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PREMISES FOR RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL CITIES – A CASE STUDY OF POLAND

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Annotation

It is widely accepted that cultural sector and creative sector contribute to the socio-economic revival of cities, change their images, form a specific creative milieu, generate new jobs, and organize urban space. However, previous studies concerning the significance of the cultural and creative sectors in the urban development have focused on the largest cities, small cities have not been the subject of a wider research so far. The paper aims at drawing attention to the potential of small cities in the context of using the cultural industry or creative industry for the develoment of small cities on the example of Poland. The paper was prepared on the basis of the most relevant literature in the field. The study shows that small cities have a potential that may be used to build development strategies on the basis of the cultural and creative sectors. Research should elaborate the new strategies of development, implement new factors which can initiate required effects in this field.

Key words

culture-led development, city, culture, local development, Poland

JEL classification: R11, Z10

1. Introduction and methods

It is widely accepted that cultural sector and creative sector contribute to the socio-economic revival of cities, change their images, form a specific *creative milieu*, generate new jobs, and organize urban space (Keith, 2005; Kloosterman, 2004; Markusen, Schrock, 2006; Smoleń, 2003; Stern, Steifert, 2010; Środa-Murawska, Szymańska, 2013). However, previous studies concerning the significance of the cultural and creative sectors in the urban development have focused on the largest cities, small cities have not been the subject of a wider research so far (Bell and Jayne, 2009; Karwińska, 2009; van Heur, 2013; Brennan-Horley, 2013). In the subject literature more and more comments have

appeared that small cities can and should be the important part of creative economy but in the different sense than large cities. There is pointed out a need to reinforce the importance of cultural and creative activities in small cities.

The paper aims at drawing attention to the potential of small cities in the context of using the cultural industry or creatvie industry for the develoment of small cities on the example of Poland. The paper was prepared on the basis of the most relevant literature in the field. The authors have read through, analyze and sort literatures in order to identify the essential attributes of cultural and creative industries in the context of small cities in Poland.

2. The role of the cultural and creative sectors in the development of small cities

Contemporary cities compete with each others in attracting new domestic and foreign investments, highly-qualified workers, capital, and they take actions to ensure their victory in a global competition, including widely understood culture-led competition. In the recent years increasing interest in the significance of the cultural sector in urban development has been noticed. The cultural sector has been perceived as a remedy for the problems of many cities facing among others eliminated jobs and rising unemployment, abandoned post-industrial areas, etc. since 1970s. (James et al., 2006).

Such phenomena were especially observed in 1980s and 1990s. Then many European cities including Grenoble, Hamburg, Birmingham, Bologna used the cultural sector as a tool for the revitalization of post-industrial areas, for the creation of new urban image. Such an approach can also be seen in Polish cities and successful examples of repair processes include Łódź, Wrocław and Poznań (Rogatka, 2011).

The attention of researchers including urban planners, sociologists, geographers, economists has begun to focus on the cultural sector more or less since 1970s. This resulted new researches and publications analyzing the opportunities of the impact of the cultural sector on urban development. What is worth emphasizing the scientists' attention has been focused mainly on large cities (Florida, 2002; Currid, 2006; Waitt, 2006; Stryjakiewicz, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Zheng, 2011). In the same time the researches in which the significance of the cultural sector for the development of small cities has been conducted have been remained beyond research mainstream (Bell, Jayne, 2009; Karwińska, 2010; van Heur, 2013; Brennan-Horley, 2013; Środa-Murawska, Biegańska, 2014).

In general, focusing attention on the opportunities of the use of the cultural sector for urban development has contributed to the formulation of the notion of cultural industries and has become the starting point for the expanded since the end of 20^{th} century concept of "creative industries" (Klasik, 2009). It is difficult to define and sharply separate all of them – the cultural sector, the cultural industries, and creative industries. This confirms on the one hand the relatively short history of the notions of cultural industries and creative industries (this is also acknowledged by the incorrect - according to the rules of Polish dictionary - use of the word "industries" in the plural), on the other hand the wide range of phenomena and processes which are included in the cultural sector, cultural industries and creative industries (see Table 1).

Anyhow as Bell & Jayne (2009); van Heur (2013); Brennan-Horley (2013) suggest smaller cities because of offered 'quality of life" have also chance to attract creative class. The factor which may contribute to increasing attractiveness of small cities is Internet. Many members of the creative class can present and sell the results of their work using this network. While they create they do not need direct contact with potential buyers. Additionally, the lower costs of living, mainly for middle-income artists, can enhance the attractiveness of small centres, especially those located near large cities.

Tab. 1. Cultural sector, cultural industries, creative sector - the attempt of definition

		t inaustries, creative sector – the attempt of ae			
Cultural sector		Cultural industries			Creative industries
- activity of firms providing cultural goods and services		- the notion appeared the first time in the elaboration entitled <i>Dialectic of Enlightenment</i> and written by M. Horkheimer and T. W. Adorno in 1947 - only in recent years it has acquired new significance in the context of searching the new development paths of contemporary cities			- the notion appeared the first time in the document entitled <i>Creative Nation</i> and prepared for the request of Australian government in 1994 - the most important factor determining of among others economic growth, new jobs and having contribution to innovations, marketing and planning (Howkins, 2006)
Layer		The types of definition			
subject	object	categorization of cultural goods	methods of producing cultural goods	market efficiency	Creative Economy Group
- cultural activities, their types and fields - technical and technological infrastructure, - systems of sharing works, events and cultural products; - investments in cultural activities	- audience of culture, - cultural environment, cultural organizations - sponsors of culture	- prism of cultural goods and services - concentric model of cultural industries	"cultural goods and services market- oriented and mass- produced by the use of industrial techniques "(Smoleń, 2007)	all projects in the field of culture, art and media operating within market rules	- Advertising and marketing, - Architecture, - Crafts, - Design: product, graphic and fashion design, - Film, TV, video, radio and photography, - IT, software and computer services, - Publishing, - Museums, galleries and libraries, - Music, performing and visual arts

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Smoleń, 2007; DCMS, 2009; Throsby, 2009; Klasik, 2010a.

The factors may affect attracting the member of creative class into small cities, but these cities are not able to compete with the qualities of creative cities. Anyhow, as Petrov (2007) notes, small cities can and should be the important element of creative economy, but in the different dimension than large cities. It is also emphasized by van Heur (2010) who indicates the need to reinforce the significance of creative activity in small cities. Karwińska (2009) and Środa-Murawska (2013) stated the same.

Generally, small cities are extremely difficult research laboratory. On the one hand, their diversity, specificity cause that they are beyond simple schemes and generalizations. On the other hand, their number generate problems when anyone tries to analyze them detailed. However, they are a fascinating challenge they are often omitted and stay in the shadow of large cities.

Marginalization of their problems is certainly a serious mistake. Because of this reason more and more often there appears a realized need to treat small cities as the subject of scientific research. There are many questions concerning their future and basic development issues.

As Karwińska (2009) pointed out it is visibly observed that the attractiveness of small cities as places to live has increased in recent years. This tendency has been noticed across Europe and provide a stimulus to seek new development bases (including the cultural and creative sectors) through the smallest centres. These explorations are strongly associated with the characteristic trends of changes in social life:

- resurgence of the sense of cultural identity needs within small homelands;
- leaving the large city rhythm of life for Cittaslow movement;
- new life patterns connected with the acceptance overcoming often large distances between the place of work and the place of residence;

development of new technologies and the new forms of work (e-work).

3. Case - Poland

Among the studies concerning the impact of the cultural sector and creative industries on the socioeconomic development of small cities (eg. Bell, Jayne, 2006; Jayne, Gibson, Waitt, Bell, 2010; Karwińska; 2010; Brennan-Horley, 2013; Lorentzen, 2013; Smidt-Jensen, 2013) only in the elaboration prepared by professor Karwińska the above-mentioned problems were considered on the example of Poland, and exactly on the basis of three small cities located in Lesser Poland. The project coordinated by J. Hauser, A. Karwińska and W. Sułkowska concerned the activation of the community of small cities in Lesser Poland through the use of their socio-cultural potential. The authors searched the integrated concept of creative small city which could become the basis for the elaboration of a development strategy. The results of their work show that the communities of small cities notice the chance for the development of their cities through the cultural sector. Most important papers discussing the significance of the cultural sector for the local communities of small cities in Poland after 1989 include some other studies in the field of sociology conducted by Bukraba-Rylska & Burszta (2011) and Bogacki & Turosieńska-Durlik (2011). Anyhow in general as Bukraba-Rylska and Burszta (2011) wrote there are only few studies and there are no in-depth and comprehensive research within the culture of small cities and rural areas in Poland, and within the relationships between the cultural and creative sectors and socio-economic development.

On the basis of literature we can see that small cities in Western Europe, Canada and the United States can successfully attempt to support their development on the basis of the cultural and creative sector (Środa-Murawska, 2013). Anyhow there are no analogous studies for post-socialist area, including Poland. Analyzing the situation of the cultural sector in small Polish cities we should indicate tendencies to reduce the accessibility of cultural services. Studies (Środa-Murawska, 2013) based on the data derived from the Central Statistical Office showed that in Poland in years 2003-2011 decrease in the number of facilities providing cultural services and decrease in the accessibility of such facilities in small cities have been observed. Analyzing, in turn, the accessibility of the particular groups of facilities providing cultural services we should emphasize that in small cities on the one hand there is observed increase in the accessibility of museums, cultural establishments and decrease in the accessibility of cinemas, libraries and their branches. Besides the equipment of cities in facilities providing cultural services the degree of their use were analyzed. In years 2003-2011 in small cities increase in the number of members of clubs acting within cultural establishments per population number was registered, in the same time the significant decrease in the number of borrowed volumes per capita was noticed. A positive signal in the context of active social participation in the cultural life of small cities was increase in the number of members of artist bands and clubs acting within cultural establishments. Summarizing, changes within accessibility and the use of facilities providing cultural services in small cities are on the one hand partly similar to those observed in large cities. This is associated with the similar patterns of the consumption of cultural goods both in larger and smaller urban centres (e.g. access to e-books by the use of Internet, regardless of the place of residence). On the other hand, party different trends have occurred in small cities, which in the opinion of author, may be the result of the attitudes of local government and the creativity of their inhabitants. The support for folk culture, the desire to preserve tradition are rooted stronger in local communities than in larger cities (Środa-Murawska, 2013).

In turn, the research of Grzelak-Kostulska (Grzelak-Kostulska, Hołowiecka, Kwiatkowski, 2011; Grzelak-Kostulska, Hołowiecka, 2010, 2011, 2013) focused on the concept of Cittaslow network confirmed that "globalization and mass culture have launched – paradoxically – the need for various local and individual identities in the unprecedented so far scale" (Golka, 1999: 156). Cittaslow movement as many researchers emphasize (e.g. Knox 2005; Mayer, Knox, 2006), started opportunities to keep the rules of sustainable development in cities being in the same time a response to the negative effects of globalization in terms of uniformity and standardization. More and more often the Cittaslow philosophy is regarded as the alternative vision of the development of cities, not just necessarily small ones (as Mayer and Knox, 2006, wrote on the example of German cities). The adopted strategy should

evolve towards the creation of a city which is friendly to inhabitants, in which we "live slowly" primarily due to low level of crime, the opportunities for recreation, more inhabitants living in symbiosis with nature. It is often pointed out that the notion "Slow City" does not mean being beyond. On the contrary, it promotes the use of new technologies to transform small cities for perfect places to live and rest. According to the authors of the concept of Cittaslow cities respond to real needs from postmodern societies living in the era of globalization, tired because of the imperative of permanent rivalry and competition.

Some small cities have a chance to success, but some of them will fail. The factor deciding about this difference is the social capital. The condition of the maturity of inhabitants, i.e. the involvement of the local community and efforts for mutual understanding of idea, its acceptance and incorporating it to the practice of everyday life should be considered as the most important elements.

The research on the cultural and creative sectors also includes the third sector, i.e. non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As studies conducted by Środa-Murawska (Środa-Murawska, 2014a, 2014b; Środa-Murawska, Szczepańska, Biegańska, Senetra, 2014) show there is a very important role in the creation of the cultural sector ascribed to NGOs. The opportunity to participate in the cultural events, exhibitions, concerts, courses, etc., organized by analyzed NGOs expands the spectrum of cultural services offered by public institutions. What is more, it contributes to the improvement of quality of life and the quality of the social capital of particular city and as a result it enables better socio-economic development. Preliminary study at the level of Kujawsko-Pomorskie voivodship (voivodship – administrative region of the 1st order in Poland) showed inter alia that in small cities increase in the number of NGOs in the field of culture should be associated with the location of specific object or the group of objects (historical-cultural or environmentally valuable ones) in a city or near a city. The presence of such objects may provide stimulus for the development of NGOs active in the field of culture. The confirmation of above-mentioned statement is the analysis of the indicator of services saturation provided by NGOs active in the field of culture. Higher values of the indicator are typical for the cities located near landscape parks for example.

4. Conclusions

To summarise, small cities have a potential that may be used to build development strategies on the basis of the cultural and creative sectors. However, this issue has not yet been analysed. It seems that in order to indicate concrete benefits from the introduction of culture-led development in small cities, the first to be determined are the facts. The following actions should be take to that aim:

- recognition of factors and mechanisms which have contributed to a success or a failure in the implementation of the culture to the development of small city;
- analysis of a process/processes observed in a city:
 - determining their paths and dynamics,
 - investigating their possible directions of changes,
 - proposing new methodological solutions how to search?
- generalizing research results finding common problems and similarities in order to:
 - formulating universal methodological assumptions,
 - elaborating substantial solutions helpful in decision making at the administrative, institutional level.

Research should elaborate the new strategies of development, implement new factors which can initiate required effects in this field. It should cover all actors forming the cultural policies of small cities. It is pivotal also in the context of local development, where the smallest settlement units are this primary place of contact with culture for their residents.

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