diversity and European dimension of its cultural offer, including transnational cooperation, expand access and participation in culture, strengthen the capacity of the cultural sector and improve international image using available cultural resources.

Our analysis indicated the key benefits of this project for sustainable urban development: defining goals and models of participatory planning in culture could contribute to sustainable development and quality of life of local residents, stimulate urban regeneration and social revitalization, strengthen local identity and economy, social cohesion and inclusion, create new jobs and more liveable environments, attract visitors and investors¹³. On the other hand, a key challenge for all candidates could be financial sustainability in the context of the current global recession and budget cuts as well as lack of experience and

¹³ See Richards, G.; Palmer, R. (2010).

knowledge in the preparation of such projects. Faced with limited budgets, Croatian candidate cities will have to be very creative in order to use the candidacy to solve chronic problems in cultural and urban planning and revitalize neglected heritage, transforming former industrial and military zones in new cultural quarters and creative districts.

Their main opportunity will be to define realistic goals for sustainable cultural development and organize self-sustainable small programs which could create new jobs through innovative projects of valorization and “recycling” of the former industrial and military heritage within the framework and financed by EU funds. Besides learning from European best practice models, we recommend collaboration and networking in cultural and creative clusters, at the local, regional and international level.

As an alternative to mega-projects and too expensive productions, which brought some of former ECoC (such as Maribor) to the brink of bankruptcy, we proposed sustainable participatory models of heritage management, which actively involve local population in the process of sustainable urban development, mobilizing local cultural resources and activating existing heritage and creative potential. In the framework of the so-called cultural economy, culture becomes a key driver of sustainable urban development based on the strategic use of local culture, available resources and participatory democracy. This includes creative reflection on existing and possible European cultural and ecological alternatives as well as the participatory model of cultural citizenship, sustainable growth and solidarity, fostered by digital technologies.

The process for preparing nominations should be used to map the available cultural resources, identify local cultural specificities and define realistic goals in sustainable cultural development, based on creative valorization of common European values and heritage. It could be also an opportunity for our cities to generate considerable cultural, social and economic benefits, foster urban regeneration, improve the image and the quality of life of local residents and raise its visibility and cultural profile on an international scale.

References

1. Ashworth, G., Howard, P. (1999): *European Heritage, Planning and Management*. Wiltshire: Cromwell Press.
2. *Culture 21: Actions* (2015). http://www.agenda21culture.net/images/a21c/summits/bilbao/report_CultureSummit-CGLU-Bilbao_ENG-low.pdf.
3. Dessein, J., Soini K., Fairclough G., Horlings L. (2015): *Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development*. COST Action, University of Jyväskylä. <http://www.culturalsustainability.eu/conclusions.pdf>.

4. ECOC (2015): *Selection of the European Capital of Culture in 2020 in Croatia*, Zagreb. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/documents/ecoc/2020/croatia-preselection_en.pdf
5. Europa Nostra, ENCATC (2015). *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe – Final Report*. http://www.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CHCfE_FULL-REPORT_v2.pdf
6. European Commission (2014). *Call for Submission of Applications for the Union Action “European Capital of Culture” for the Year 2021 for Cities in Candidate Countries and Potential Candidates for EU Membership*. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/calls/general/2014-eac-a03/call-for-proposals_en.pdf.
7. European Commission (2014). *Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe*, Bruxelles, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/library/publications/2014-heritage-communication_en.pdf
8. Hristova S., Dragičević Šešić M., Duxbury N. (2015): *Culture and Sustainability in European Cities. Imagining Europolis*. London and New York: Routledge.
9. Licciardi G. and Amirtahmasebi R. (eds.) (2012): *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development*. World Bank Publications.
10. Palmer/Rae Associates (2004): *European cities and capitals of culture – Part I*; Brussels: Palmer/Rae Associates.
11. Palmer/Rae Associates (2004): *European cities and capitals of culture – Part II*; Brussels: Palmer/Rae Associates.
12. Richards, G.; Palmer, R. (2010): *Eventful cities: Cultural management and urban revitalization*; Elsevier.
13. Picard, R. (ed.) (2008): *Sustainable Development Strategies in South-East Europe*. Bruxelles: Council of Europe.
14. Quaedvlieg-Mihailovic S., Strachwitz, R.G. (ed.) (2008): *Heritage and the Building of Europe*. Hague: Europa Nostra.
15. UNESCO (2012) *Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development*. UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. <http://fr.unesco.org/post2015/sites/post2015/files/Think%2520Piece%2520Culture.pdf>.
16. UNESCO (2013) *The Hangzhou Declaration - Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies*. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/final_hangzhou_declaration_english.pdf

Riga – Developing Creative Tourism Destinations

Madara Luka and Ineta Luka
Turība University, Latvia

Abstract: *Creativity has come to be seen as a source of competitive advantage for cities, emerging from a set of powerful economic, cultural and social shifts influencing everyday life. Recently creativity has been associated also with tourism, and a new term ‘creative tourism’ has appeared. The purpose of the research is to study a new form of networked tourism – creative tourism and its exposure and development opportunities in Riga. Exploratory case study has been selected for the research strategy in order to explore the current status of creative tourism in Riga. Three basic categories to describe creative developments identified in tourism may be singled out: creative spectacles, creative spaces and creative tourism. This paper focuses on describing and analyzing creative spectacles and creative spaces as basic categories represented in creative tourism exposure in Riga. The findings show that even though creative tourism is a relatively new trend, Riga, the European Capital of Culture of 2014, has embraced it in the fullest. The countless events, creative quarters, and the new tourism policy emphasize creative industries both directly and indirectly. Creative tourism in Riga is in the stage of development in which it is vitally important to start a controlling guidance process to continue its development in the city.*

Keywords: *cultural tourism, creative industries, creative tourism, creative spectacles, creative spaces.*

Introduction

“Over the past six decades, tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification, becoming one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the world”.¹ In 2013, there were 1087 million international tourist arrivals worldwide; 52% of visitors came for leisure, recreation and holidays. The number of international tourists in Europe has grown by 5% and has reached 563 million in 2013.² This is a significant increase and Europe is at the forefront in this trend. However, this also places an increasing demand for high quality services and ensuring positive experiences for tourists to urge them return to the region. Contemporary tourists no longer require only the usual tourism products – sightseeing tours, beach holidays and others, but they claim

¹ UNWTO Tourism Highlights. (UNWTO publication, 2014), 2, accessed Dec 20, 2014, http://dtxq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_highlights14_en_hr_0.pdf

² Ibid., 2-5.

more. In this context more and more frequently the term *creativity* has been mentioned.

A widely accepted definition of creativity in organizational and business research states that “creativity is the production of novel and useful ideas”³. Moreover, creativity may be considered as a source of competitive advantage for cities, emerging from a set of powerful economic, cultural and social shifts⁴ and, being a limitless multifaceted and multidimensional resource that inspires transformations, it is essential for the way we live and work today.⁵

Recently, creativity has been associated not only with creative industries but also with tourism, and a new term *creative tourism* has appeared. However, the concept itself is not so recent. According to the studies,⁶ the term *creative tourism* appeared in 1993, but it was defined only in 2006 by UNESCO when a working definition of creative tourism was adopted stating that creative tourism is “travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of a place, and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture”.⁷

The recent popularity in creative tourism and its development point to an emerging shift in tourism industry instead of tangibles focusing on intangibles⁸—more abstract phenomena that mean visitors’ participation, involvement and

³ Lale Gumusluoglu and Arzullsev, “Transformational leadership, creativity, and organizational innovation”, *Journal of Business Research*, 62, no. 4 (2009): 461-473, doi: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2007.07.032

⁴ Anna Catalani, “Integrating Western and non-Western cultural expressions to further cultural and creative tourism: a case study”. *World Leisure Journal*, 55 no. 3 (2013): 253, DOI:10.1080/04419057.2013.820505

⁵ Richard, Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Revisited. (New York: Basic Books, 2012), 1-27.

⁶ Richard Prentice, “Experiential Cultural Tourism: Museums & the Marketing of the New Romanticism of Evoked Authenticity”, *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19, no. 1 (2001), 5-26. DOI: 10.1080/09647770100201901; Crispin Raymond, “Case Study – Creative Tourism New Zealand”, (Creative Tourism New Zealand and Australia Council for the Arts, fuel4arts.com, 2003), 1-2, accessed May 20, 2015, http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/assets/paperclip/publication_documents/documents/97/original/case-study-creative-tourism-new-zealand.pdf?1322079829;

Greg Richards and Julie Wilson, “Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture?”, *Tourism Management*, 27, no. 6 (2006): 1209-1223, doi: 10.1016/j.tourman.2005.06.002; Greg Richards and Julie, Wilson, “Tourism development trajectories: From culture to creativity?”, in *Tourism, creativity and development*, ed. Greg Richards and Julie Wilson (London: Routledge, 2007): 1-34

⁷ UNESCO: Creative Cities Network. “Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism”, (Discussion Report of the Planning Meeting for 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism, Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A. October 25-27, 2006), 2-3, accessed Oct 12, 2014, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/files/34633/11848588553oct2006_meeting_report.pdf/oct2006_meeting_report.pdf

⁸ Greg Richards, “Creativity and tourism: The state of the art”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, no. 4 (2011):1243–1246. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2011.07.008; John S. Hull and Ulrike Sassenberg, “Creating new cultural visitor experiences on islands: Challenges and opportunities”, *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 91-110.

experiencing in order to gain positive experiences and memories which might bring them back to the destination. This is a significant change which has to be studied in order to attract both international and local tourists to the destination and keep them stay and return.

Therefore, this study focuses on exploring the current status of creative tourism and its development opportunities in Riga – the European Capital of Culture in 2014.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the research is based on the theories of creative industries and cultural tourism forming creative tourism.

Creative Industries. In the academic and political discourse, a variety of terms related to the development of creativity and culture have been used, including *cultural industries*, *creative industries* and others.⁹ Actually, the concept of creative industries has been a feature of academic and policy literature since 1990ies.¹⁰ Its origin is connected with “the rise of cultural industries, the significance of knowledge to all aspects of economic production, distribution and consumption, and the growing importance of the services sector”.¹¹ However, the term *creative industries* became more popular after adopting the first *Creative Industries Mapping Document* in the UK in 1998 the aim of which was “to raise awareness of the industries, the contribution they made to the economy and the issues they faced”.¹² In this document creative industries were defined as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property”.¹³ In 2001 the document was updated, but the same definition was retained.¹⁴ Nowadays, most scholars base their definitions on the definition given in the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* 1998, introducing some slight alterations. Summarizing the scholars’ definitions, creative industries can be defined as activities which have their

⁹ OECD, 2014. “Tourism and the Creative Economy”, (OECD Studies on Tourism, OECD Publishing, 2014), 32, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264207875-en>

¹⁰ Jason Potts et al., “Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries”, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 32, no. 3 (2008): 167, DOI: 10.1007/s10824-008-9066-y

¹¹ Terry Flew, “Beyond ad hocery: Defining Creative Industries”, in: *Cultural Sites, Cultural Theory, Cultural Policy*, the Second International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, (23-26 January, 2002), 1, Wellington, New Zealand.

¹² Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1998. “Creative Industries Mapping Document”, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/creative-industries-mapping-document-1998>.

¹³ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1998.

¹⁴ Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001. “Creative Industries Mapping Document”, accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/creative-industries-mapping-document-2001>

origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential of being social, cultural and economic development drivers through generation and exploitation of intellectual property.¹⁵

Furthermore, since 1998 the significance of creative industries has grown. Nowadays, creative industries play a major role in generating, transforming and disseminating knowledge and have developed faster than the global economy as a whole in recent years, with trade in creative goods and services growing by 8.8% a year from 2002 to 2011. They have the potential to stimulate economic growth and job creation, support innovation and entrepreneurship, aid urban and rural regeneration, and stimulate exports.¹⁶

In terms of tourism, the arts spaces and creative industries produce a distinctive identity for a destination, promote it and help create an economic niche in the marketplace, such as boosting tourism in addition to enhancing arts consumption.¹⁷ The authors of the paper support the idea of Cameron and Chambers¹⁸ and Richards¹⁹ emphasizing the necessity of linking tourism, culture, and the creative industries and pointing out that it has even become a strategy for economic development, especially in economically underdeveloped and slam areas.²⁰ It can definitely be considered as a tool for developing underdeveloped urban areas.

In order to evaluate the situation in creative tourism in the city, two terms *cultural tourism* and *creative tourism* have to be explored and the distinction between them made.

Catalani²¹ admits that the term *cultural industries* was introduced more than fifty years ago, whereas the term *creative industries*, being a broader term, gained its popularity only at the beginning of the 21st century. This term comprises “a wide range of cultural, design and digital activity”²² and in parallel with these two terms, the terms *cultural tourism* and *creative tourism* appeared.

¹⁵ Catalani, “Integrating Western and non-Western...” 252-254; Acolla Cameron and Donna Chambers, “Tourism, Culture & the Creative Industries: Exploring the Linkages”. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 12, no. 1 (2012): 1–4, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/109830412X13542041184612>; Charles Landry, *The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators*. Preface and Introduction to the book. (London: Earthscan, 2008), xvi-xlvi; Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1998.

¹⁶ OECD, 2014. “Tourism and the Creative Economy”, 7.

¹⁷ Jessica Aquino, Rhonda Phillips and Heekyung Sung, “Tourism, Culture, and the Creative Industries: Reviving Distressed Neighbourhoods with Arts-Based Community Tourism”, *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 12, no. 1 (2012): 5–18, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/109830412X13542041184658>; Richards, “Creativity and tourism...” 1240-1242.

¹⁸ Cameron, Chambers, “Tourism, Culture & the Creative Industries...” 1.

¹⁹ Richards, “Creativity and tourism...”, 1244-1246.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1225-1226, 1240-1242.

²¹ Catalani, “Integrating Western and non-Western...”, 252.

²² *Ibid.*: 252.

Cultural Tourism. The beginnings of cultural tourism go back to the 18th and 19th century when the so-called social elite were indulging in grand tours.²³ The scholars argue that cultural tourism definitely is tourism, and that it implies “far more than production and consumption of ‘high’ art and heritage”²⁴. Literature review on cultural tourism shows that cultural tourism is not just a tourist consumption of cultural products. It is an experience, an appreciation and a schematic knowledge gaining process, through inspiration that derives from heritage, traditional knowledge, and the artistic elements of creativity, which can be used to renew or revitalize communities and improve quality of life.²⁵ Traditions, cultural values, specific national traits along with all the changes coming through centuries influence modern societies, shape peoples’ minds and develop the sense of belonging for both – visitors and host community.

Creative Tourism. Several studies²⁶ related with creative tourism and its characteristics have been conducted and, based on the ideas expressed in them, the authors of this paper argue that creative tourism can be defined as a form of networked tourism, developed from cultural tourism, which is an interactive and reflective experience based on local cultural and creative aspects through experiential involvement and active participation.

This is a much more recent concept and one of the reasons for its development is the constantly changing needs of the tourism market (more frequent and shorter trips, demand for experience, the use of modern technologies in making bookings, etc.). The infrastructure developed and the services offered enable tourists get practically everywhere and see what they could not previously even had dreamt of. As a result, contemporary tourists are

²³ Melanie K., Smith and Mike Robinson, “Politics, Power and Play: The Shifting Contexts of Cultural Tourism”, in *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation. Tourism and cultural change 7*, ed. Melanie K. Smith, Mike Robinson (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2006): 4.

²⁴ Ibid., 1.

²⁵ Catalani, “Integrating Western and non-Western...”, 252-256; Aquino, Phillips, Sung, “Tourism, Culture, and the Creative Industries...”, 5-18; Prentice, “Experiential Cultural Tourism...”, 7-22; Greg Richards, “The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe”, in *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, ed. Greg Richards, (Wallingford: CABI, 2001): 3-30; UNESCO: Statistics on Cultural Industries: Framework for the Elaboration of National Data Capacity Building Projects. (Bangkok: UNESCO Bangkok, 2007), accessed Oct 12, 2014, http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/Cultural_Industries/Documents-Useful_Resources/Statistics_on_Cultural_Industries-FINAL.pdf

²⁶ Catalani, “Integrating Western and non-Western...”, 252-263; Daniela Angelina Jelinčić and Ana Žuvela, “Facing the Challenge? Creative Tourism in Croatia”. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no.2 (2012): 78-90; Greg Richards and Lénia Marques, “Exploring Creative Tourism: Editors Introduction”. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 1-11; Richards, Wilson, “Tourism development trajectories...”, 1-34; Richards, Wilson, “Developing creativity in tourist experiences...”, 1209-1223; Raymond, “Case Study – Creative Tourism experiences...”, 1-5; Prentice, “Experiential Cultural Tourism...”, 5-26.

more demanding in selecting their holiday destinations and activities. Therefore, “destinations are increasingly facing a challenge to develop new — place/product combinations which are strongly competitive, unique and attractive for special interest or niche markets that want specific products and experiences”.²⁷ There comes the advantage of creative tourism.

Although it might seem that cultural tourism and creative tourism are overlapping concepts, they are distinctly different concepts.

While cultural tourism mostly focuses on exploring the cultural and historical heritage passively, creative tourism involves more interaction and engagement in authentic experience in which the visitor has an educational, emotional, social, and participative interaction with the place, its living culture, and the local community.²⁸

However, “the major difference between cultural and creative tourism lies in the resource base of these types of tourism and in the tourists’ motivation to participate in activities”²⁹. The difference between cultural and creative tourism is reflected in *Figure 1* below.

	Cultural tourism	Creative tourism
Orientation	Past	Future
Externalities	Conservation	Innovation
Structure	Products	Platforms and Content
Process	Interpretation	Co-creation
Value creation	Value chains	Value networks
Funding	Public	Commercial

*Figure 1. From cultural tourism to creative tourism*³⁰

One of the main differences to distinguish between cultural tourism and creative tourism is the orientation of the phenomena. While cultural tourism is more focused on the past and conservation of the heritage, the creative tourism strives for innovation and is future oriented. It develops networks, ascends from

²⁷ Carlos Fernandes “Cultural planning and creative tourism in an emerging tourist destination”, *International Journal of Management Cases*, 13, no. 3 (2011): 630.

²⁸ Jelinčić, Žuvela. “Facing the Challenge?...”, 80-81; Valery Gordin and Marina Matetskaya, “Creative tourism in Saint Petersburg: the state of heart”, *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 55-77; UNESCO: Creative Cities Network, 2-3.

²⁹ Gordin, Matetskaya, “Creative tourism in Saint Petersburg...” 57.

³⁰ OECD, 2014. “Tourism and the Creative Economy”, 53.

innovative platforms and incubators and acquires active community participation and co-creation.

Ohridska-Olson and Ivanov³¹ elaborating the concept of Pine and Gilmore³² claim that traditional cultural tourism is based on 'viewing', 'seeing' and 'contemplating' (e.g., visiting museums, art galleries, concerts, etc.), creative tourism is based on 'experiencing', 'participating' and 'learning' (e.g., not only observing painting but taking such courses in the destination). Moreover, creative tourism is more sustainable and it is not linked to one definite destination only because it uses resources that are processes, such as dancing, painting, various events and festivals and others.

The link of tourism with the creative industries offers interesting opportunities to develop and diversify tourism products and experiences, revitalize existing tourism products, use creative technology to develop and enhance the tourism experience, add atmosphere and "buzz" to places and overcome the limitations of traditional cultural tourism models.³³ For example, by combining a usual sculpture exhibition with light show and theatrical performance, the common tourism product becomes an interesting, unique and creative show.

Tourism is also important for the creative industries because it has the potential to valorize cultural and creative assets, expand the audience for creative products, support innovation, improve the image of countries and regions, open up export markets and support professional networks and knowledge development.³⁴ Tourism brings together very diverse people and nationalities that influence the process of cultural development in a destination. This brings new ideas that combined with innovation can become a unique asset to the destination. This is especially important for small and distant destinations with poor tourism resources, because applying creative thinking an interesting tourism product can be developed in any environment.

Richards and Wilson³⁵ propose three basic categories to describe creative developments identified in tourism: creative spectacles, creative spaces and creative tourism.

- 1) *Creative spectacles* are events that act as a concentrator in terms of time and space, forming important nodes in creative networks and providing a direct link between creativity and tourism.³⁶ The concept includes

³¹ Rossitza Vassileva Ohridska-Olson and Stanislav Hristov Ivanov. "Creative Tourism Business Model and its Application in Bulgaria", (Proceedings of the Black Sea Tourism Forum 'Cultural Tourism – The Future of Bulgaria,' 2010), 3, accessed May 24, 2015, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID1690425_code1543075.pdf?abstractid=1690425&mirid=1

³² Joseph B. II. Pine and James H. Gilmore. *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*. (Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press, 1999), 1-26.

³³ OECD, 2014. "Tourism and the Creative Economy", 15.

³⁴ OECD, 2014. "Tourism and the Creative Economy", 15.

³⁵ Richards, Wilson, "Developing creativity in tourist experiences...", 1209.

³⁶ Richards, "Creativity and tourism...", 1240.

participation, seeing, tasting, learning and buying.³⁷ For example, a recent exhibition in *The Museum of Indian Arts and Culture* in New Mexico included film screenings, panel discussions, an artist meet-and-greet reception, and dance performances that attracted many visitors.³⁸ *The Museum Nights* organized throughout Europe is another typical example of this.

- 2) *Creative spaces* are cultural districts that become shared creative alternative spaces established by an interaction between different groups or individuals in a shared spatial encounter.³⁹ For example, Kreuzberg used to be the poorest part of Berlin, but thanks to hipster movement, alternative artists and the influence of post-modern mind-set, the neighbourhood has become a well-known creative space in Berlin.⁴⁰
- 3) *Creative tourism* in a sense of tourism policymaking. Those are maturing approaches to creative tourism marked by the development of specific development strategies that strengthen the creative vitality and international image of a destination.⁴¹ In fact, the recent trend is to include creative industries in the tourism policies, for example, Latvia, along with many other countries, has envisaged creative tourism development in the guidelines of tourism development.

Further on, the authors of the paper apply these three basic categories in analyzing the findings of their research.

Methodology and Research Process

The current research is in line with the interpretivism paradigm using qualitative approach to the research.⁴²

The *purpose of the research* is to study a new form of networked tourism – creative tourism and its exposure and development opportunities in Riga, the European Capital of Culture of 2014. The *research question* is: What is the current status of creative tourism in Riga and does it have the potential to develop?

Exploratory case study has been selected for the research strategy as the field of creative tourism has not been extensively researched and there is a deficient body of knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation in the

³⁷ Richards, “Creativity and tourism...”, 1239.

³⁸ “A Farewell to Footprints: Museum of Indian Arts and Culture”. *Creative Tourism, Area Press Releases*, 14 May, 2015, accessed May 27, 2015, <http://santafecreativetourism.org/a-farewell-to-footprints-museum-of-indian-arts-and-culture/>

³⁹ Richards, “Creativity and tourism...”, 1240.

⁴⁰ Adam Groffman. “Why Hipsters Are Obsessed With Kreuzberg, Berlin”. *Business Insider*, Sept 19, 2014, accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.businessinsider.com/kreuzberg-is-berlins-hipster-hotspot-2014-9?op=1>

⁴¹ Richards, “Creativity and tourism...”, 1242.

⁴² Jill Collis and Roger Hussey, *Business Research*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 55-67.

tourism research of Latvia and the issue has not been widely researched worldwide as well, although the term itself appeared in the last decade.⁴³

The case study comprised five stages: 1) selecting the case, 2) preliminary investigations or contextualization; 3) data collection which included a wide variety of sources (documentary analysis, websites, field observations, participant observations); 4) data analysis using within-case analysis applying multiple methods; 5) writing the report.⁴⁴

Considering the basic categories of describing creative developments in tourism⁴⁵ creative spectacles and creative spaces in Riga were selected as the case.

Preliminary investigations comprised literature review on the concept of creative tourism development as well as context analysis by studying websites of official institutions of Latvia and Riga connected with tourism policies and organizing various events, such as, the Tourism section of the webpage of the Ministry of Economics of Latvia,⁴⁶ the webpage of Latvian Tourism Development Agency,⁴⁷ the Official Latvian Tourism Portal,⁴⁸ the Riga Tourism Development Bureau Foundation Live Riga,⁴⁹ the official portal of Riga – European Capital of Culture 2014,⁵⁰ the Municipal Portal of Riga⁵¹. As a result certain spaces and spectacles were chosen for analysis.

Data collection involved the analysis of the above-mentioned websites and documentary analysis, including the *Latvian Tourism Development Strategy for 2014-2020*⁵² and *Latvian Cultural Policy Strategy “Creative Latvia” for 2014-2020*.⁵³ Observations were done in accordance with the scheme suggested by Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill.⁵⁴ Field observations applying structured observation technique were done from May till October 2014. The researchers

⁴³ Raymond, “Case Study – Creative Tourism experiences...”, 2; Richards, Wilson, “Developing creativity in tourist experiences...”, 1209-1223; Richards, Wilson, “Tourism development trajectories...”, 1-34;

⁴⁴ Stephen L.J. Smith, *Practical Tourism Research*. (Cambridge: CABI, 2010), 185-200; Collis and Hussey, *Business Research*, 82-83.

⁴⁵ Richards, Wilson, “Developing creativity in tourist experiences...”, 1209.

⁴⁶ Ekonomikas Ministrija, Tūrisms, 2014, accessed May 17, 2014, https://www.em.gov.lv/lv/nozares_politika/turisms

⁴⁷ Tūrisma attīstības valsts aģentūra, 2014, accessed June 4, 2014, <http://www.tava.gov.lv/lv>

⁴⁸ Latvia Travel, Official Latvia Tourism Portal, 2014, accessed June 4, 2014, <http://www.latvia.travel/en>

⁴⁹ Live Riga webpage, 2014, accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.liveriga.com/lv/>

⁵⁰ Rīga 2014 Official webpage, 2013, accessed May 6, 2014, <http://riga2014.org/>

⁵¹ Rīgas pašvaldības portāls, 2011, accessed May 8, 2014, <https://www.riga.lv/LV/Channels/>

⁵² “Latvijas tūrisma attīstības pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020.gadam”, Policy Planning Document, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Latvia on 3 July 2014, accessed Aug 11, 2014, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/view.do?id=4823>

⁵³ “Kultūrpolitikas pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020. gadam „Radošā Latvija””, Policy Planning Document, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Latvia on 29 July 2014, accessed Aug 11, 2014, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/docSearch.do?searchtype=ows&clearnav=true>

⁵⁴ Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*. Fifth Edition. (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009), 288-310.

visited the following sites and conducted observations there documenting the results in observation protocols and taking photos: Tobacco Factory and the Republic of Mierastreet, the Kalnciema Quarter courtyard, Spīķeri Creative quarter and promenade. At the same time participant observations were conducted applying two techniques – complete observer (researcher observes activity) and complete participant (research takes part in activity). In both cases, researcher's identity is concealed. Complete observer technique was applied in observing the following events: Art Nouveau Festival “100 Years ago on Alberta Street”, Family Day, Farmers' markets and fairs and the annual Traditional Applied Arts Fair. Complete participant technique was applied for observing Contemporary Arts Forum “The White Nights” and Delightfully Delicious Destination. Photos were taken and observation protocols written.

Within-case data analysis was done applying content analysis and visual analysis approaches. These approaches enable creating separate descriptions of events and phenomena and are used to identify patterns.⁵⁵ In conducting qualitative content analysis hierarchical coding pattern was applied.⁵⁶

Findings of the Research

Qualitative data analysis requires grouping data into three main types of processes: 1) summarising (condensation) of meanings, 2) categorization (grouping) of meanings and 3) structuring (ordering) of meanings using narrative.⁵⁷ This procedure is applied to both content analysis and visual analysis of the data collected in the present research.

Summarising of Meanings

During the research period, four creative spaces and six creative spectacles were observed. The four spaces visited are all situated outside the downtown, but they are easily accessible from the city centre. Spīķeri Creative quarter and promenade are situated within a walking distance from the centre, in about 10 minutes. Tobacco Factory and the Republic of Mierastreet as well as the Kalnciema Quarter courtyard are easily accessible by public transport and it takes only 15 minutes to get there. During the observation periods the spaces were quite lively as special events were happening at that time. However, in other periods these places may be quite deserted.

The researchers observed six creative spectacles, all of them in the summer. The places were full of visitors. A common feature in all the spectacles observed was the kind of participants – there were all kind of participants: locals and foreign visitors, those for a holiday and those for business, people of all age

⁵⁵ Collis, Hussey, *Business Research*, 82-83.

⁵⁶ Smith, *Practical Tourism Research*. (Cambridge: CABI, 2010), 210-220.

⁵⁷ Saunders, Lewis, Thornhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*, 490.

groups, individuals and families. People have come to enjoy spectacles and the majority of them actively participated in them. This emphasizes the necessity to organize such events and points to the need for creative tourism development as well as its potential indirect profitability. However, the event Contemporary Arts Forum “The White Nights” differed from other events with its target audience – the participants were those interested in the arts, especially modern arts. There are similar events held in the city, which the authors did not observe for the current research – the Night of Churches, the Museum Night. However, those are also popular for families with small children.

Categorization of Meanings

Summarizing the findings of all observations, the authors could draw a hierarchical coding pattern, which helped to systematize and analyze the data. In the centre, there are creative spaces and spectacles, which are reflected in the same figure as, according to the observations and literature analysis, the factors impacting their spread and popularity are similar (see Figure 2).

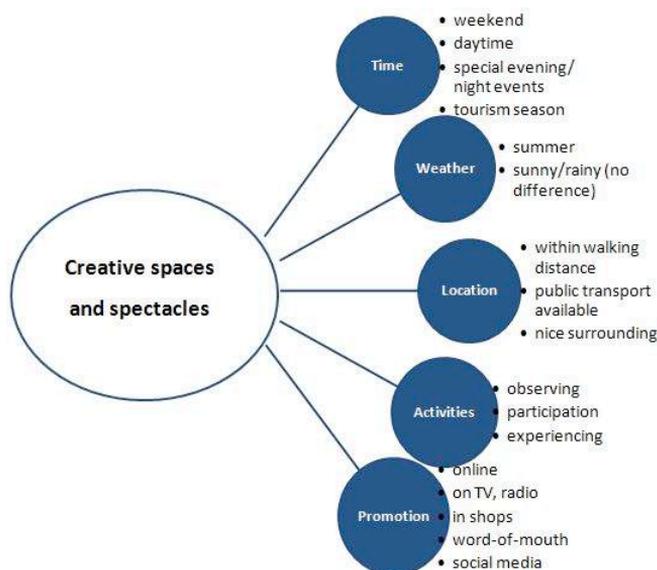


Figure 2. Hierarchical coding pattern for creative spaces and spectacles

According to observations conducted, it may be concluded that time definitely impacted the popularity of the spaces and spectacles. The visitors and participants preferred events organized during weekend, in the daytime, except the events that were specially organized late in the evening, such as Contemporary Arts Forum “The White Nights”. Summer is definitely more popular both for locals and tourists (tourism season in Riga lasts from 1 May till

1 October); however, the weather did not impact the participants' behavior. For example, during the Art Nouveau Festival "100 Years ago on Alberta Street", it was raining heavily most of the time but people were dressed up and participated in workshops anyway. As the observations showed, location is significant. The closer to the city centre the creative space is, the more it is attended by locals and tourists. However, considering creative spectacles, the location plays a less significant role than in creative spaces. In this case, traditions are important. For example, traditional Applied Arts Fair takes place on the outskirts of the city but for tens of years it has been one of the most visited events connected with folk art and traditions. The activities observed indicate that people like experiencing. This coincides with the theory described above (e.g., Fernandes⁵⁸) that nowadays experience matters more than destination and new niche markets have to be developed. Another significant factor impacting participation is promotion. As the authors observed, the most popular and attended events had had promotion on the Internet and on social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. One of the most favourite portals for locals where they search for the information concerning tourist attractions and events is www.travelnews.lv, which is actively promoting such activities on both their webpage and Facebook. Word-of-mouth is a significant promotion tool concerning creative tourism development as well.

Structuring of Meanings

This part describes in detail the most popular creative spectacles and creative spaces of Riga introducing their main features and emphasizing their role in creative tourism development of the city.

Creative Spectacles in Riga

As written above, the authors of the paper have participated in the events in the role of complete observer and complete participant. The data are analyzed in accordance with the four modes of creativity – learning, tasting seeing, buying -, the concept by Richards.⁵⁹

Participating: Art Nouveau Festival "100 Years ago on Alberta Street"

This festival takes its participants back in time. Just like in the beginning of the 20th century, in Art Nouveau styled garments wander along the street, news-boy announces the latest information, policeman and a street sweeper take care of order. Everyone can meet the famous architects, listen to street musicians, take an elegant walk, or try to learn some craft skills with skilful craftsmen. Creative workshops/saloons are open on the day to offer a chance to learn something new

⁵⁸ Fernandes, "Cultural planning and creative tourism...", 629-636.

⁵⁹ Richards, "Creativity and tourism...", 1239.

and exciting. Gastronomic enjoyments and shopping pleasure are especially alluring.⁶⁰ During the festival the visitors also have the opportunity to participate in theatrical performances and to become familiar with the early 20th century culture and lifestyle. According to observations, visitors most willingly participated in the workshops of embroidery and making wigs.

Seeing: Contemporary Arts Forum “The White Nights”

“The White Nights” offers artistic, theatrical, musical, movement performances and other projects. The forum is dedicated to contemporary urban culture. During this event citizens and visitors are encouraged to experience a state of creative wakefulness, which alters the old-fashioned notions of the environment and cultural life.⁶¹ This is an excellent example of combination of culture and innovations and a typical creative tourism event.

During the event Riga galleries, cafes, bookshops, culture institutions and other places are open throughout the night. “The White Nights” is a part of the “European White Nights” project, launched by five European capitals – Brussels, Madrid, Paris, Riga and Rome.⁶² According to observations, most of the participants were young people and tourists.

Tasting: Delightfully Delicious Destination

Delightfully Delicious Destination is a gastronomic project created by Latvian Tourism Development Bureau LIVE RIGA and the Chefs Club that incorporates various events connected with food. During the event, city residents and guests are introduced to tasteful, delicious and modern cuisine from Riga and throughout Latvia. Throughout the year, Riga’s best chefs enrich their menus with local products according to each season.⁶³ The most popular events are Riga Restaurant Week, seasonal and special offers in restaurants, special thematic weeks and public degustation. As the visitors told, they perceived this as a unique opportunity to visit some posh restaurants which they would not include on their top list otherwise.

Learning: Family Day

This is another annual event that is meant for families with children. During the Riga – Capital of culture 2014, this event was included in the official program. In this way the event organizers had more resources to perform a high quality event. This event offers various concerts and games, workshops, hands-on-

⁶⁰“Pirms 100 gadiem Albert’ ielā”, Rīgas svētki 2014, 2014, accessed July 18, 2014, <http://www.rigassvetki.lv/2014/festival/event/lv/pirms-100-gadiem-alberta-iela/>

⁶¹“Riga 2014” Events during the White Night, Rīga 2014 portal, 2014, accessed September 14, 2014, <http://riga2014.org/eng/news/51138-riga-2014-events-during-the-white-night>

⁶²*Ibid.*

⁶³“Delightfully Delicious Destination - RIGA 2014/2015”, Live Riga portal, 2015, accessed 6 February, 2015, <http://www.meetriga.com/en/7021-delightfully-delicious-destination-riga-2014-2015>

experiences, educational shows and other creative activities regarding learning. It is particularly specialized for children, so it really is a Family Day. According to the authors' observations, the most active participants were families with young children (aged 3 – 10) and they also actively took part in various competitions. The most popular was sawing different figures out of the wooded planks.

Buying: Seasonal and Holiday Fairs

Farmers' markets and fairs are annual events throughout the seasons where locals and visitors can enjoy and buy seasonal home-grown products, arts and crafts. Farmers and household producers from all regions of Latvia offer a broad variety of food products — home-made bread, smoked meat, various types of cheese, fruit, vegetables, jams, preserved food, juice, candied fruit, marmalade, and pastry.⁶⁴

The study for this research took place during the annual Traditional Applied Arts Fair that has been held at the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum of Latvia for more than 40 years. Many families regard this event as a tradition to see the works of Latvia's best craftsmen. Tailors, leather craftsmen, wood carvers, jewellery designers, blacksmiths, basket-makers, weavers, potters, as well as knitters from all over Latvia are selling their products. The atmosphere is just like in ancient times — visitors are pleased by performances of folklore ensembles and traditional dances.⁶⁵

Creative Spaces in Riga

The four examples of the creative spaces described below were chosen because the document analysis and observations conducted showed their predominant popularity compared to other creative spaces. They are regularly visited both by locals and foreigners.

Tobacco Factory and the Republic of Mierastreet

Tobacco Factory has developed as an interdisciplinary space, where curiosity about creativity is aroused by various art solutions, media, culture and creative industries.⁶⁶

The spacious premises of TABAKAS FABRIKA (tobacco factory) will allow to set up a multi-disciplinary space where versatile support is provided to culture and creative industries:

⁶⁴ “Applied Arts Fair at Ethnographic Open Air Museum”, Live Riga portal, 2015, accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/4670-applied-arts-fair-at-ethnographic-open-air-museum>

⁶⁵ “Latvian Open-Air Ethnographic Museum in Riga”, Latvia Travel, Official Latvia Tourism Portal, 2014, accessed June 6, 2014, <http://www.latvia.travel/en/sight/latvian-open-air-ethnographic-museum-riga>

⁶⁶ “Creative quarter “Tobacco factory” and Miera iela”, Live Riga portal, 2015, accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.meetriga.com/en/5812-creative-quarter-tobacco-factory-and-miera-iela>

- a platform that facilitates curiosity about the creative process,
- encourages to grow, experiment, learn teamwork, go beyond the conventional, invent and start up a business.

In the near future it will become a space saturated with exhibitions, concerts, festivals, screenings, performing arts shows, conferences, seminars and workshops.⁶⁷

Miera Street quarter is unique because it is the first creative quarter that grew in Riga from inspiration and self-initiative. Starting from few small vintage stores it expanded into a republic of various workshops, alternative stores and cafes. This creative quarter in Riga houses various projects by local artists – galleries, clubs, workshops, cafes, hair salons and small shops selling works by local artists. Most of the buildings located on cobblestone Miera Street were constructed between the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The quarter has a very artistic atmosphere to it, whilst at the same time is very peaceful. It is an attractive addition to the city, and has become popular with locals and foreigners alike.⁶⁸

Kalnciema Quarter

A Farmers' market is held every Saturday in the Kalnciema wooden architecture quarter. Some market days have a special theme, decorations and musical entertainment. The Kalnciemaiela Market also organises special events for children and to mark the traditional Latvian holidays. Providing the weather is warm, the space is used for concerts by local musicians and as an open-air cinema.⁶⁹

Here children can participate in various creative workshops: they can cut, paste, draw and make interesting things, go on a colourful merry-go-round or, if it is warm outside, treat themselves to homemade ice cream and have a nap in a hammock in the orchard.⁷⁰

Meanwhile, for adults, Latvian farmers and craftsmen bring a variety of delicious products for their eyes, noses and, of course, their taste buds. One can buy teas for health, jams for cough, peppermints for stress, and meat and fish for the fridge.⁷¹

Free open-air concerts take place every Thursday in the Kalnciema Quarter courtyard, which provides a great platform for young emerging musicians from Latvia and abroad. The authors observed that, despite the large

⁶⁷ “Tabakas Fabrika”, 2014, accessed September 28, 2014, <http://www.tabfab.lv/>

⁶⁸ “The Republic of Peace Street, Riga”, ANOTHERTRAVELGUIDE.COM, 2008, accessed May 24, 2015, http://www.anothertravelguide.com/eng/europe/latvia/riga/destinations/culture/the_republic_of_peace_street/

⁶⁹ “Kalnciema kvartāls”, n.d., accessed May 21, 2015, <http://www.kalnciemaiela.lv/>

⁷⁰ “Kalnciema Quarter Market”, Live Riga portal, 2015, accessed May 28, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/7195-kalnciema-quarter-market>

⁷¹ Ibid.

crowds of people visiting the quarter, the atmosphere was very relaxing and joyful.

Spīķeri Creative Quarter and Promenade

The Spīķeri quarter and the Daugava promenade together with the Central market provide for a rather different experience from that of the Old Town.⁷²

Historically, Spīķeri was a warehouse district, which reached its zenith in the 1870s when 58 brick warehouses were built to store cargo from ships and train freights. Only 13 warehouses remain to this day; yet it is enough to feel the historic atmosphere. Like many other post-industrial spaces in cities across Europe, Spīķeri, has become a home to creative industry professionals, restaurants and offices.⁷³ The atmosphere is pleasant, people are taking a stroll near the embankment and enjoying the site. This space can be compared to the Old Dock in Hamburg, Germany, where people gather on sunny days, especially at the weekends.

Policy Directions for Creative Tourism in Riga/Latvia

The Latvian Tourism Development Guidelines for 2014-2020 aim for a sustainable tourism development enhancing competitiveness of Latvian tourism product in foreign markets. The results of the policy to be attained include increasing the number of overnight visitors, reducing the impact of seasonality by increasing the accommodation occupancy during the low season periods, ensuring the profitability of tourism services and ensuring annual export of tourism services. The tourism policy development is set for four priorities: MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (events)), Health Tourism, Nature Tourism and Culture Tourism and Creative Industries.⁷⁴

According to the Guidelines, the development of creative industries includes various actions, such as: development of culture cognition centers; provision of support to promoting creative industries events; establishing and developing creative industries centers; intangible cultural heritage involvement in events and setting up support programs to attract creative industries projects.⁷⁵ The Guidelines clearly state that creative tourism projects are welcome in Latvia and that there is a potential in developing them. Riga is a culture city and thus it has to remain like that.

⁷² “Spīķeri creative quarter and promenade”, AroundMe.lv, n.d., accessed Aug 18, 2014, <http://www.aroundme.lv/place/spikeri-creative-quarter-and-promenade/>

⁷³ “Spīķerukvartāls”, spikeri.lv, 2015, accessed May 25, 2015, <http://www.spikeri.lv/spikeri/>; “The culture-laden Spikeri Quarter and promenade”, Live Riga portal, 2015, accessed May 23, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/3176-the-culture-laden-spikeri-quarter-and-promenade>

⁷⁴ “Latvijas tūrisma attīstības pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020.gadam”, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/view.do?id=4823>

⁷⁵ “Latvijas tūrisma attīstības pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020.gadam”, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/view.do?id=4823>

Discussion

Developing creative tourism has implications for national tourism administrations, regional tourism authorities and destination marketing organizations. The challenge is not just to understand the creative industries and how these link with tourism, but to appreciate the fundamental changes stimulated by the growth of the creative economy. Active policy approaches are needed to effectively capture the opportunities to generate value offered by the growth of both creativity and tourism.⁷⁶

When developing creative content, it is important to understand, that the creative industries are a valuable source of content for tourism experiences, marketing and development. They create interesting, engaging content to persuade visitors to come to a particular destination as well as collaboration between tourism organizations and media and advertising companies.⁷⁷ Interactive commercial stands, blogs, storytelling and short movies are just a few examples of possible cooperation between various stakeholders.

When linking creativity to place, creativity should be embedded in the destination so that tourists visited the place where creativity is produced. Creative clusters can also be used to anchor and embed creative content in specific places. In addition, branding strategies, that link creativity to place, are to be considered.⁷⁸ For example, the concept of Riga – the Capital of Culture 2014 was marketed on creative tourism and active participation of locals and guests in cultural events.

Promoting new sources of added value brings tourism and creative enterprises together and that can stimulate innovation and encourage the development of new products across sectorial boundaries. Creative know-how and new technologies can support the design of more engaging tourism experiences and innovative marketing approaches which reach new audiences. It is also important to identify new ways of doing business in the tourism economy (couch surfing, airBnB) and look at creative tourism as a new source of growth and job creation in areas with limited tourism assets.⁷⁹ For example, by embracing traits of alternative and street culture in the destination can attract younger generation to participate in creation of new tourism products and innovative approaches.

Developing knowledge and building capacity by collaboration between tourism and the creative industries implies a process of knowledge development for people involved in both sectors. Knowledge institutions in fields such as art, design or architecture function as important nodes in creative clusters, and can

⁷⁶ OECD, 2014. “Tourism and the Creative Economy”, 21.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 21-23.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 23-24.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 24-25.

attract highly educated people and creative businesses. There is a need to increase skill levels and develop talent in the creative industries and tourism.⁸⁰ Bringing together professionals from various fields not only widens their competences but also fosters the *out-of-the-box thinking* and results in unique outcomes.

Strengthening network and cluster development is another essential policy direction when creating creative tourism. Knowledge and value can be generated through the operation of network, since the value created by and around tourism is no longer simply economic but also relational, emotional and creative.⁸¹ Here it is recommended to involve all stakeholders in creating those clusters – policy makers, municipality, tourism specialists, and the creative industries.

Conclusion

To summarize, the research showed that even though creative tourism is a relatively new trend, Riga, being the European Capital of Culture in 2014, has embraced it in the fullest. The countless events, creative quarters, and the new tourism policy emphasize creative industries both directly and indirectly. Creative industries and creative quarters have become a trend for locals as well as for modern tourists.

Government perceives the importance of creative tourism, for its development has been envisaged in the new tourism guidelines.

Regarding visible success stories, the Kalnciema Quarter has to be mentioned. However, Tobacco Factory is seen as a great potential for future development in creative industries. More effort is necessary to promote the Spīķeri Creative quarter also for everyday use, not only when certain events are organized there.

To conclude, Riga is in the stage of development in which it is vitally important to start a controlling guidance process to continue creative tourism development in the city.

References

1. “A Farewell to Footprints: Museum of Indian Arts and Culture.” *Creative Tourism, Area Press Releases*, May 14, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015, <http://santafecreativetourism.org/a-farewell-to-footprints-museum-of-indian-arts-and-culture/>

⁸⁰ Ibid., 25-26.

⁸¹ Ibid., 26-29.

2. “Applied Arts Fair at Ethnographic Open Air Museum”, Live Riga portal, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/4670-applied-arts-fair-at-ethnographic-open-air-museum>
3. Aquino, Jessica and Rhonda Phillips, and Heekyung Sung. “Tourism, Culture, and the Creative Industries: Reviving Distressed Neighborhoods with Arts-Based Community Tourism.” *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 12, no. 1 (2012): 5–18, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/109830412X13542041184658>
4. Cameron, Acolla and Donna Chambers. “Tourism, Culture & the Creative Industries: Exploring the Linkages.” University of the West Indies 2nd International Tourism Conference. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 12, no. 1 (2012): 1–4, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3727/109830412X13542041184612>
5. Catalani, Anna. “Integrating Western and non-Western cultural expressions to further cultural and creative tourism: a case study.” *World Leisure Journal*, 5, no. 3 (2013): 252-263, DOI: 10.1080/04419057.2013.820505
6. Collis, Jill, and Roger Hussey. *Business Research*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
7. “Creative quarter “Tobacco factory” and Mieraiela”, Live Riga portal, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.meetriga.com/en/5812-creative-quarter-tobacco-factory-and-miera-iela>
8. “Delightfully Delicious Destination - RĪGA 2014/2015”, Live Riga portal, 2015. Accessed 6 February, 2015, <http://www.meetriga.com/en/7021-delightfully-delicious-destination-riga-2014-2015>
9. Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1998. “Creative Industries Mapping Document.” Accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/creative-industries-mapping-document-1998>
10. Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001. “Creative Industries Mapping Document.” Accessed May 19, 2015, <http://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/creative-industries-mapping-document-2001>
11. Ekonomikas Ministrija, Tūrisms, 2014. Accessed May 17, 2014, https://www.em.gov.lv/lv/nozares_politika/turisms
12. Fernandes, Carlos. “Cultural planning and creative tourism in an emerging tourist destination.” *International Journal of Management Cases*, 13, no. 3 (2011): 629-636.
13. Flew, Terry. “Beyond ad hocery: Defining Creative Industries.” In *Cultural Sites, Cultural Theory, Cultural Policy, the Second International Conference on Cultural Policy Research*, 23-26 January 2002. Wellington, New Zealand.
14. Florida, Richard. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Revisited. New York: Basic Books, 2012.
15. Gordin, Valery and Marina Matetskaya. “Creative tourism in Saint Petersburg: the state of the art”. *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 55-77.

16. Groffman, Adam. "Why Hipsters Are Obsessed With Kreuzberg, Berlin". *Business Insider*, September 19, 2014. Accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.businessinsider.com/kreuzberg-is-berlins-hipster-hotspot-2014-9?op=1>
17. Gumusluoglu, Lale and Arzu Ilsev. "Transformational leadership, creativity, and organizational innovation". *Journal of Business Research*, 62, no. 4 (2009): 461-473, doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2007.07.032
18. Hull, John S. and Ulrike Sassenberg. "Creating new cultural visitor experiences on islands: Challenges and opportunities." *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 91-110.
19. Jelinčić, Daniela Angelina and Ana Žuvela. "Facing the Challenge? Creative Tourism in Croatia." *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 78-90.
20. "Kalnciemakvartāls", n.d. Accessed May 21, 2015, <http://www.kalnciemaiela.lv/>
21. "Kalnciema Quarter Market", Live Riga portal, 2015. Accessed May 28, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/7195-kalnciema-quarter-market>
22. "Kultūrpolitikaspamatnostādnes 2014.–2020. gadam „RadošāLatvija”" [Latvian Cultural Policy Strategy "Creative Latvia" for 2014-2020] Policy Planning Document, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Latvia on 29 July 2014. Accessed Aug 11, 2014, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/docSearch.do?searchtype=ows&clearnav=true>
23. Landry, Charles. *The Creative City: A toolkit for urban innovators*. London: Earthscan, 2008.
24. "Latvian Open-Air Ethnographic Museum in Riga", Latvia Travel, Official Latvia Tourism Portal, 2014. Accessed June 6, 2014, <http://www.latvia.travel/en/sight/latvian-open-air-ethnographic-museum-riga>
25. Latvia Travel, Official Latvia Tourism Portal, 2014. Accessed June 4, 2014, <http://www.latvia.travel/en>
26. "Latvijas tūrisma attīstības pamatnostādnes 2014.–2020.gadam" [Latvian Tourism Development Strategy for 2014-2020]. Policy Planning Document, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Latvia on 3 July 2014. Accessed Aug 11, 2014, <http://polsis.mk.gov.lv/view.do?id=4823>
27. Live Riga webpage, 2014. Accessed May 12, 2014, <http://www.liveriga.com/lv/>
28. OECD, 2014. "Tourism and the Creative Economy" OECD Studies on Tourism, OECD Publishing, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264207875-en>
29. Ohridska-Olson, Rossitza Vassileva and Stanislav Hristov, Ivanov. "Creative Tourism Business Model and its Application in Bulgaria". *Proceedings of the Black Sea Tourism Forum 'Cultural Tourism – The Future of Bulgaria,'* 2010. Accessed May 24, 2015, <http://papers.ssrn.com/>

- sol3/Delivery.cfm/SSRN_ID1690425_code1543075.pdf?abstractid=1690425&mirid=1
30. Pine, Joseph B. II. And James H. Gilmore. *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press, 1999.
 31. “Pirms 100 gadiem Albert’ielā”, Rīgassvētki 2014.gada 15.-17.augustā, 2014. Accessed July 18, 2014, <http://www.rigassvetki.lv/2014/festival/event/lv/pirms-100-gadiem-alberta-iela/>
 32. Potts, Jason, Stuart Cunningham, John Hartley and Paul Ormerod. “Social network markets: a new definition of the creative industries.” *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 32, no. 3 (2008): 167-185. DOI: 10.1007/s10824-008-9066-y
 33. Prentice, Richard. “Experiential Cultural Tourism: Museums & the Marketing of the New Romanticism of Evoked Authenticity”. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19, no. 1 (2001), 5-26, DOI:10.1080/09647770100201901
 34. Raymond, Crispin. “Case Study – Creative Tourism New Zealand”. *Creative Tourism New Zealand and Australia Council for the Arts, fuel4arts.com*, 2003, Accessed May 20, 2015, http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/assets/paperclip/publication_documents/documents/97/original/case-study-creative-tourism-new-zealand.pdf?1322079829
 35. Richards, Greg. “Creativity and tourism: The state of the art.” *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38, no. 4 (2011): 1225–1253. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2011.07.008
 36. Richards, Greg. “The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe.” In *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, edited by Greg Richards, 3-30. Wallingford: CABI, 2001.
 37. Richards, Greg and Lénia Marques. “Exploring Creative Tourism: Editors Introduction” *Journal of Tourism Consumption and Practice*, 4, no. 2 (2012): 1-11.
 38. Richards, Greg and Julie Wilson. “Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture?” *Tourism Management*, 27, no. 6 (2006): 1209-1223, doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2005.06.002
 39. Richards, Greg and Julie Wilson. „Tourism development trajectories: From culture to creativity?” In *Tourism, creativity and development*, edited by Greg Richards, Julie Wilson, 1-34. London: Routledge, 2007.
 40. “Rīga 2014” Events during the White Night, Rīga 2014 portal, 2014. Accessed September 14, 2014, <http://riga2014.org/eng/news/51138-riga-2014-events-during-the-white-night>
 41. Rīga 2014 Official webpage, 2013. Accessed May 6, 2014, <http://riga2014.org/>
 42. Rīgas pašvaldības portāls, 2011. Accessed May 8, 2014, <https://www.riga.lv/LV/Channels/>

43. Saunders, Mark, and Philip Lewis, and Adrian Thornhill. *Research Methods for Business Students*. Fifth Edition. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2009.
44. Smith, Melanie K. and Mike Robinson. "Politics, Power and Play: The Shifting Contexts of Cultural Tourism". In *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation. Tourism and cultural change 7* edited by Melanie K. Smith, Mike Robinson, 1-18. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2006.
45. Smith, Stephen L.J. *Practical Tourism Research*. Cambridge: CABI, 2010.
46. "Spīķeri creative quarter and promenade", AroundMe.lv, n.d. Accessed Aug 18, 2014, <http://www.aroundme.lv/place/spikeri-creative-quarter-and-promenade/>
47. "Spīķeru kvartāls", spikeri.lv, 2015. Accessed May 25, 2015, <http://www.spikeri.lv/spikeri/>
48. "Tabakas Fabrika", 2014. Accessed September 28, 2014, <http://www.tabfab.lv/>
49. "The culture-laden Spikeri Quarter and promenade", Live Riga portal, 2015. Accessed May 23, 2015, <http://www.liveriga.com/en/3176-the-culture-laden-spikeri-quarter-and-promenade>
50. "The Republic of Peace Street, Riga", ANOTHERTRAVELGUIDE.COM, 2008. Accessed May 24, 2015, http://www.anothertravelguide.com/eng/europe/latvia/riga/destinations/culture/the_republic_of_peace_street/
51. Tūrisma attīstības valsts aģentūra, 2014. Accessed June 4, 2014, <http://www.tava.gov.lv/lv>
52. UNESCO: Creative Cities Network. "Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism." Discussion Report of the Planning Meeting for 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism, Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A., October 25-27, 2006. Accessed Oct 12, 2014, http://portal.unesco.org/culture/fr/files/34633/11848588553oct2006_meeting_report.pdf/oct2006_meeting_report.pdf
53. UNESCO: Statistics on Cultural Industries: Framework for the Elaboration of National Data Capacity Building Projects. Bangkok: UNESCO Bangkok, 2007. Accessed Oct 12, 2014, http://www.unescobkk.org/fileadmin/user_upload/culture/Cultural_Industries/Documents-Useful_Resources/Statistics_on_Cultural_Industries-FINAL.pdf
54. UNWTO Tourism Highlights. UNWTO publication, 2014, Accessed Dec 20, 2014, http://dtxqtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_highlights14_en_hr_0.pdf

University and Community – Collaboration for Cultural Sustainability and Economic Growth

Eva-Nicoleta Burdusel and Daniela Preda
Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania

“Culture is the best gateway to the human heart and mind.”
(Irina Bokova, speech 2010)

Abstract: *The aim of the present study is to highlight the interdependencies between higher education institutions and community, the connection between civil society and academic community, in view of assuring cultural sustainability as well as economic growth, hence the welfare of the citizens of any particular society.*

Keywords: *higher education, community, cultural sustainability, economic growth.*

The central theme of the first edition of the UNeECC Interdisciplinary Conference, hosted by Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu in 2007, was “town and gown” – a phrase with complex and, at times, ambivalent meanings, boasting a long tradition – since the Middle Ages – and evolving to the current connotation of the necessary and ineluctable connection between the university and the city. The related phrase “university city/town” also points to the central and pivotal role played by the academic organization within a community as well as the reciprocal support and resources provided to each other. Education and culture are the heart of the city and the driving force of economy ensuring their sustainability, visibility and competitiveness in a globalized world set on the fast track of development.

As early as 1930, Jose Ortega y Gasset stated that the “mission of the university” reflects the close connection between education and culture: “culture should lie at the heart of universities” as culture embodies the vital system of clear and substantial ideas of any age; hence the creation and dissemination of culture represents the third major dimension and pillar of university mission, in addition to teaching and research.¹

The expansion of higher education in recent decades, accompanied by widened accessibility and addressability, has entailed implications for the key

¹ Gasset, Jose Ortega y, “Misiunea Universitatii”, Bucuresti: Ed. Univers, 1999.

actors in any society. Universities worldwide have readjusted their patterns, mission and academic culture in order to cope with the socio-economic challenges and changes. Nowadays, higher education institutions have to compete for *resources* (both human and financial) as well as *addressability* (candidate recruitment as potential students as well the integration on the employability market based on graduates competencies). On top of that, universities have included in their managerial programs or institutional strategies an increased focus on the international dimension of development: student and staff mobility, creating cross-border research consortia, undertaking win-win research activities and developing networking strategies at European and international levels.

European and international organizations have not only acknowledged the role of culture in all major human endeavours and its potential for creating harmony in diversity but, even more, they have come to regard it as a sine-qua-non component in designing new policies for national and international development. Furthermore, culture also acts as a connector of near or distant geographical regions of the world, defining the identity of physical territories and the human communities inhabiting them, giving them stamina and endurance, continuity and stability. More recently, the close nexus of cultural visibility and economic growth significantly determines and highlights the economic impact and political influence of a state.

A speech occasioned by 10th anniversary of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, addressed in June 2015 by Irina Bokova, Director General of UNESCO, epitomizes the afore-mentioned idea: “cultural diversity ... is a driver of innovation and a development multiplier. Cultural goods and services represent millions of jobs and drive economic growth – they also represent a wellspring of identity and community strength.”²

The year 2015 also celebrates the 30th anniversary of the European Capitals of Culture project as well as UNESCO’s 70th anniversary. The former is a creative programme, widely acclaimed and intensely competed for all throughout the European Union, whose main idea is “to put cities at the heart of cultural life across Europe.” This initiative, launched by the European Commission, has amply proven that “through culture and art, European Capitals of Culture improve the quality of life in these cities and strengthen the sense of community”.³ It also provides a highly sought after status and unique opportunity for European cities to tap into their yet unexplored, inexhaustible and invaluable potential for cultural creativity, expression and diversity; it creates the connection among individuals and enables the networking communities, underscored by a better understanding of otherness; promotes traditional heritage and contemporary artistic innovation.

² <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002333/233312m.pdf>

³ http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/documents/ecoc-fact-sheet_en.pdf

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of European Capitals of Culture, Former President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, reinforced the idea that culture, among its multiple values, “is also essential for achieving the EU’s strategic objectives of prosperity and solidarity, and ensuring a stronger presence on the international scene. European Capitals of Culture are proof that culture has a major role to play at the heart of our policies of sustainable development because they are... a source of stimulus for dynamism, creativity but also social inclusion.”⁴

Culture connects not only people but also past and present; reviving and keeping alive tradition, restoring and promoting tangible or intangible heritage, in order to fuel mind and matter, nurturing the present dialogue of cultures and enabling cooperation projects. “Culture helps to re-establish ties broken by conflict ... It determines a people’s ability to project their designs into the future and develop. It also enables them to recover when disaster strikes and overcome obstacles.”⁵ As one of the main UNESCO themes concerns the protection of heritage and fostering creativity, it contributes to reinforcing the idea that “in today’s interconnected world, culture’s power to transform societies is clear. Its diverse manifestations – from our cherished historic monuments, and museums to traditional practices and contemporary art forms – enrich our everyday lives in countless ways.”⁶

Sibiu is not only a vibrant multicultural city but it is also a university town; therefore, the phrase “town and gown” is highly relevant in this context, considering that the city and university of Sibiu have actively contributed to the history of intellectual evolution, cultural development and linguistic unity. Furthermore, the successful collaboration between university and community is outstandingly and successfully illustrated by the International Theatre Festival – as an example of *cultural sustainability* in view of attaining *economic growth* – where cultural encounters facilitate economic growth, revive traditions, add vivacity and liveliness to historic towns and attract tourists to a city that has thus become an artistic hub. The International Theater Festival is an event closely connected with the academia as much as the community. Cultural expression and artistic representation are an inexhaustible source of regeneration and renewal for a society as well as reliable and enduring factor for continuity and identity of communities; culture is unequivocally a catalyst of economic development.

It is relevant, at this stage, to recall that the European Capitals of Culture is an initiative designed to: “highlight the richness and diversity of cultures in Europe; celebrate the cultural features Europeans share; increase European citizens’ sense of belonging to a common cultural area; foster the contribution of culture to the development of cities.” It also provides multifarious opportunities

⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/documents/ecoc_25years_en.pdf

⁵ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001896/189621e.pdf>

⁶ <http://en.unesco.org/themes/protecting-our-heritage-and-fostering-creativity>

for: “regenerating cities; raising the international profile of cities; enhancing the image of cities in the eyes of their own inhabitants; breathing new life into a city’s culture; boosting tourism.”⁷

Let us conclude by reiterating the recent message of the European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Youth and Sport that: “the EU takes a keen interest in the cultural and creative industries, among others because they are a source of economic growth. We believe that, in addition to its intrinsic value, culture has a significant economic return.”⁸

References

1. Gasset, Jose Ortega y, “Misiunea Universitatii”, Bucuresti: Ed. Univers, 1999.
2. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002333/233312m.pdf>
3. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/documents/ecoc-fact-sheet_en.pdf
4. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/documents/ecoc_25years_en.pdf
5. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001896/189621e.pdf>
6. <http://en.unesco.org/themes/protecting-our-heritage-and-fostering-creativity>
7. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en.htm
8. http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/navracsecs/announcements/cultural-and-creative-entrepreneur-role-model-europe-generating-social-value-and-economic-wealth_en

⁷ http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/capitals-culture_en.htm

⁸ http://ec.europa.eu/commission/2014-2019/navracsecs/announcements/cultural-and-creative-entrepreneur-role-model-europe-generating-social-value-and-economic-wealth_en

Notes on Contributors

Tomas BLOMQUIST is a Professor at Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, Sweden. His research interest is in management of projects, including program and portfolio management. He is head of the business school's research group on Innovations, Networks and Projects and Director for the Erasmus Mundus, joint Master's Program in Strategic Project Management with Heriot-Watt University and Politecnico di Milano.

E-mail: tomas.blomquist@umu.se

Eva-Nicoleta BURDUSEL, Ph.D., Associate Professor – Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania. Fields of competence: British and American studies; translation; public speaking; intercultural communication. Completed further specialization and intensive training courses; delivered speeches and lectures as visiting professor or keynote speaker. Conferences: 45. Publications: 3 books (author); 1 book (co-author);, articles (25) and lecture notes. Translated a book on “Quality Management”.

E-mail: eva.burdusel@ulbsibiu.ro

Ana DADIĆ completed a Master's Degree in History and Russian language at the University of Zagreb in 2007. Currently, she is a PhD student of Information and Communication Science at University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Since 2008, Ana Dadić has been an employee of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia where she works as a senior adviser in a Directorate for the development of Culture and Art. Her fields of interest are public libraries, digital literacy, digitization and protection of cultural heritage in general. For the purpose of lifelong learning, she has attended numerous seminars and conferences in librarianship, marketing and information science in Croatia as well as abroad, for example: EBLIDA/NAPLE – Democracy development in a new media environment, DEVOS Institute, National Arts Management Intensive Seminar I, II and III, SEEDI Conference.

E-mail: ana.dadic@min-kulture.hr

Katalin FÜZÉR holds an MA in Sociology (ELTE, Hungary), a PhD in political science (University of Pennsylvania) and pursues a career of teaching and research at the University of Pécs (Hungary), Department of Sociology and the Doctoral School of Demography and Sociology. Her research interests include the current processes of projectification and the workings of the project

class in the context of redistributive inequalities in the European realm. Her field of specialty is urban development and she works in the research framework of social capital, studying the making and breaking of bonding, bridging and linking social capital in development projects.

E-mail: fuzer.katalin@pte.hu

Anne HEITH is an Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at the Department of Culture and Media Studies, Umeå University, Sweden. Between 2008 and 2011, she was a researcher in Border Poetics, Tromsø University, Norway. She was a guest researcher at the Hugo Valentin Centre, Uppsala University, Sweden, in 2010 and 2012. She participates in a number of networks and projects researching bordering practices and identities. Research interests include: national and post-national identities, ethnic literary studies, postcolonialism, indigenous studies, migration and literature, and critical whiteness studies.

E-mail: anne.heith@umu.se

Maxime JAFFRÉ is Professor Assistant in Sociology of Culture at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). He presented a PhD thesis on *The globalization of culture and the spirit of Arabic music: a contribution to a sociology of scholarly Arabic musical forms decontextualized in France and in the US*. His researches focuses on issues of deterritorializations and cultural recompositions. He is also interested in the processes of institutionalization of culture and in the issues of reception of cultural legitimacy. Maxime Jaffré has also worked at the University of Chicago with Terry Nichols Clark, with whom he participated in the elaboration of the Cultural Mapping of Paris Métropole, on behalf of the City of Paris. Associated in the CURRICULA project as a CNRS researcher, Maxime Jaffré is now developing innovative statistical and cartographic methodologies involving Small & Big Data data analyses applied to the urban and institutional issues of the CURRICULA project. His current researches aims to determine the economic impacts of culture on cities, notably through the European policies of "European Capitals of Culture" and the urban mobilities they generate. Maxime Jaffré has also been consultant for the UNESCO at the Cultural Policy Division.

E-mail: maxime.jaffre@univ-amu.fr

Ineta LUKA, Dr.paed, professor, holds a doctoral degree in pedagogy from the University of Latvia; a member of Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Education and Research Hub for Lifelong Learning, Network 4; a nominated member by Turība University at UNeECC; an expert in pedagogy of Latvian Council of Science; head of the Language Department at Turība University, Latvia; the author of numerous scientific papers, two monographs and several book chapters on tourism education, intercultural competence, language competence,

lifelong learning; academic interests encompass English for Special and Academic Purposes, Research Methods and Pedagogy.

E-mail: Ineta@turiba.lv, ineta.luka@inbox.lv

Madara LUKA, MSc, currently works for the Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia and specifically works with tourism policy, implements necessary legislation and monitors and coordinates the developing processes of the tourism industry in general; gives lectures related to tourism at Turība University in Riga, Latvia; graduated the European Master in Tourism Management and gained the European perspective on sustainable tourism development; has conducted various research and written scientific papers on tourism.

E-mail: madara.luka@gmail.com

Malin H. NÄSHOLM is an Assistant Professor at Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, Sweden. Her research interest is mainly on individuals' experiences of, and influence on, contemporary organizing and strategy. She is currently doing research on co-creation and projects in Umeå as European Capital of Culture 2014 and individuals' experiences of boundary-crossing contexts.

E-mail: malin.nasholm@umu.se

Emmanuel PEDLER (Dr. Hab, School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences - EHESS) is a sociologist of culture. His epistemological reflection is initially focused on the reception of visual arts, music and theatrical creations: *The Time Given to Paintings*, 1991 (with J-C Passeron), *Understand the Opera*, 2003, *Avignon – The Reinvented Audiences*, 2002 (with J-L Fabiani and Emmanuel Ethis). The translation and updating of the sociology of music of Max Weber, but also the actual issues of technical progress in the arts constitute the other important axis of his scientific interests (*Sociology of music*, 1998; articles in the “French Journal of Sociology”, 2005). Emmanuel Pedler contributed to several collective volumes devoted to the Opera and the *Opera Comique*. He focuses on the dynamics of culture, and more specifically on the institutionalization process of scholarly music (articles in “Sociology and Society”, 2004, “The Social Movement”, 2004, “Sociological Year”, 2010). His latest book *The spirit of the place: an ordinary reflection on architecture* will be published in November 2015 by the EHESS Editions.

E-mail: emmanuel.pedler@univ-amu.fr

Daniela PREDA (Associate Professor, Ph.D.) is the Head of the Division of International Relations and Community Programmes at the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania. Since 2007 she activates as ERASMUS Institutional Coordinator, having a major role in the external cooperation of the university with universities from all over the world. Since 2007 until now LBUS

has signed over 200 Bilateral Agreements with European Universities, under the supervision of Daniela Preda, including agreements with Lichtenstein, Norway and Iceland in the EEA GRANTS Programme. She also manages six ERASMUS MUNDUS EXTERNAL COOPERATION WINDOWS Programmes, enlarging the academic cooperation of Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, from Europe to Asia.

E-mail: dana.preda@ulbsibiu.ro

Elena Raevskikh is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the The School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS). Her PhD thesis is entitled *Genesis and renewals of institutional forms of culture: a study of music conservatories and their territorial anchors*. The differentialist approach of heteronomous institutions and cultural practices that was developed in her Ph.D thesis has been integrated into the comparative and epistemological framework of CURRICULA project (supported by the French National Research Agency {ANR} in 2014). During the years 2012 and 2013, she has participated in sociological surveys on audiences of the La Criée National Theater, supported by The School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS), the Avignon University (UAPV) and the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA) Region. She is also a graduate in International Public Law. Her thesis, entitled Legal aspects of economic and monetary integration in the EU was presented at the Law Faculty of the Lomonosov Moscow University. Her current research focuses on the perceptions of municipal, national and European cultural policies by old immersive cultural institutions (operas, theaters, museums) called to redefine their relationships with their audiences. She is also interested in methods of Big data and Small data articulation (mapping, statistics, ethnographic approaches) in comparative and international sociological surveys. Another guideline of her researches is focused on cultural mobility in European Union and on the sustainability of the “creative economy.”

E-mail : elena.raevskikh@ehess.fr

Nataša UROŠEVIĆ is a researcher and lecturer at the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia, Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism, where she teaches courses in Cultural Heritage, Cultural History of Croatia, Cultural Identity of Croatia, European Identity, Travel Writing and Cultural Routes. In the academic year 2010/2011 she was also the Interdisciplinary Study Program Coordinator. She graduated in Economics and Tourism (from the University of Rijeka, Croatia) and in Slavic and Germanic Philology (University of Padua, Italy). After her graduation, she worked as a journalist for Croatian newspaper *Jutarnji list* and in publishing industry for 10 years. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Rijeka, Croatia in 2012. Her research interests are: cultural and media studies, cultural tourism, urban studies and European studies. She currently participates in EU projects, such as Cultural

Heritage Counts for Europe and ADRIFORT – Adriatic Fortresses and Military Areas.

E-mail: nurosev@unipu.hr

Nils WÅHLIN is Associate Professor at Umeå School of Business and Economics, Umeå University, Sweden. His research focus is practices of organizing, designing and strategizing with a special interest for city development processes. He now leads a three-year research study of European Capitals of Culture.

E-mail: Nils.Wahlin@usbe.umu.se