


TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF KOŠICE
FACULTY OF ECONOMICS



MEASURING THE UNMEASURABLE? DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION IN CULTURE

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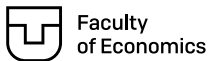
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Valeria Salinas-Maceda

VIRTUAL ETHNOGRAPHY ON FACEBOOK AS METHODOLOGY TO THE STUDY OF THE CULTURAL ECONOMY DEVELOPED BY BOLIVIAN FOLKLORIC GROUPS

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ANNOTATION

In the city of La Paz (Bolivia), there is a social group whose identity arises from the mix between the Aymara indigenous heritage and modern urban elements. People from this social circle share a common factor in their identity, called *cholaje paceño*. They have lately developed a particular model of cultural economy based on the folklore in patronal feasts. Nowadays, however, there is no statistical data about this social group and therefore, empirical research is rare. The aim of this paper is to use a methodology based on virtual ethnography applied on Facebook in order to start collecting the data needed. Virtual ethnography is used as a tool to identify the relevant actors in this social group, quantify the size of the group and use this information to understand the way they reason economic dynamic in future researches. This paper presents the results collected using this methodology as the first step to quantify the cultural economy of this sector. There is, in addition, a report on the virtual exploration carried out on Facebook to create a dataset made up of more than 1,000 observations.

KEY WORDS

Cultural economics, virtual ethnography, social media

JEL CLASSIFICATION: Z100, Z130

1. Introduction

The city of La Paz is the geographical territory where the identity called “*cholaje*” emerges. This concept was for many years considered derogatory, but today it is associated with exclusivity and socio-economic hierarchy. Currently, belonging to the *cholaje* circle has two connotations, among others. First, most of the people sharing this identity chose to be part of a folkloric dance group that performs the *morenada* dance. The second connotation is based on the social network around *fraternidades* of *morenada* which are made up of people with a privileged economic position. In this context, the *cholaje* social group develops a particular cultural economy promoted by the Andean folklore. This economy is based on many values and rituals belonging to the indigenous heritage of the group. Concurrently, this economy is explained by religious faith as money is spent in honour of a popular Saint. The bigger the faith, the more the money spent. As a result, this social group demands the goods and services provided by local creative industries to organize patronal feasts. At the same time, they are part of the supply chain because they have created their own creative industries based on the *cholaje* identity and its aesthetic. Consumption and financial transactions in this cultural economy are dynamic throughout the whole year considering that more than 300 patronal feasts are celebrated annually in La Paz. Besides, each celebration is organized according to a monthly calendar which covers many events during the year, being these events the perfect showcase to show luxury, lavishness and ostentation.

Even though these folkloric events move large amounts of money, there is no statistical information to characterize this social group or the economic activity around the patronal feasts. The issue has been studied from a sociological perspective, but research carried out with an economic approach is rare and it does not include an empirical analysis. Therefore, in La Paz there is a powerful economic agent whose activities are not been measured. For this reason, vir-

tual ethnography was the methodology chosen to start a process of data collection. Due to the hermeticism of this social group, the geographical distance and the need to construct a social network, the first approach was made on the social media. The objective was to generate trust relationships with members of this social group in order to make semi structured interviews and complete surveys. A dataset was built this way. Even though the data collection started on the Internet, the field work continued in place and it was based on the previous job done applying the virtual ethnography. As a result, there is a report about the relationships established with the social group during the different stages of virtual ethnography application. Today, a sample with more than 1,000 observations is complete and it is used to measure different elements of the *cholaje* cultural economy.

2. The origin of the “cholaje identity”

The term “cholo” arises in Los Andes (Mörner, 1969) near the end of the 17th century, after the uprising carried out by the indigenous leader Tupac Amaru (Nogales, 2006). At that time, the Spanish Crown forced the natives to replace their own clothes (Iñiguez, 2008) for the costumes worn by Spanish characters. Men had to look like bull-fighters’ assistants, called by that time “*chulos*” and women had to dress as *chulos*’ wives, called “*chulas*” (Canavesi, 1987). As a result, the word “*cholo*” became very popular during the colonial period. It comes from the Aymaran “*chhulu*” which is translated as “*mestizo*” into Spanish (Bertonio, 1993 (1612)). Even though this word is related to a process of miscegenation, in this case, the process did not cause the occidental “whitening” in which the two cultures merged become homogenous (Stutzman, 1981). The framework of this cultural fusion was the “*cholificación*”, the Bolivian miscegenation version (Orduña, 2007). According to this concept, the “chola class” emerged from

a mixture characterized by the predominance of indigenous elements over Spanish culture (Sanjinés, 2005). Therefore, the native root of this particular group of mestizos survives the ethnocide caused by the miscegenation that seeks to eliminate a culture imposing another one considered superior (García, 2014). Thus, as a result of the *cholificación* phenomenon, a new identity associated to the *cholaje* appears (Quijano, 1980) and it keeps the indigenous essence alive in an urban version (Sanjinés, 2005). This is key when it comes to understanding the peculiarity of this type of miscegenation that reconstruct dynamically the indigenous elements instead of opposing to them (Wade, 2008) (Wade, 2003). This mestiza-urban identity found its context in the city of La Paz (Bolivia) where it achieves a social position using the *cholificación* as a mobilization tool that allows indigenous class to ascend through the society's categorization (Rodríguez, 2010) (Quijano, 1980).

Nowadays, the discriminatory intention associated to the word “cholo” has been transformed positively. Over the time, this social group has reached a hierarchical position in the society of La Paz that is recognized in economical and social terms. Members in the *cholaje* group have never rejected their indigenous heritage and they have been integrated into society, differentiating themselves by their cultural expressions (Cárdenas, 2015). Within this framework, patronal celebrations are an open space parallel to the daily life of La Paz society where the *cholaje* group can keep alive their cultural expressions. These festivities have a religious origin and they are organized with the purpose of fulfilling commitments and keeping promises made to a particular Saint, from whom personal or collective are expected. According to the *Unidad de Promoción del Folklore y las Artes Populares de la Secretaría Municipal de Culturas del Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz* (GAMLP), approximately 360 patronal events are celebrated each year in the city of La Paz. A social, political and economic organization system is structured around them and it is parallel to the conventional social system. Inside the celebrations,

there is a strong institutionality based on cultural codes belonging to the *chola* class, just as the indigenous rituality, reciprocity concepts, social prestige, and a special wealth circulation system (Cárdenas, 2015). Nowadays, patronal festivities are the scenario where this urban indigenous group demonstrates to society in La Paz its wealth and power (Soruco & Salman, 2011). In this context, the celebrations are the manifestations of ethnic vindication and they are the expression of a lifestyle developed around the *cholaje's* ideology merged with the social dynamic that adds ostentation and lavishness to folkloric events (Cárdenas, 2015). As a consequence, this social group has developed a particular cultural economy based and expressed through the patronal feasts, the folklore and the urbanized indigenous identity.

In order to better understand the logic behind patronal festivities, the *Festividad del Señor Jesús del Gran Poder* will be used as an example, considering this celebration was recognized as “Cultural Heritage of the city of La Paz” (by *Ordenanza Municipal No. 54/1995 – HCM 053/95*) in 1995 and it is “Cultural Heritage of Bolivia” (by *Ley de la República de Bolivia No. 2371/2002*) since 2002. *Gran Poder* received this last recognition because, according to *Ley de la República de Bolivia No. 2371/2002*, it contributes to the conservation and appreciation of the national identity and its social and economic relevance for the city of La Paz and the entire country. Besides, in 2019, UNESCO included this festivity on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Thanks to these recognitions, *Gran Poder* is the most important patronal festivity in La Paz. In addition, this is also the oldest patronal festivity as it is celebrated since 1922 – 1923 (Albó & Preiswerk, 1986). In 1975, the folkloric parade crossed for the first time one of the main streets of La Paz city center (Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz, 2017; Guss, 2006). That way, the *aymara-mestiza* celebration that was relegated to the outlying neighborhoods, breaks the frontier that separated the Aymara-mestizos devotees from La Paz high class (Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz, 2017).

The *Gran Poder* new version, associated with a territorial conquest, represented the indigenous population that confronts the Bolivian oligarchy, whom until then had belittled this social group by displacing its members to an outlying area of La Paz (Guss, 2006). The relevance of *Gran Poder* has increased over the years, in terms of number of participants, social recognition, economic dynamism and vindication of the cholaje identity.

A huge number of people gathers today around this event, its folkloric activities and devotion. Participants are organized in folkloric dance clusters called “*fraternidades*”. Members in these folkloric groups range from 150 to more than 500 (Cajías, 2009), both women and men. These dance groups are religious organizations, regional clusters (Soruco & Salman, 2011), even economic institutions (Sigl & Mendoza, 2012). In 2019, approximately 42,314 people participated in the celebration, both men (49%) and women (51%) (Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz, 2019). This study will focus just on the folkloric groups that dance *morenada*. These *fraternidades* are chosen because one of the main figures of the dance they perform is the *chola paceña* (Cárdenas, 2008), considered the icon and emblem of the *cholaje paceño*. On the other hand, approximately 68% of the participants performed this dance (Gobierno Autónomo Municipal de La Paz, 2019). Inside the folkloric social circle, being a member of a *morenada* group is a symbol of status and it suggests economic power, as this dance requires to expend large amounts of money in costumes and other goods for the celebration (Quilali, 2016). The mass participation of *morenada* dancers at the *Gran Poder*, added to the economic power concept and the prestige they must maintain and demonstrate, make these *fraternidades* the generators of the largest part of the economic movement of the patronal feast. According to data estimated by GAMLP, the “Festivity cycle” (nine-month period) generated approximately 120 million dollars in 2019, of which 91% was attributed to *morenada* groups. The same source of information indicates that the spending on the feast reported an

increase of around 130% between 2012 and 2019. These quantitative data show the patronal feast growth over the years and a social group with a strong power of investment that appears as a relevant factor for the economic dynamization.

There is a type of hierarchy within these folkloric groups. The regulation of these *fraternidades* establish that these clusters must have founders, a directive board, a *pasantes* board and a block of members. The first three hierarchical positions conform the folklorist elite, since these are obtained through an election process based on the principles of the members, their commitment with the group and the esteem of their pairs. The block of members also has categories. Being a dancer in a block has a different connotation from being a guide in a block (dancer who leads the block) or dancing as special figures of *Morena*. These hierarchical distinctions serve to detect the highest investors in the feast and attention is drawn to the “*pasantes*”. This figure plays a sponsoring roll at the feast as the *pasante* assumed the whole investment needed to carry out the patronal festivity (Albó & Preiswerk, 1986). Nowadays, *fraternidades* chose the *pasantes* board annually. These positions are assigned to high outcome people (Rossels, 2017). The *pasantes* organize the folkloric events to retribute their economic prosperity to the *Señor del Gran Poder*, expecting the Saint to allow them to keep their wealth (Michel, 2003). This concept of faith generates an important investment of money.

In this regard, the actions and activities carried out by the *pasantes* and other members of folkloric groups show an unusual way of doing economics. However, this topic was studied from the sociologic approach but there is no large literature that explores this social group from an economic point of view. For example, Tassi, Medeiros, Rodríguez-Carmona, and Ferrufino (2013), discuss the popular economy concept and they emphasize the relevance of social network and the godfatherhood inside these social circles as tools to make business. Even though this is a descriptive analysis, it presents a vision of the social logic used to generate economical activity. On the other hand,

Quilali (2016), presents some estimations about the amounts of money spent on items needed for patronal feasts. This study is based on 100 surveys taken by members of one *fraternidad* of the *Gran Poder*. On the textbook “No se baila así no más” (Sigl & Mendoza, 2012), both authors analyse around 50 interviews to identify elements of the folkloric circle, where they include the process of multiplying financial resources using the membership payments in *fraternidades*. In their research, Morales and Salinas (2019), develop a theoretical model combined with ethnography evidence to conceptualize the management capacity in this social group and the way they chose their business partners based on signaling. The study considers 15 semi structured interviews to contrast the theoretical model and it includes an analysis of the cultural data section of the Bolivian Household Survey 2017 in order to report some statistics about consumption and patronal feasts. Even though these studies face the issue from an economic approach, they use small samples to carry out their empirical analysis. In Bolivia, there is no specific statistic information about *cholaje* social group, neither there is data about folkloric economic activities. What is more, there is an economic sector that generates economic development which is not being taken into account as it is not measured. Considering all the above, the *cholaje* group is identified as a relevant economic agent. Nevertheless, empirical research about the economy of this social circle is rare. For these reasons, collecting information in order to get a wider and more representative sample is needed. The absence of statistic data is probably due to the exclusive access to the folkloric groups. Therefore, the construction of a database depends on the network with members of *fraternidades* and folkloristic leaders. Virtual ethnography is thus chosen as the methodology to study the *cholaje* group in order to have a first approach to start structuring a more representative database.

3. Methodology

Bearing in mind the context and the social group features, virtual ethnography is the methodology chosen to start an exploratory study with the aim of collecting quantitative data. The difficult access to the group, the dispersion of its members and its hermeticism are the reasons to use TIC as an alternative means to approach the target audience. The virtual ethnography is founded on the traditional ethnography which seeks to comprehend the group studied from the researcher's experience through its immersion and the participant observation carried out over a prolonged period of time (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994). While the conventional ethnography is applied on a specific territory (Ruíz, 2008), the virtual ethnography considers internet as its territory. This type of ethnography conceptualized the internet as a cyberspace where the culture is originated in the interactions that occur through computer-mediated communications (Hine, 2004). The internet is the territorial space (Arriazu, 2007) where the socialcultural relationships take place and it is where the community life is generated (García, 1976), even if it is not a physically inhabited territory. Since the internet enables the existence of a territory, the emergence of communities occurs as a logical consequence (Gómez Cruz & Ardèvol, 2013). These groups are called virtual communities (Rheingold, 1996). The origin of these communities is based on the common interests of its members, since people meet each other at a virtual space using the internet and its tools to achieve their connection and grouping (Magallanes, 2010). This agglomeration is based on common practices (Hine, 2004). In this study case, the folkloric traditions and the participation in patronal feasts are the common factors in the group. Virtual ethnography considers both, online and offline interactions, and it analyses two environments in order to comprehend them and find the best territory to continue with the research (Hine, 2008). Consequently, the methodology suggests monitoring online and offline areas, exploring social media on the Internet

and interacting in the physical territories of the target population (Hine, 2004, 2008).

In this research, Facebook is the channel chosen to apply the virtual ethnography. This virtual space provides information about personal profiles, social networks, visited places and other elements that, otherwise, will be difficult to collect or access (Rice, 2006). Facebook users develop their social network linking their friends and the friends of their friends, hence creating relationships that could be mapped easily as this social media generates people connections and exposes their users daily life (Murthy, 2008). Following (Baker, 2013), the analysis of this social media will be carried out according to three approaches. Facebook will be considered as a means of communication, then as a context and, finally, as data itself. According to the first approach, this social media is used to establish communications with the members of the target group, overcoming the geographical distance obstacle. Facebook, as a context, is the space where data is collected as the interaction and activities of the group are exposed. This information feeds hence the data base. Finally, Facebook as data in itself gives the researcher a lot of free access information, such as friendship links, photographs, videos, status updates or content of fan pages, among other. In the same way, Facebooks plays the “gatekeeper” roll (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) (Ekdale, 2013) because this social media has a long chain of connections and hence these allow the researcher to reach the target population (Murthy, 2008).

Once the virtual space has been chosen, selecting the techniques used in the research is needed. At the very first stage in the research, floating observation is applied. This technique consists of observing without focusing on one fixed object; thereby, the researcher allows the information to “float” until certain reference points are detected (Pétonnet, 1982). When the referential elements are identified, the no-participant observation is carried out by a researcher who plays the role of a “lurker” (register and anonymous users who have a receptive and passive activity on the network) (Casadó, 2013), paying

attention on the target group behaviors and interactions but without taking any action, just remaining anonymous. Applying this technique on specific settings is useful to gather information about the context and it allows to identify the *niquette* (the group basic norms) and the rules of conduct assumed by the members of the group (Casadó, 2013). At the next stage, the no-participant observation is complemented with the participant observation technique, hence the researcher starts interacting with the context analyzed in order to socialize with the group to generate networking (Velasco & Diaz de Rada, 2006). By applying this technique, tools related to virtual, the virtual space and computer-mediated communications are used (Underberg-Goode, 2016) (Flores, 2015), such as semi-structured interviews on chat windows (Ardèvol, Bertrán, Callén, & Pérez, 2003), chat conversations (Mayans, 2002), creation of participation groups on Facebook (Piacenti et al, 2014), virtual surveys (Ardèvol, Estalella, & Domínguez, 2008) (Murthy, 2007) (Murthy, 2008), among others (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, & Taylor, 2012). During the participant observation process, the researcher goes into the virtual space as a virtual native but as a stranger for the social circle he wishes to get involved in (Hine, 2004).

Although applying virtual ethnography on social media can be very useful, the limitations of this methodology are contemplated. The research process is conditioned by the use and the Internet access. Therefore, generating the connection with the target social group will depend on the members' digital social capital and on their non-restricted Internet access by factors such as social class, race or gender (Murthy, 2008). It is expected that these aspects do not influence negatively the research process, since the Internet access is not generalized in the social group studied, but the Internet use is very common and popular especially from cellphones. Despite the possible obstacles, carrying out the research on the Internet seeks to obtain fruitful results as occurred in other studies analyzing similar topics. For example, exploration in the virtual space has been used to

study the way in which the Internet allows the reaffirmation of collective identities and the ascription to ethnic groups (Miller & Slater, 2000). On the other hand, Facebook has been used to study the identity of certain social groups (Bizkarguenaga, 2015), as well as to explore the cultural manifestations of ethnic groups of migrants (Piacenti, Rivas, y Garrett, 2014). In addition, (Underberg-Goode, 2016) calling the methodology digital ethnography, refers to its usefulness to represent real world cultures in various fields, such as folklore, even referring to the UCF Digital Ethnography Lab whose mission is to develop innovative means in which folklorist can express new knowledge about culture. Finally, since the methodology is applied on a wide information network, it is expected that the triangulation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994) required in ethnographic terms is developed based on innovative links which allow contrasting different sources (Ruíz, 2008).

4. Methodology application

The methodology was applied on Facebook for six months, from November 2018 to April 2019. The analysis was carried out in three stages: 1) Floating observation (1 month), 2) No-participant observation (1 month), and 3) Participant observation (4 months). During the first month, the objective was to identify virtual spaces on Facebook and representative characters of the folkloristic environment, in order to get elements to conduct the research. A research of key words (For example, “*Morenada*” “*Chola Paceña*”) allows to detect Fan Pages, Facebook Groups and personal profiles related to the “*cholaje*” group. In addition, Google and Youtube were used to find information about folkloristic tv programs and folkloristic magazines. Finally, Facebook profiles of folkloristic public figures, folkloristic associations and institutions where identified. The analysis began with a click on “Like” or “Follow”, granting immediate access to the information posted on

Facebook groups or Fan pages. The “*cholaje*” group has presence in all the different means of communication through Facebook.

During the second stage, information on Fan Pages and Facebook groups was tracked, avoiding interaction. Almost all the *Fraternidades* of *Morenada* have a Fan Page. The content on this Facebook format is frequently updated and a large number of pictures and videos are uploaded. Most of the Fan Pages are built collectively, since the members of the *fraternidades* are the ones who contribute with audiovisual material, becoming content creators. It is possible thus to have a register of the festive cycle’s activities. This was very useful because the comments and links shared on public visual material allow to detect elements to construct the social network with this group. On the other hand, *fraternidades* post invitations to their folkloristic events on their Fan Pages. They do this with the objective to show off and demonstrate the lavishness of their events. The invitations have relevant information, such as the names and pictures of the members of the *pasantes* board, the celebration’s date and the location. Besides, exploring Fan Pages a kind of international folkloristic agencies were discovered. Many *fraternidades* have groups in other countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Peru, the United States or Spain, which were founded by Bolivian migrants. The pictures posted on Fan Pages show that the relationship between the *fraternidades* located in Bolivia and their international agencies transcend the virtual space. The *fraternidades* organize international meetings in order to fraternize with the international folkloristic groups. According to the pictures and the comments, the *fraternidades*’ elite is invited (founders, board of directores, *pasantes* board), and they play the ambassadors roll representing their groups. When a *fraternidad* has international agencies, and it has the economic resources to organize international events, the group reaffirms its social and economic strength. At this point, international agencies that appeared as agents were finally ignored in the research, but they could be included using the contacts found on the Fan Pages. Finally, Fan Pages with *chola-paceña* related content

and those pages used to show the passion for the *morenada* dance were identified. In all of the cases, the main sources of information were the profiles of people who commented posts and the names on the pictures and videos, as this people would be the key informers.

During the “Non participant observation”, a particular community management was detected. On Facebook, the *fraternidades* apply different strategies to reaffirm their members’ sense of belonging. For example, there are birthday posts in honor of the members of the *fraternidad*. The graphic design of this visual element used a personal portrait as the main component combined with the *fraternidad*’s symbol and its representative colors. The post includes the full name of the member and he or she is tagged. As a consequence, the celebrant’s Facebook friends will be able to see, thanks to the tag, that he/she belongs to the *fraternidad* which also considers him a member and gives him a public recognition for his birthday. There are also posts of solidarity in case of death combined with online posthumous tributes. On the other hand, after each activity of the festive cycle, a post dedicated to the *pasantes* board is published in order to congratulate and to thank them for their labor at the *fraternidad*. Each post has a very particular aesthetic, being very colorful and striking. The *fraternidades* generate content on their social media because they want to make their members feel part of the groups and they give them material to share, to repost and to be informed about the news of the folkloristic environment.

The “participant observation” phase started following the social connections identified on the previous stages. The research personal profile was used to generate the interactions. The identity shown was: Bolivian, young woman, middle class, PhD. Student, based in Spain. The folkloristic virtual agents were informed that they were contacted to collaborate with an academic research about the cultural economy developed by the Bolivian folkloristic groups. The “participant observation” was carried out in three different ways. Firstly, a Facebook group was created with the aim of attracting folkloristic

women who wear the traditional outfit. Identifying women of these social groups is easier because most of them have a profile picture wearing the traditional chola costume. The objective was to group the consumers of the *cholaje* fashion industry, one of the most economically dynamic productive sectors of this social circle. On the other hand, a Facebook group was created to focus on the whole *morenada* dancer's population, both women and men. Finally, the third group looked for members of the international agencies of the *fraternidades*. In the three cases, people who wished to join the group received information about the academic research. When they accepted to collaborate with the project, a semi structured interview was applied and a survey form was sent. In this stage, the social network constructed was very useful to share information about the project. Members of the groups posted the invitation to join them on their personal profiles attracting more participants who also reposted the information.

Using both, the “non participant observation” and the Facebook groups, important gatekeepers were identified. For example, the call to be part of the groups at social media was spread by the manager of one of the Fan Pages with more followers, who are also members of the *cholaje* social circle. On the other hand, Facebook allowed to get on to the Manager of one of the Bolivian television channels which promotes folkloristic tv programs. As a consequence, two tv folkloristic presenters agreed to answer the semi-structured interview. Further, an interview at the longest-running folkloristic tv program was arranged. While the interview was being transmitted, requests sent to join the Facebook groups increased exponentially. This event was very relevant to socialize the project in Bolivia. The methodology applied also allowed to enrich the social network including public figures such as: radio hosts, tv presenters, folkloristic fashion models, folkloristic fashion designers, folkloristic magazines' managers or audiovisual producers among others. Finally, virtual meetings with celebrities and “influencers” of the *cholaje* social group were carried out. Usually, they are young boys and girls who are chosen by their

fraternidades to lead the dance group. The election is based on the dance abilities and physical beauty. These figures have a solid presence at social media and they have the recognition of their social circle. Therefore, when one of the “influencers” accepted to collaborate to the project and he or she posted the information about it, followers sent a request to join the Facebook groups.

The virtual ethnography allowed to identify three social groups to consider in the folkloristic cultural economy. The first sector is made up of women who used the traditional costume. The second group includes members of *morenada fraternidades*, both women and men. Finally, there is a social group made up of Bolivian migrants who have exported the *morenada* dance, initiating folkloristic international agencies in different countries. These social groups were identified based on the characteristics shared by their members. Different virtual communities were detected on Facebook. The biggest is the Bolivian folkloristic community, and this is divided in different groups according to specific interests. Firstly, the folklorists are divided because of the dance they perform. As a consequence, the virtual community of *morenada* dancers appears. Inside this group, the women who dance as the chola paceña character form another community. They share the interest on the fashion industry of chola paceña’s costume, its trendies and fashion icons. The other group detected is the international *morenada* dancer’s community. In this case, the main interest is to be connected to the Bolivian identity they want to preserve even they are not in Bolivia as a consequence of the migratory process. Each group identified is related to the development of the cultural economy and all of them have different elements which could be measured and quantified. For this reason, the survey forms designed and applied have specific objectives in each case. Women received a survey focused on quantifying the demand for the traditional suit fashion industry. The group formed by both genders *morenada* dancers received a survey designed to collect information about demographic data, attendance frequency to patronal

feasts and hereditary succession of hierarchical positions. The last group collaborated with information about international trade of the cultural products made by the folkloristic creative industries.

5. Conclusion

Virtual ethnography was very useful to collect statistic data from a hermetic social group in order to create a database. The methodology was applied during 6 months and the information gathered at this period was extensive, so the report on the findings was quite synthesized. Once the virtual ethnographic process was concluded, the goal of the research on Facebook was met. From the first stage to the third one, Facebook proved to be a powerful means of communication, allowing to contact key informers belonging to the *cholaje* social group. They were the links between the members of the social network formed. Besides, they collaborated with the dissemination of the research project and they encouraged the members of their *fraternidades* to participate. The creation of Facebook groups to convene different sectors of the folkloristic population generated positive results. This strategy allowed to collect the data segmenting the information according to the kind of informers. Chat sessions on Messenger and Whatsapp and videocalls were digital communication tools which were the means to start collecting qualitative and quantitative data. The survey form was sent to the people by message and the semi structured interviews were carried out screen to screen.

Nevertheless, even though the data collection started with a virtual process, the virtual ethnography was just the first phase before moving on to the onsite research. Once the exploration on the internet was concluded, the key informers were identified and the social network was solid, the researching labor continued in Bolivia. The field work was based on the results obtained on the virtual stage and the folkloristic contact network was essential to collect data at the events

of the patronal feasts. Survey forms were applied every weekend for six months attending at least to three folkloristic events each day. The previous virtual contact with the members of the *fraternidades* made easier the research process at their territory. They gave information about the events, dates and locations where the surveys could be applied. Besides, the key informers promoted data collection as, during the events, they encouraged other dancers to fill out the forms explaining them that the information would be used on an academic research. This process was a kind of traditional ethnography which helped to minimize the sampling bias caused by using only virtual surveys. Carrying out an on-site field work removed the participation barrier for those who did not have internet access. This period of data collection was really important to overcome a bias identified in the sample caused by the digital gap of some members of the *cholaje* social group. Once finished, the virtual ethnography stage, the survey forms had been answered in major by young people. This happened because they have more abilities using Internet and Facebook, while people around 50 or 60 years old are not totally familiarized with some Internet tools. For this reason, the field work carried out in Bolivia allowed to complement the sample with information belong to an age group which had not been captured applying the virtual ethnography.

After one year, 6 months of virtual research labor and 6 months of on-site research labor, there is a database constructed. Nowadays, the Facebook groups have more than 500 members and they receive requests constantly. The research project has been disseminated between the folkloristic social circle. The surveys forms were filled out by members of all *fraternidades* of *morenada* dance, women and men, from 18 years old to 90 years old. Today, the database for this social group has 1,450 observations. It is been used to analyze the cultural economy developed around patronal feasts by the folkloristic population from different approaches. The empirical analysis has been started and the data collected allows us to generate on-demand re-

ports for the folkloristic creative industries, demographic reports for the social group and even structure probabilistic models for the folkloristic economic leadership. Virtual ethnography and its application on social media were therefore fundamental tools to collect data in order to start measuring elements of the cultural economy developed by the *cholaje* social group.

Finally, as result of this research labor it is possible to identify two implications for the scientific community. First, this report exposes some characteristics identified around a Bolivian folklorist group about which the academic research attention is minor. This happens because of the hermeticism of the members of this group, that turns the field work difficult and it makes the information available be scarce. The results of the paper show an indigenous urban group from a modern vision and the analysis carried out constructs a present portrait of a social group whose origin dates back to the colonial period. Further, the research study the Bolivian folkloristic activity developed on Facebook and it identifies social codes used by this virtual community. The paper adds to the researches that explore folklorists' groups using the virtual ethnography, in this case paying attention on the Bolivian context. On the other hand, applying virtual ethnography allowed to construct a database which is needed to start studying empirically a cultural economy developed around the Bolivian folklore.

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KEY LOCATION FACTORS OF COWORKINGS IN SLOVAKIA: CASE STUDY OF BRATISLAVA

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ANNOTATION

Working in the coworking spaces, often called “creative centres” represents exceptional opportunities that can be used especially in business and includes mainly the creation of cooperation, acquisition of knowledge and business contacts. The present paper analyses the relationship between existing coworking spaces and selected location factors, which are location, availability and price.

The aim of the paper is to examine the influence of the mentioned location factors in coworking spaces in a selected Slovak city – Bratislava. Research confirms that transport accessibility influences the choice of location in which individual coworking spaces are concentrated, which in turn affects the prices of membership fees in coworkings. It also presents the results of a comparison of fixed and flexible desk fees in coworking spaces with the average office rental prices in the area of Bratislava city itself where coworking prices are more suitable also for start-up businesses. These findings could also help freelancers to find suitable workspaces and build their community of people to work with in the future.

KEY WORDS

coworking, location factors, freelancers

JEL CLASSIFICATION: M13, R3

1. Introduction

The concept of coworking has been officially known since 2004. These creative centres originated in San Francisco as an alternative form of working between the traditional and independent working life. Coworking brings a different way of working for selected professions, the main purpose of which is to create collaborations between people and share common workspaces, acquisition of new knowledge and contacts.

The growing importance of coworkings (hereinafter also CWs) has been proven in several studies (Fuzi, 2015; Mariotti et al., 2017; Parrino, 2015; Avdikos and Merkel, 2020, Yu et al., 2019). Evidence in the scientific literature emphasizes the role of the proximity that is an important factor affecting collaboration and transfer of knowledge between people working in these creative and active places (Parrino, 2015). On the basis of these facts it can be argued that location of coworking is a key issue (Mariotti et al., 2017) that would be explored in the present paper.

The growing phenomenon of coworking places has also policy implications (Avdikos and Merkel, 2020) that policy makers have to consider when setting up policy at local, regional, national and also international levels. Not only political institutions but also other public bodies participate in the development of these special places as coworking spaces are. Universities play a substantial and integral role in this process. The academic ground is a suitable place for creating cooperation between students, companies and, for example, political institutions and non-profit organizations. As the evidence in scientific literature presents, university libraries (Lumley, 2014) and museums (Murphy, 2018) can be a suitable places for coexistence of the mentioned actors. As shared spaces and collaborative hubs are supporting entrepreneurs, relevant policy measures should provide the necessary support for these third places (Avdikos and Merkel, 2020) In this context, it is also important to mention studies dealing

with coworking in urban (Pacchi, 2018; Wang and Becky, 2017) and rural areas (Nieto and Brosei, 2019; Pandorahub, 2019; Smeljanski, 2019; Vale of Glamorgan, 2019, Gutierrez, 2014). Most studies point to coworkings in metropolitan cities (Yu et al., 2019) such as Berlin, Milan (Pacchi, 2018; Mariotti, 2017;), Shanghai (Wang and Becky, 2017), but little is written about this concept in places in less developed countries.

Coworkings are a phenomenon not only in Western countries but is also developing in Central Europe. Nevertheless, studies that deal with the issue of CWs are even lacking in the V4 countries or their number is negligible. This paper addresses gaps in the research of coworkings in less developed countries through the case study of Bratislava. The intention will be to answer the question of where coworkings are located and what their localization strategy was when establishing and placing coworking spaces (Mariotti et al, 2017). To focus on the above-mentioned issues of the development of coworking spaces, the present article analyses the relationship between existing coworking spaces and selected location factors, which are location, availability and price. The aim of the paper is to examine the influence of the mentioned location factors in coworking spaces in a selected Slovak city – Bratislava. Research confirms that transport accessibility influences the choice of location in which individual coworking spaces are concentrated, which in turn affects the prices of membership fees in CWs. The article also presents the results of a comparison of fixed and flexible desk fees in coworking spaces with the average office rental prices in Bratislava city itself where coworking prices are more suitable also for start-up businesses. These findings could also help freelancers to find suitable workspaces and build their community of people to work with in the future.

2. Literature review

According to Fuzi (2015) and Deskmag annual research findings, co-working is an expanding global phenomenon, especially in urban areas. Statistics indicate that the number of workspaces has increased by an average of 4.5 workspaces each working day. In 2013, 5,800 coworking spaces with approximately 295,000 collaborators were registered worldwide. Next chapters bring a brief literature overview on co-workings and factors that may affect their location in space.

2.1 COWORKING AS A GROWING GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Coworking spaces are creative and active places where small businesses, freelancers and start ups work together, share their ideas, experiences or build something new. Small companies or independent people are, so to speak, “tired”, they do not enjoy constant work at home and isolation from the outside world, for these reasons it is appropriate for them to work in coworkings. (Brown, 2017). According to Fuzi (2015), specific places have been created in recent years that replace the centres of community life. These are the so-called “Third places” (after home and work), which combine several conditions to facilitate informal meetings and allow the creation of social interactions.

Coworking areas are perceived as inspiring places with a pleasant atmosphere, interesting community, creative interactions and a negative impact on the ability to concentrate at work. It is a flexible model of work, which finds application mainly in the business of individuals and small start-ups. (Holienka et al., 2015)

Coworking centres are primarily associated with the idea of sharing offices. This phase should be followed by deeper cooperation between owners and users of coworking space services. These centres offer not only the opportunity to share a common space, but also to provide many opportunities, participate in local events and present their own ideas to a wider audience. (Sebestova et al, 2017)

In the case of coworking, four core values are important, namely cooperation, openness, community and sustainability. Sustainability has a motivating effect; it tends to establish a coworking centre. This motivation has an impact on the support of the nature of work, where a space suitable for coworking offers a unique style of work for people. Within their profession, they can share the same workplace and improve each other, through active communication, sharing information, knowledge, experience and wisdom. The main goal of coworking is to build a sustainable network of innovations, which is used mainly in creative industries, such as music or other arts. There are also coworkings that provide the opportunity to use accessories and spaces suitable for working women with children. (Fuzi, 2015)

2. 2. LOCATION FACTORS OF COWORKINGS

According to Buček et al. (2015) companies try to occupy the locations that will bring them the highest profits and where they will have the lowest transport costs. However, the location decision is limited by a lack of information and limited rationality. Companies are trying to occupy free markets, meet demand and move away from their competitors. The concentration of companies in the space makes it possible to create external savings and create additional demand.

Coworkings as spaces where individual entrepreneurs and companies are located, have their general and specific location factors as follows. The location itself stands among important location factors of CWs. The location in a prestigious area can affect potential clients. The big advantage is if the space can be easily reached on foot or within a few minutes by public transport, car or other means of transport. When looking for a potential space for cooperation, the decision to choose can influence the preference for the space near your accommodation, and at the same time near the central part of the city, which provides many conveniences (Deskmag, 2017).

In the field of services, it is necessary to choose a place or location that suits the client. It is important to find a place that will leave

a good impression on the first meeting with the client. If there is a possibility to work remotely, or there is a preference to work in a quiet place, it is better to choose the space that is closest to the place of residence (Coworker, 2018). The most important factors are mainly related to the location. Coworking should be located close to home so the journey to work does not take too long (Sharedspace, 2017) or in a central area (Capdevila, 2014).

Accessibility and the price of parking are also important factors when choosing a coworking. In some cities, parking may be limited or expensive if it is not included in the coworking membership. Going to work without traffic jams or generally without using public transport can make a day easier and improve productivity and well-being (Deskmag, 2017).

Salovaar (2015) supports the view that place, collaboration and location play a crucial role in determining the success of a coworking. According to Avdikos, Merkel (2019), on one hand the largest coworking companies are located in premises in inner city areas. Inner urban areas attract “tenants” by several factors, offer cultural and urban facilities, good access to public transport, various businesses, etc. On the other hand, smaller spaces for cooperation still exist and are growing. However, they are pushing much more outside urban areas, towards suburbs or more neglected urban areas with lower rental prices.

The research by Avdikos and Merkel (2019) also shows that the size of a city is likely to determine the functions of collaborative spaces, as medium-sized cities are primarily aimed at supporting independent and small businesses. The different functions and types of services offered by CWs depend on the size of the cities, the distance from larger urban areas, the agglomeration, the remoteness of the area. The location in the city center is valuable. Having a coworking space in the medium sized city centre supports urban renewal and maintains affordable space for new businesses in fast-growing centres (Jamal, 2018).

According to Mariotti et. al. (2017) from the point of view of location, sufficient transport accessibility is important, as well as high population density, proximity to universities, which represents a qualified workforce, proximity to research centres and others.

On the other hand, coworking is not just about physical space, but also about establishing a collaborative community. It is recommended to start building a coworking community before considering the opening of a coworking space. However, some coworking spaces do not create a community, they become part of an existing community, by combining their opening with an event that attracts their target group. According to Salovaar (2015), atmosphere, community and environment are considered the most important features of coworking. When choosing a space, it is advisable to look at the list of people or community of people working in a specific space. Freelance people look for opportunities, network, choose their workspace, where professionals from different fields work. If the collaboration provides an opportunity to try out the coworking before making a choice, it is a good way to meet people who work in the space in advance (Coworker, 2018).

An important factor seems to be the alignment of interests with other members of coworking. As a rule, coworking managers do not filter members according to their interests and specifics. Natural selection is made by a flow of individuals who try different coworkings before making the final decision to enter the coworking that best suits their interests in terms of community, location and budget. (Capdevila, 2014)

The budget is a very important factor in choosing a space for cooperation. It is necessary to invest when starting a new business. Membership fees in the form of the amount that a coworker is willing to pay each month are essential when choosing a location. From a space budget perspective, it is best to keep spending to a minimum (Deskmag, 2017). Coworking can reduce real estate costs for companies. Coworking tends to be cheaper for companies than reserved

office space in certain markets. The use of a typical corporate office environment is insufficient, a substantial part of the work environment is usually empty and unused. Coworking areas are available without the need for rent or long-term commitment (Gretchen, 2015).

Many coworking spaces organize weekly social events, including lectures by successful entrepreneurs. Many events bring together very influential people and investors, which is great for networking (Coworker, 2018).

One of the necessary factors are the services and equipment provided as wi-fi connection. The variety of services and equipment depends on the preferences of the coworking participant. It is not easy to find a space with the equipment you really need (Sharedspace, 2017).

3. Methodology

The main goal of the article is to examine the influence of location factors in coworking spaces in Bratislava. Based on the availability of data on coworking spaces, desk research materials and in some cases supported by the qualitative interviews, we analyse the influence of localization factors of location, availability and price on placement of coworking spaces. This main goal is supported by subgoals, which include:

- > analysis of functioning coworkings in Bratislava,
- > location of coworking spaces within the capital,
- > analysis of accessibility to coworking spaces and available public transport options,
- > analysis of membership fees, their comparison with the average rental price of local office spaces.

To fulfil the first partial aim, various coworking portals, mainly www.coworker.com, search engines, social media such as Facebook and sometimes Twitter and individual web pages of coworking as

well as various news and journal articles were checked to get the full picture about the situation in Bratislava city. Mainly elementary information on operation, address, year of establishment, number of desks and/or floor surface were obtained from above mentioned sources. The type of coworking spaces we either obtained from the portal www.coworkingy.sk, from web page of individual CWs or some were even consulted with CWs themselves either via email or Facebook. The exact address was used to get geocoded information about every coworking to create database of coworkings within city district and to create map of coworking in the city. As this article deals with main location factors and universities supposed to be one of them according to the literature, the authors decided to connect location information of coworking spaces with the university seats in the map. Accessibility in general and transport accessibility information were gathered from coworkings' web pages, public transport provider and city web page. Importance of above-mentioned factors on location decisions of coworking spaces was obtained from the interviews with managers and/or owners of coworking spaces. Various options of membership fees were obtained from coworkings' web pages and rental prices of offices in real estate office's webpage www.reality.sk.

Information on CWs in the capital city of Slovakia, Bratislava comes from research within master thesis of Eva Drugová supervised by Eva Belvončíková (2020) and complemented by authors' research. All secondary data were found using data scrapping methodology through various internet sources described in the previous methodological part. When authors of this article state what managers of coworkings expressed, information comes from the semi-structured interviews of the research designed for the COST CA18214 project and conducted by the final year students of MA programme Public Administration and Regional Development at the University of Economics in Bratislava. Part of the interview questions was devoted to the localization of coworking spaces in Bratislava, such as "Why did you decide to establish a coworking in Bratislava? Why did you settle

in this city district, in this building?” They interviewed 11 coworking managers in period of November 2019 – February 2020. These data mainly supplement or confirm information gathered from the literature or secondary data from data scrapping methodology.

4. Results

The analysis of the situation in Slovakia, but mainly in Bratislava is in the centre of this part. The main findings of the case study of Bratislava are presented here.

4. 1. COWORKINGS IN SLOVAKIA

Coworking spaces began to appear in Slovakia around the year 2010, when they were already able to establish important spaces suitable for the development of work and business. Coworkings have been since beginning concentrated in the capital and in the large cities of the country. According to Holienka et al. (2015), there were 24 active coworking spaces operating in 11 Slovak cities in 2015 which differ from each other in size, focus, and legal form. Authors stressed the importance of coworking spaces for cooperation in the business ecosystem and various benefits. The growth of coworking could be caused due to the great potential of the population to change the current model of work and self-realization in many professions and to extend this concept to other smaller regional cities, where coworking is still absent. Most coworking spaces have used the so-called “open door policy”, which means that the admission of new members is implemented due to spare capacity.

Similarly, to the development in countries worldwide, there is an extensive rise in the number of coworkings in Slovakia. As Rafaj (2020) stated, at the end of 2019 there were 55 coworking spaces operating in 24 Slovak cities. This means a creation of 31 new coworking

spaces started to operate in 13 cities that have not been localised before. These new spaces are currently operating not only in the large cities – regional centres or in the proximity to such centres, but also in smaller towns across other parts of the country, namely southern part of Central Slovakia and its Eastern part.

4. 2. LOCATION OF COWORKING SPACES IN BRATISLAVA

Similar situation with a quite impressive rise of the coworking spaces is possible to note also in the capital city Bratislava. Since the year 2010 approximately 2 new coworking spaces have been arisen every year. At the end of 2019 there were 19 coworking spaces in Bratislava. In terms of the typology, more than 26% are considered as general coworkings, 21% of them as creative CWs and other coworkings are technological, start-ups etc. In terms of size, 36% of coworkings are classified as mini. Regarding the size of the coworking spaces, the largest coworkings are usually located in the inner city areas (Avdikos, Merkel, 2019). Findings in Bratislava confirm this statement except one large coworking space located in the vicinity of the student largest dormitories – Campus Mlyny coworking.

The territory of Bratislava is divided into 17 city districts. We consider the Old Town to be the central part of Bratislava. The city districts that are immediately adjacent to the central area are Ružinov, Nové mesto, Petržalka and Karlova Ves. The following map shows coworking spaces concentrated in six city districts, which represents a 35% share of all city districts. The largest number of coworkings is in the Old Town - 7 coworking spaces. Based on the mapping of individual CWs, we can state that the share of coworking spaces located in the central part of Bratislava is almost 37% and the share of city districts that are immediately adjacent to the central area is less than 58%; altogether it comprises for almost 95% of all coworking spaces.

Location of CWs copies the location of businesses in Bratislava in general. This also applies to entrepreneurs in the creative industries

often being members of coworking spaces. Our interviews confirm that business reasons for being in Bratislava city is relevant in 9 out of 11 cases (reasons of doing business in the city currently or since the past or hoping for business opportunities due to Bratislava being the capital of the country). On the contrary, mainly in the independently run CWs (those outside of international or national CW chains) decision of the owners/managers to locate strongly relates to the place of residence or place of origin. This confirms the literature statements mentioned earlier (e. g. Sharedspace, 2017; Coworker, 2018).

Bratislava is the only V4 capital city that does not have a metro, so traveling to CWs is relatively more complicated compared to another V4 capital cities. However, it should be noted that Bratislava is much smaller, and the density of traffic is also lower than in other V4 capitals. In the city of Bratislava, rail and public transport are available and they operate quite densely mainly during the peak hours. There also operate an integrated transport system, car sharing and bike sharing. According to interviews, about half of the managers stated a good transport accessibility and/or parking lot as a condition for choosing the building/ part of the city to localise. Even the manager in the quite remote part from the city centre stated that good public transport and car accessibility as an advantage for people from outside the capital city to commute on daily base. One of the latest open coworking Kolabo is specifically place near the airport as oriented on people commuting between countries frequently (so called digital nomads).

A lot of students, human capital in terms of young and educated people and proximity to universities (in one case it was stated as 500 metres proximity) was also often stated by managers as one of the arguments of localisation both in the Bratislava city and/or within specific city district. Therefore, we decided to look at this relationship and take into consideration a distance between CWs and university seats/headquarters. As the map of coworking centres and universities reveals, CWs are close to university seats mainly in the city centre, but not in case of close centre or other city districts.

Location of Coworkings and Universities in Bratislava



Figure 1: Location of Coworkings and Universities in Bratislava

4.3. ANALYSIS OF COWORKING FEES AND THEIR COMPARISON TO OFFICE RENTS

In the following part we analyse the prices of coworking spaces in Bratislava. Coworking flex desk means providing any workplace in an open workspace. On the other hand, the so-called fixed desks offer participants their own, fixed place in the coworking. Accordingly, these fixed desks mean higher monthly fees than when providing a flexible place. In the case of providing a fixed desk, they provide the participant with stability, unlimited use, the participant's workplace in coworking does not change. It means they do not have to worry if the coworking space is fully occupied by visitors or people who use the flex desk service.

The following table shows that coworkings in the Ružinov district have the highest daily fees compared to the average. The highest monthly fees for providing a flexible place compared to the average

have coworkings in the Petržalka district. In the case of the highest monthly fees for a fixed place, they have coworkings in the Karlova Ves district compared to the average.

We can state that for day visitors to Bratislava it is most worthwhile to use coworkings in the central part, in the Old Town. From a monthly point of view, when preferring a flexible workplace, the best choice is the Ružinov district, whose difference compared to the average is € 23. With a preference for a fixed location and unrestricted access, it pays to use coworking in the Nové Mesto district the most, as it has the lowest monthly fees and differs from the average by € 25.

In the case of Coworking AP, we observe a specific feature, which is the provision of a free 4-month membership for creative people with a business idea. For free membership, it is necessary to apply for the invitation published on the website of the National Business Center or on the Slovak business agency website. The call is open continuously during the year or until capacity is filled (SBA Agency 2020).

Based on the significance of the benefits that are most often provided by individual coworkings, we have determined the following range of points for individual benefits:

- > **BENEFIT A** = free parking = has the highest significance in the form of 1 point as a long-term benefit due to insufficient parking lots in many city districts with significant money savings.
- > **BENEFIT B** = free trial day = represents a short-term advantage for potential customers. For these reasons, benefit B is assigned a significance of 0.5 point.
- > **BENEFIT C** = free refreshments = we attribute the lowest importance of 0.1 point here as free coffee, tea and/or water is not considered to be a benefit which would significantly influence of potential coworker to locate in the coworking

Name of Coworking	City Districts	*VDP	*VMP flex desk	*VMP fix desk	Benefit
Impact Hub Bratislava		15 €	110 €	150 €	
Campus City	Old town = central district	25 €	130 €	220 €	1st free trial day, free spaces for students
Connect		19 €	109 €	X	
Progressbar Cowork		10 €	150 €	200 €	
Satori Stage		16	X	X	
Dvojbodka Cowork Bratislava		X	109 €	X	free and unlimited coffee
Zarobeno		9 €	150 €	X	
Average price		16 €	126 €	190 €	
Hub Hub Twin City		50 €	220 €	250 €	
Coworking AP	Ružinov	0 €	0 €	0 €	
Rubixlab		X	79 €	115 €	1st free trial day, 20 % discount on food and coffee
Space up		10 €	130 €	200 €	bezplatné parkovanie
Pana Trade Center		19,99 €	X	360 €	2 kávy denne zadarmo
Kolabo		22 €	99 €	150 €	Free parking
Average price		20 €	106 €	179 €	
eDocu		14 €	X	140 €	Free parking
Ateliér		X	X	120 €	
Platform House	Nové mesto	22 €	135 €	240 €	Free parking, free for university daily students – special programme
Average price		18 €	135 €	167 €	
Nová Cvernovka	Rača	15 €	99 €	129 €	Free parking
Hub Bratislava	Petržalka	X	162 €	X	Parking in the area 50 €/mth.
Campus	Karlova Ves	15	130 €	220 €	1st free trial day
Total Average price:		19 €	129 €	192 €	

Table 1: Prices in Coworking spaces in Bratislava

Source: author's own elaboration; * VDP = amount of daily fee,

* VMP = amount of monthly fee

City District	Benefit A = 1	Benefit B = 0,5	Benefit C = 0,1	Evaluation
Old Town – Central district	0	0,5	0,1	0,6
Ružinov	1	0,5	0,1	1,6
Nové mesto	1	0	0	1
Rača	1	0	0	1
Petržalka	0	0	0	0
Karlova Ves	0	0,5	0	0,5
Occurance of benefits	7 cow.	3 cow.	3 cow.	

Table. 2: Benefits in Coworkings in BA

Source: author's own elaboration.

The above table shows that the most price benefits are provided by coworkings in the Ružinov district, half of the coworkings here provide free parking. The most significant benefit is parking, which is also provided by two other urban areas. Coworking in the Petržalka district provides the possibility of parking for 50 € / month, but it is not for free as in the case of other coworkings. There is a well-known problem with car parking in the central area of Bratislava, which is why we assume that coworking spaces prefer to provide benefits B and C. The most frequently used advantage is benefit A and 63% of the total number of CWs provides a certain price advantage.

The following table presents the calculation of the average rental prices of offices in the central part, in the wider center and in other city districts.

City District	Street	Area (m2)	Energy costs	Price/mth	Total Costs (€)
Old Town - central districts	Michalská	20	80	200	280
	Štúrova	17,5	61	175	236
	B.Nemcovcej	17	X	315 (including energy)	315
Average price/mth					277
Ružinov	Drieňová	12,5	44	100	143,8
	Drieňová	18	X	234 (including energy)	234
Nové Mesto	Rožňavská	18	20	148	168
		10,92	12	68	80
Petržalka	Údernícka	20	X	200 (including energy)	200
	Kopčianska	20	50	100	150
Karlova Ves	Karlovská	16,3	X	197 (including energy)	197
Average price/mth – close center					167,5
Rača – other districts	Rustaveliho	16	X	200 (including energy)	200
Average price/mth in total					200,3

Table. 3: Calculation of average rental prices for offices in Bratislava

Source: author's own elaboration.

The following table shows a comparison of average coworking fees in Bratislava for a fixed and flexible desk with the average price of office rental costs. On average, coworking fees are in almost all cases clearly more advantageous than office rental, which also literature express (Deskmag, 2017). The exception is the nearby center, when renting an office pays more compared to a fixed coworking fee of € 16.

City District	Average rental price for offices	Fixed fees	Difference	Flexi fees	Difference
Old town - central district	277 €	190 €	87 €	126 €	151 €
Close Center	168 €	183 €	16 €	136 €	32 €
Other districts	200 €	129 €	71 €	99 €	101 €
Average	215 €	167 €	48 €	120 €	95 €

Table. 4: Comparison of fixed and flexible coworking fees with average office rental prices in certain areas of Bratislava

Source: author's own calculations.

5. Conclusion

The presented article dealt with the localization of coworking spaces in Bratislava, where we also examined selected localization factors as price, availability and location. At the beginning of our analysis, we focused on functioning coworking spaces in city of Bratislava. Based on the Worldpopulation review 2019 we can state that there are 4.48 coworking spaces per 100,000 inhabitants of Bratislava. When comparing it to other V4 capitals, it is the highest number. Since 2010, an average of 2 coworkings have appeared each year. Other statement we could make according to our findings is that presence businesses and population with its density are important location factors, from which depend on the number of CWs located in the city centre and its surrounding in case of Bratislava. The literature presents that location is an important localization factor and a coworking should be located close to home or the central part of the city. Interviews with coworking owners and managers confirms this statement mainly in case of independently run coworking spaces in the capital city. Educated and young workforce also count to one of the assets of the capital city for being chosen by owners of the coworkings to set up there. A good public transport and car accessibility are very important location conditions for every coworking place, but even more for those placed not in the central city district. Price affordability in terms of rental premises and connected services (such as electricity, internet connection etc.) as elementary condition for doing business, even more important in case of start-ups, generally favours CWs in comparison with office rentals. The most valuable price benefit also connected to transport accessibility is free parking place for both managers and coworkers. On the other hand, as some authors (Holienka et al. 2015, Jablonický, 2016) noticed also in 2015 and is probably valid until now, the operation of coworking centers will continue to be something very similar to charity as the concept of coworkings (not only in Slovakia) is not focused on profitability, it is mainly about covering costs.

Times are changing. The current coronavirus pandemic has changed the way people work. Physically is working only a men who otherwise cannot do his work from home. Students learn online, most people have their home office. The use and provision of coworking facilities is currently prohibited. How much this will affect the future of this special form of work has already been the subject of several discussions. According to forecasts, after the pandemic, coworking spaces are expected to be used much more than ever before. People who have worked in their kitchen for more than a year will be happy to be able to do their job in these reopened creative centers. According to the assumptions, however, visitors will demand new services such as outdoor activities and more social interaction (TheCostaRicaNews, 2021). Situation in the coworking centers in Bratislava is according to our telephone and online search twofold: most of the internationally and nationally run coworking spaces as well as those bigger ones are open and operate according to national pandemic conditions, while those smaller and local ones are either closed, temporally interrupted their coworking activities or operate only in limited range when offering closed office spaces for small companies. The owner of one small coworking space has revealed that small companies of 3-5 persons instead of visiting coworkings as riskier places from hygienic and pandemic point of view rather rent a small one-room flat for commercial rents and work there. On the other hand, positive sing of reopening of large coworking space Spot with 93% occupancy in current pandemic situation is planned within few days.

As results presented in this paper are part of the ongoing research on coworking spaces in Slovakia, we plan to contact also coworkers in individual coworking spaces and get their point of view. Our further research could be connected to location of coworkings near universities due to possible knowledge transfer and for the reason of students being in position of coworkers. As we have only elementary knowledge about coworking spaces in other Slovak cities, our research will be widened to the whole country. Due to changes in all

aspects of lie including work during pandemic COVID-19, we have currently been researching on influence of pandemic on coworking spaces in Central Europe capital cities within international team of researchers.

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Egle Kryzanauskaite

LONG-TERM IMPACT: WHAT DOES IT MEAN? ASSESSING EQUIVOCALITY OF IT IN TRANSNATIONAL CULTURAL PROJECTS

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ANNOTATION

This research paper focuses on the understandings of the long-term impact between different stakeholders in a field of transnational cultural projects. It is based on the case study of the participatory project of Tandem Turkey 2011/12 for cultural managers that was designed and implemented by the non-governmental organization MitOst e.V. (Germany) and funded by the independent foundation Stiftung Mercator (Germany). Both primary and secondary research of related textual information and in-depth, semi-structured qualitative interviews were done. The aim was to draw upon various understandings of long-term impact. These contrasting stances are held to be the reason for the equivocality that is a dominating component of discussions about the long-term impact. This paper reveals weaknesses in the evidence-based approach to the social impacts of the arts, which also reflects common problems in public policy evaluation and social science research.

KEY WORDS

Long-term impact, impact assessment, discourse, non-governmental organisations

JEL CLASSIFICATION: Y80, Z00

1. Introduction

As mostly everything these days, activities in a field of cultural project management fall under the scrutiny of monitoring and evaluation (M&E). Cultural managers, policymakers, also researchers are in one way or another involved in evaluating and measuring impact of projects they undertake. Currently, organizations that want to facilitate a project funded by public or private sponsors are required to plan and demonstrate desired results – undertake *ex ante* evaluation, and later report not only final outputs and direct outcomes – *ex post* evaluation – but also long-term societal impact (Anttonen et al. 2016). That is due to a generally increased attention to sustainable and long-lasting impacts in a policymaking field. This notion is also based on a belief that arts and cultural projects are cross-sectional and contribute to economic and societal effects; are instrumental. Such a belief has a lot to do with the question of cultural value and causality. Looking for causality means evaluating an intervention. This creates implicit pitfalls in the area of M&E that has sparked debates since the end of the last century both in academic and practical fields. First, what are, if any, the most suitable methods within the M&E field to assess long-term impact? How can one foresee a final impact before a project's start? Also, who is responsible for measuring this impact after a significant amount of years have passed? Why is it necessary to talk about it if it is suggested by academics that this question is highly contextual, therefore nearly unmeasurable? Finally, is there even a common understanding about it and if not, what are the different interpretations of the notion of long-term impact itself?

This paper focuses on the question of different interpretations of the notion of long-term impact. It is both theoretical and empirical as it gives a broad overview of concepts, definitions and current debates about it, but it also examines a very concrete case study that very well captures the essence of the argument. The research question is as following:

How does the long-term impact understanding vary between different stakeholders in a case study of the cultural collaboration programme Tandem Turkey 2011/12?

The overarching aim of this paper is to better understand the complex interplay of differences in interpretation and conceptualization of impact among stakeholders. There is a need to develop more exploratory approaches with critical and well-thought-through research questions for these complex topics of human experiences within the arts and cultural field, the role of culture and its administration in contemporary society (Belfiore 2009: 354). Also, the focus on the long-term aspect of this kind of research is very much encouraged (Gielen et al. 2015: 63). The dominant discourses of cultural value, in which the question of long-term impact is heavily imbedded, should be questioned and new innovative ways of understanding the cultural impact data together with its analysis, interpretation and communication should be explored (Newsinger and Green 2016). And even if these ways are found, one should pay more interest in finding methods to move such findings up and down the chain in the network of stakeholders to assist them in measuring the value of their work (Gattenhof 2017: 27). This shall be done not merely by describing current arguments or statements by prominent stakeholders, but rather by looking into how these expressions are produced (Røyseng 2008). This resonates with the methodological frame used in a paper, whose author argues that a more systemic and synthesizing ideational research about ideas and idea-struggles in specific policy fields, such as cultural policy and alike, should be done (Lindberg 2019).

The overall structure of this paper is divided into five chapters. In **chapter 2**, the methodological approach of the paper is presented. Literature review in **chapter 3** is divided into two main parts with smaller paragraphs within. The first section is about a bigger question of the research context and discusses two concepts of evidence-based policy and instrumentalism. The second section of the literature review brings attention to more particular questions that

are related to the M&E studies, namely causality and cultural value. In **chapter 4**, key findings from the both primary and secondary research are summarized. The chapter starts with an overview of methodological and theoretical framework and is later divided into smaller sections of different stakeholders. In **chapter 5**, discussion statements and research observations are presented.

2. Methodology

In order to come up with valuable insights about differences in an interpretation of long-term impact, this research is qualitative, descriptive and exploratory. To gather data, both primary and secondary research was done. For the desk research, a significant amount of existing research was collected, summarized and analysed - both academic and practical - within the fields of cultural policy, organizational management, and monitoring and evaluation studies. Findings from the secondary research are tested in the case study. For this part, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with stakeholders from different levels of influence within the field of transnational cultural projects. This includes participants (8), project managers (2) and funders (1). This is considered to be a strength of the research as it indeed sheds light on different interpretations from those who are expected to be affected by the intervention, those who are responsible for the effect, and those who require the impact to be considered and form the mainstream discourse within the field. Interviews covered questions related to the Tandem Turkey 2011/12 project round in particular, however, it also involved meta-level reflections about the long-term impact and assessment of such projects in general. Full transcriptions were coded so as to develop a greater understanding by using analytical categories of the VDP-triad (explained in 4.1). The coding was done using Atlas.ti software and performing a line-by-line coding. This research strategy allowed the

overall analysis to remain open to explore possibilities for recommendations within the data, however, set codes were useful in order to spot reoccurring, significant initial codes and compare those in order to reach 'generalizable theoretical statements that transcend specific times and places and contextual analyses of actions and events' (Charmaz 2006: 46). Eventually, conclusions and subjective reflections about the main findings are summarized in the discussion part.

3. Literature Review

If we want to find out what is meant by all discussions about long-term impact of, in the example of this paper, cultural participatory projects, it is important to shortly touch upon the fact that there is any kind of impact in the first place. The argument that the arts do have social effects (which therefore just need be measured) is far from being agreed upon not merely by sceptics, but also from those that research it (Merli 2002). The attempt to pluck fruits of artistic and/or cultural processes or products in the broadest sense has been a catalysing power for many years for individuals working in various fields. The questions of what arts can do has been approached also from different angles: many tried to examine what is the effect for other disciplines, and, in parallel, find out what other knowledge fields can contribute in reaching a better understanding of impacts and value of arts and culture: what could our current knowledge within psychological, sociological theories of art perception, empirical findings of cognitive psychology tell about the significance of keeping vibrant the field of arts and culture (Merli 2002: 115).

However, before analysing in a greater depth such ambiguous concepts of cultural value and impact of arts and culture from these different knowledge perspectives, it is worth to take a look at the facets in the environment around these considerations. Similar to

scenario thinking¹, such analysis includes recognition of ‘drivers’ or ‘forces’ that are present and might remain influential for the upcoming future. In the context of this research, one main driving force is described in more detail. The aim is to briefly depict the predominance of evidence-based and instrumental policies, instrumentalism itself, that has a significant effect on the M&E field.

3.1. EVIDENCE-BASED POLICY AND INSTRUMENTALISM

Evidence-based policies are closely related to the neoliberal tradition of policymaking. Neoliberalism is “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade” (Harvey 2005: 2). Neoliberal policies that are mostly concerned about efficiency over meaning, measurability and standardization over singularity and uniqueness, can become a threat to a community (Gielen et al 2015: 51). Van Heusden (2015) in his article about education in Europe warns, quoting Sophocles, that society which is dominated by rational intelligence risks of losing the community as it is bound to die (Van Heusden 2015: 137). This rationality is a cornerstone of the evidence-based policy, which is both a reason and a consequence of a growing interest in the measurable effects of culture. As resources, be it public or private, are limited, the requirement of measurability is important in all stages of policymaking – preparation, development, implementation, and evaluation which, eventually, leads to the preparation of a new policy (Gielen et al. 2015). Here it is important to mention that evaluation can happen at different stages of policymaking or project

1 Scenario planning, also called scenario thinking or scenario analysis, is a strategic planning method that some organizations use to make flexible long-term plans. It is in large part an adaptation and generalization of classic methods used by military intelligence.

implementation, namely, there is *ex ante* and *ex post* evaluation. The latter one is related to monitoring and evaluation practices and aims to assess whether a specific policy, decision, event or intervention was justified and whether it worked or continues to work as anticipated in achieving foreseen objectives. *Ex ante* evaluations, on the other hand, happen in a stage of planning and preparation of a certain policy or an intervention, and is conducted prior to the stage of implementation. (Spanache, 2019). *Ex ante* evaluation is used as a tool of planning, foreseeing and, in some cases, as a selection criterion that helps funders or policymakers to make a preference of a certain policy or project over another one.

Both approaches try to find evidence that could justify financial or any other spending, reveal the real effect of an intervention. There are different ways how this can be done. For example, *ex ante* evaluation tools and approaches, such as a landscape analysis or a theory-based impact evaluation, include different elements that help a funding agency to evaluate a proposal. In other words, it can be both retrospective and predictive. Here, an attempt to identify causal relations, contribution and attribution is made. Similar attempts are made in *ex post* evaluation as well, where an evaluator takes a merely retrospective stance in order to describe and/or measure the effect (desired or unforeseen) of an intervention.

Criticism of evidence-based policies that involve both *ex ante* and *ex post* evaluation methods very often is directed to its forms of quantification that aim to optimize options and trigger the simplification of available perceptions and do not always include alternative frames of knowledge (Saltelli & Giampietro 2017). More time and resources are being spent on looking for evidence of impacts of arts instead of trying to understand it (Belfiore & Bennett 2007). Focusing mostly on the reporting and aiming to prove short-term or intermediate effects play a role in a general failure to identify longer-term impacts of cultural activities, including unforeseen or negative impacts (Coalter 2001, Belfiore 2002). This fundamental bias of concentrating

on merely short-term evaluation and impact goals and leaving questions related to a long-term impact not considered is a driving force for this research to a great extent.

Evidence-based policies go hand in hand with a broader trend of instrumentalism, that is an expression used more frequently in the last period since the beginning of the 80s (Røyseng 2008, Belfiore 2004). An instrumental cultural policy is another product of a more general attempt to rationalize a growing number of spheres today in modern society, that is hallmarked with the attitude of calculation (Røyseng 2008). Classical thinkers, such as Max Weber, have warned about the growing risks of excessive rationalization and that it might lead to a disenchantment of the world (Weber 1917). Excessive qualitative methods and impact evaluation can be seen as “ammunition” in the political debate, as argued by Belfiore, that is rarely questioned for its origins or methods that are being used (Belfiore 2009). According to Gielen, if the inspection rates and competition get too high, people might lose their autonomy and control over their activities or lives (Gielen et al 2015: 47, Matarasso 2019). It presupposes that, for example, a cultural manager who wants to implement a project needs to conform to the existing standards and design a program according to the needs of the system, as during the *ex ante* evaluation one needs to meet the set requirements. Resource allocation is determined merely by outcomes that a certain policy or program is intended to reach – implementation itself goes to the backstage and is designed accordingly (Hadley & Gray 2017). Most of the time project managers or artists themselves are held responsible for the changes among people that they work with. This change is understood as an improvement, as funding bodies prefer the work including communities or target groups that are, according to them, problematic (Matarasso 2019: 163).

To conclude, in this paragraph the prevalence of evidence-based policies not only in the field of arts and culture but on a broader scale were discussed. It contains a strong role of evidence played by *ex ante* and *ex post* evaluations and impact studies, which are used for

legitimizing certain interventions, monitoring them and eventually using its effects in preparing the next cycle of policies or interventions. Eventually, a big majority of interventions or cultural policies are expected to have an instrumental characteristic that serves not only as a reason to support it, but also becomes an expected (additional) outcome.

3.2. CULTURAL VALUE AND CAUSATION

Some scholars argue that cultural value prevails its instrumental attribute and such position should be kept if the status of ‘culture’ is desired to be maintained as something of greater meaning and value than other areas of policy (Hadley & Gray 2017). It cannot be expressed in the same units of measurement as ‘economic value’ and it might be lost if it is assessed in economic terms (Throsby 2001). Culture cannot be described that easily – and if one cannot say with clarity what something is – how can it be possibly measured? What is there to be measured in the first place? Belfiore and Bennet (2007) notice that such debates have been around for at least two and a half millennia and the first theorization of instrumental cultural policy can be found in Plato’s Republic (Belfiore 2006). Thus, the focus here is made on a question about what does a participant gain (if only) from being a part of cultural happening and how does the virtue of participating transform an individual and/or a broader community?

Firstly, merely the positive values and outcomes of a cultural intervention can be traced, which is the case most of the time in the current policymaking and evaluation strategies. The focus here is merely on progress and improvements that a cultural intervention brings about to either an individual or a broader community. However, a negative impact does exist in parallel, too, and should not be taken for granted or, which happens to be the case in most situations, completely ignored. For example, many non-governmental organizations that use artistic means to reach their objectives are experiencing ‘two steps forward, one step back’ phenomenon, which does rarely find a place

in the current M&E frameworks – reporting a somewhat failure of the intervention might lead to cuts in funding (Batliwala & Pittman 2010: 12). Here, the gain or added value of intervention might not be that accurate and easy to track. Finally, the third possible way to interpret the question of gain, transformation and value is to refuse to consider it in the first place, which means taking the *l’art pour l’art* stance, where the question does not and cannot be evaluated or measured. However, the first discussed way of looking only for a positive impact of arts and culture is a dominant one and is used in order to implicitly legitimize organized culture (Gielen et al. 2015). This makes sense, as, according to Belfiore, the value ‘has been inextricably linked to the challenge of ‘making a case’ for the arts and for public cultural funding’ (Belfiore 2016: 95).

This is rooted in the belief that culture has a utilitarian value (Mulcahy 2016). Measurement of it became a question for a number of disciplines – cultural value is believed to have something to do with economic (Goodwin 2015, Snowball 2008), educational (Reason 2013), well-being (Fujiwara 2013), and other social fields (Hadley & Gattenhof 2011, Matarasso 2019). Cultural experiences are believed to have positive effects on volunteering (Bennett and Parameshwaran 2013), promote regeneration (Evans & Shaw 2004) and have other definite effects (Arts Council England 2014). Most of these assumptions are based on quantitative justifications demonstrating that expenses on cultural activities have a multiplier effect that can be felt in the economy (Mulcahy 2017: 21).

This leads to the question of causality. Causality is not that simple as in reality effects cannot be easily separated from one another, especially when we are talking about experiential values and individual learning (Gielen et al. 2015). Social impact studies are criticized for oversimplifying the question of causation and complexity around it. (AEGIS 2004). For example, F. Matarasso (1997) in his pioneering book “Use or Ornament?” tried to get a grip on the social impact of participation in the arts. Even though he revealed certain outcomes of

being involved in arts, he admitted that the biggest problem remains to be the one-off establishing causality (Matarasso 1997: 3). Later, he was criticized for not taking it into account, as he put forward the argument that in any case, the determination of causal links does not answer the questions “why the project has been a success or a failure”, while, he points out, it would be extremely important to be able to do so by analyzing ‘the causal mechanisms triggered by a given programme’ (Matarasso 1996: 20). Yet, he did not go further with assessing this mechanism and was heavily criticized by Merli (2002: 110). Nevertheless, later on in his response to this criticism, Matarasso explained that it was not his intention to carry out a longitudinal analysis that would allow defining causal links in participatory art projects, which he additionally argued to be extremely hard to track as it depends on “infinitely variable combination of situations and people” (Matarasso 2003: 340).

Cultural interventions, as described above, are believed to have a value², and having in mind the driving force discussed earlier – evidence-based policies – researchers or practitioners try to ultimately find justifications for it. Belfiore even goes as far as calling such reality “bullshit”, as she criticizes the prevalence of justifications for the spending in the cultural sector. She argues that current discourse is based on the alleged transformative powers of the arts and its positive social impact without really knowing it. What is more, this trend does not seem to go away any time soon, as evaluation measures and other tools of the evidence-based policymaking are only criticized but not rethought fundamentally (Belfiore 2009). Questions of cultural value have always been and always will be a question of power and authori-

2 This deserves another discussion - value is not the same as demonstrable benefits; it is more conceptual and intangible (Warmsley 2013). Value of arts and culture is ‘created in the encounter between a person (or multiple people) and an object (Carnwath & Brown 2014: 8).

ty (Hadley & Belfiore 2018, Matarasso 2019). Although evidence-based policy strives to be as ideology-free as possible (Belfiore & Bennet 2010), the reality is that policymaking is a political exercise. The value must be assigned by someone to something in particular contexts. It is a relational process as what we hold to be valuable is not created in a social vacuum and is primarily affected by the power relations that are there at a given time (Frow 1995). It is an important task to not only reflect on such power relations that influence the creation of value discourse but rather to address them (Belfiore 2020).

In this paragraph, a short summary of most relevant discussions on the question of causality of cultural value that could or could not be revealed by certain evaluation techniques was presented. With all this divergent thinking, it would be useful now to bring in some practical thoughts about the impact of cultural interventions, methods of its evaluation and problematics that are present in recent academic literature.

3.3. DEFINITION OF IMPACT AND ISSUES IN THE M&E

A first definition, or rather a way of interpreting the term impact is a more quantitative way of understanding it. Impact can be a subject to cost-benefit analysis as it is explained as the difference in the indicator of interest (Y) with the intervention (Y_1) and without the intervention (Y_0) (Ravallion 2008). However, to demonstrate this kind of impact, having a control group is essential to make a comparison, which would allow to conclude and attribute a change to a particular intervention. Many suggest that it is difficult to do so since there are so many different factors involved, especially in the field that deals with societal questions (White 2012). This understanding of impact changed in the late 20th century as more qualitative objectives such as building social capital came into the discourse. The rise of participatory approaches of development led to a rise of the participatory evaluation. F. Matarasso (1997) made one of the very first attempts to identify and assess evidence of the social impact of participation

in the arts and then later on got linked to the qualitative research in general – paying more attention to participants, addressing outcomes rather than outputs, etc. (Selwood 2002). Such focus on outcomes rather than outputs is closely related to a belief that an intervention is understood as a contribution to a change, which in itself is very complex and contextual. The difference between the two understandings is epistemological – it is either considering intervention as something that leads to a change or analyzing the change and examining an extent to which a particular intervention has contributed.

It is worthwhile to take a look into arguments about certain inconsistencies within the M&E field and highlight key challenges for organizations in assessing impact of their activities. The first challenge was described above – there is a lack of clarity about differences between evaluation and impact assessment. This becomes apparent between different levels of stake holding. For example, donors may have limited understanding of the variety of M&E tools available and most often leave the execution of evaluation in the hands of grantees or external bodies. When it comes about impact assessment, most of the times there is little difference made within a project application and it is mostly limited by mere evaluation procedures. This is sometimes aggravated by a lack of conversations between different levels about alternatives and the potential of advancing a more learning-based impact assessment instead of seeing it only for accountability purposes (Bell & Aggleton 2012: 798). Some nonprofit project implementors do admit that the bigger part of outcomes assessment is not helpful for their work but is rather an external demand (Campbell 2002: 255). Followingly, another concern about impact assessment is that a lot of time, meaning years or decades, is needed in order to capture it. In the majority of projects or programs this long-term timeframe is not included in the reporting part, which is limited to conventional M&E practices, and remains more theoretical than practical. Besides time, long-term impact assessment would also require a highly money consuming mixed-methods approach to be planned and that raises

doubts whether it would constitute money well spent (Van den Hoogen 2014). Nevertheless, as has been witnessed by interviewees of the case study and from author's personal experience, many project applications involve such terms as sustainability and long-term impact criteria to indicate a purpose of social change beyond the timeframe of the program. However, there are little tools offered nor applied in order to measure such effects (Etherton & Prentki 2007). This leads to a situation where short-term changes are confused with sustainability, which is a fundamental failure and deserves a more thorough analysis (Bell & Aggleton 2012: 799). Another criticism of current practices related to long-term impact evaluations is related to the negative or ignorant perception of evaluation and impact assessment, especially among project managers and participants. It is argued that if there is little interest and involvement of stakeholders in the process of developing impact indicators, those and related evaluation methods are unlikely to be relevant for them in the later stage (O'Flynn 2010). Also, the vast amount of data gathered during M&E or impact assessment is not always used creatively or effectively and serves only the purpose of accountability, consequently the value of it is not recognized on different levels but the funders (Wenger 2002). Even with so much data, there is a constant effort to find a more robust evidence and a way to find it. The concentration on extracting evidence of impact across the whole field is sometimes described as 'the huge search to find the 'holy fail' (Selwood 2002: 42). This somehow relates to a different approach for data collection and methodology that is also a discussion point for years. Quantitative methodologies aim to eliminate the individual perspective of the researcher and seek to portray the objective reality by using metrics. Qualitative methods, on the contrary, rely primarily on nonnumeric data in the form of words and seek to explain and predict the impacts (Scwandt 2001: 215) Both approaches of tackling a question might be fruitful, however, when it comes about culture, community, creativity or other value-loaded terms, quantitative methods raise doubts. Metrics that

were originally used in economics and other numbers-related fields cannot fully grasp on cultural value. Goldbard goes as far as arguing that the search for metrics in this domain may actually harm instead of being helpful (Goldbard 2008).

This is a concise but representative summary of concerns and challenges related to the impact assessment. Most of them go down back to the ultimate question of causation, which is epistemological. Even though there are many ways to assess the impact and the M&E field is broad and has a lot to offer, there is still a lack of consensus on what is the most suitable and revealing way to assess the impact of participatory cultural projects or programs. Having all these discussions about instrumental cultural policies, causality, cultural value, impact assessment and similar in mind, this research suggests that another angle to approach these debates may be more beneficial. It is crucial to start from the bottom and examine different interpretations that stakeholders have about the concept of long-term impact as such. Looking into discourse may help to untangle the complexity.

4. Case Study

4.1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper is based on a unified analytical framework or a general theory of Mats Lindberg that tackles the ideological thought content as described in his recent publication “The VDP-triad in Ideational Analysis” in *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift* (Political Science Journal). Lindberg creates a synthesis of various disciplines and approaches: he acknowledges prominent political theories and a general pattern of practical reasoning, which he supplements with the general social theory and the broad concept of ‘culture’ that allows him to fit the model in all social domains or fields, and grounds his beliefs in the general view on politics and political pluralism of the idea-struggle and the dialectical, argumentative nature of such debate. He argues

that all social and political thought and language is generically argumentative. He suggests a morphological theoretical model – the VDP-triad – of the inner structure of social and political thought that may be used in content-oriented descriptive idea-analysis or simply to inform the pursuit of rational idea-criticism (Lindberg 2017). The inner structure of action-guiding thought, according to Lindberg who bases his arguments within an extensive previous research, consists of, firstly, “ideals, values, goals or ends (V). Secondly, orienting descriptions and cognitive beliefs (D) of the situation and its structures and actors, including the evaluative attitudes to the cognized objects. Thirdly, prescriptions, recommendations, practical proposals, rules or norms (P).” (Lindberg 2019: 509) Lindberg argues that any cultural system or institutionalized ideology, which is already established and recognized, carry this three-tiered structure. By analytically separating these three dimensions, one can critically scrutinize the moral validity, the empirical validity and the internal logical validity of a certain thought-content. (Ibid: 531)

When this theoretical framework is used for empirical analysis, it gives a great opportunity for a researcher to use linguistic utterances found in the textual material as empirical indicators of the inner thought-content (Ibid: 524). It relates heavily to the interpretation of content-analysis, which is nothing new in the humanities and the social sciences, according to Lindberg. He admits a larger methodological problem of causality between the empirical indicator and the idea in language that is attempted to be decoded, however, he argues that it is possible to overcome this issue to a certain degree, which is sufficient to make valuable conclusions and descriptions. If a researcher is well-aware of the research-object and source-material, it is possible to uncover the hidden values through patterns found in a text, a system of texts, the intertextual discursive context and the surrounding cultural configuration (Ibid: 526). This can be done by building up “a context-specific and language-specific competence” that is gained by pursuing an extensive research of both secondary literature and primary sources.

4.2. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Having described the methodological approach, it seems plausible to use Lindberg's analytical method of the VDP-triad to shed light on different interpretations of long-term impact. Three different stake holding levels were tackled in the case study of Tandem Turkey³ 2011/12 project round: funders, project managers and participants. Such a case study exemplifies the practical patterns of working in a field of arts and culture with projects or programs that fall under the scrutiny of funders and are non-profit.

4.3. FUNDERS

While analysing documents related to the Funding body, the guiding question kept in mind was "What are the values that make the foundation care about the long-term impact?". Here I use the VDP-triad (see Table 1) and extract the fundamental value of effectiveness – a goal to reach the most impact having limited resources. It is described as a situational goal to deploy resources in the so-called "great deals". "Foundations tend to achieve greater success when they pursue long-term goals beyond traditional grant making" (p. 12) – this is a general statement about nature of foundations and the interpretation of what is understood to be a success or effectiveness. It serves as a guiding principle of the respective foundation's work and suggests that ef-

3 "Tandem – Cultural Managers Exchange Project Turkey-European Union 2011/12" was the initiative implemented by the Berlin-based non-governmental civil society organization MitOst together with another not-for-profit cultural institution Anadolu Kültür and Istanbul Bilgi University in Turkey and supported by the independent private foundation Stiftung Mercator in Germany and the European Cultural Foundation in the Netherlands. The project started in 2011 as a one-year pilot program, during which cultural managers from the European Union and Turkey worked in pairs ('Tandems') for collaborative artistic production.

fectiveness and success can be achieved when objectives related to long-term are considered. This, supposedly, is the reason to include criteria of sustainability and long-term impact in a project application and reporting forms. Organically, the prescription to prefer projects that intend to have long-term impact, over those that do not, can be made as a conclusion.

	Value	Description	Prescription
Fundamental	Effectiveness	“Foundations tend to achieve greater success when they pursue long-term goals beyond traditional grantmaking”	To give preference for projects with long-term impact
Situational	“To deploy our resources better than all other actors and where we can make a difference”	“our activities are always understood and perceived as a long-term investment”	Include criteria of sustainability and long-term impact in project application and reporting forms
Sense Making	The goal is to effectively spend limited resources	“our activities are Investing in long-term goals is an effective way to spend limited resources	To give preference to projects with long-term impact

Table 1. The VDP-triad analysis of the ideas expressed by funders in the official documents. The “Sense-making” row is author’s suggested sense-making of the table’s content (it applies to following tables as well).

From the interview with a representative from the foundation, very similar information was extracted, but the context around it is somehow different (Table 2). The value of effectiveness – performing in a productive way that results in consistently achieving expected results - is excerpted, as, according to the interviewee: “for a donor, a question always is: where are my resources best allocated?”. This

	Value	Description	Prescription
Fundamental	Effectiveness	Justification of funding	To have a criterion of long-term impact
Situational	Effective resource allocation	“to make a decision what to fund. <...> To justify within perspectives, very real reporting line.”	“those initiatives or engagements that promise <...> that they might have <...> the long-term impact, they appear more favourable.”
Sense Making	Resource allocation is based on the value of effectiveness	Effectiveness implies justifying one over the other	Justification includes criterion of the long-term impact

Table 2. The VDP-triad analysis of the ideas expressed by a funding body representative in semi-structured interview on 13 February 2020

may be compared with venture capital, which, in economic terms, is financial support for projects with promising potential growth in the long-term. In this sense, a reason behind the discourse about the long-term impact could subsequently be merely economic. The interviewee further explained that limited resources “is one of the reasons why you say - well those initiatives or engagements that promise or at least show to a certain degree that they might have at least an understanding of the long-term impact, they appear more favourable”.

4.4. PROJECT MANAGERS

The guiding question while reading official documents and carrying out interviews was “what are the most important values that could make this project be important in the long-term as stated by project managers?”. The first detected value is trust (see Table 3), that is described as a “prerequisite for successful joint cultural work” and “central to the project”. This is a fundamental value and its fundamental description. The value of trust is also found in one of the project’s objective “to establish mutual trust for cooperation in the future”. Subsequently, the situational description explains how this trust can be built during the project: “bring participants to a deeper understanding of each other’s culture”. Eventually, the fundamental prescription of building trust is detailed in a situational prescription. The ultimate value of trust is held to be necessary for establishing successful cooperation that would have a long-lasting effect, namely, a long-term impact.

	Value	Description	Prescription
Fundamental	Trust	Building trust is “a prerequisite for a successful joint cultural work”	To build trust
Situational	“The project will establish mutual trust for cooperation in the future“	“bring participants to a deeper understanding of each other’s culture”	“The placement will foster each respective partner’s understanding of the context <...>. This “immersion” <...> will provide the basis for a successful, long-term international exchange”
Sense Making	Project’s goal is to establish trust	Trust is established by bringing people to a deeper understanding of each other’s culture	Deeper understanding is reached through immersion into another participant’s culture

Table 3. The VDP-triad analysis of the ideas expressed by project managers in official documents

In the interviews with project managers from Tandem program it became clear that the category of long-term impact is difficult and counterproductive. P. Dietachmair explains: “We provide the framework, the playing field, platform for making these experiences, but participants have the freedom to do whatever they want with that framework depending on their interest. <...> you continue collaborating after the experience in whatever way.” The overarching value in relation to long-term effect is freedom (Table 4). When participants are given the freedom to cooperate and learn from each other, they are expected to form strategic, long-lasting partnerships. The category of long-term impact is indeed difficult as, according to the interviewee, one “cannot measure if someone has interculturally learned”, such ambiguous categories that involve developing soft skills are not meant to be measured or assessed in the first place: “I focus on this Tandem experience that is meant to provide people new contacts and can use in long run, I do not measure anything”. This is due to the fundamental value of freedom, which indicates that anything can happen in the future: outcomes tend to be unintended.

	Value	Description	Prescription
Fundamental	Freedom	Freedom to be established, it requires to bring people together	To create safe space
Situational	“To give individuals freedom to do whatever they want with the experience”	To connect people over borders so they can form long-term strategic partnerships	To give the impulse for partnerships to form and develop naturally in time by creating a framework for collaborative experience
Sense Making	Long-term impact is created by giving individuals freedom to build collaborative partnerships	This freedom is created by international exchange and bringing people from different culture together	This requires to have a collaborative framework and experience

Table 4. The VDP-triad analysis of the ideas expressed by project managers in semi-structured interviews on 3 and 13 March 2020.

4.5 PARTICIPANTS

This is a very important level of stakeholding as the long-term impact is, first and foremost, directly related to this group. People that were interviewed shared their assumptions about possible factors that made the change to be relevant in the long run. In most cases merely personal efforts to maintain and pursue benefits initially gained in short-term in the Tandem Turkey 2011/12 project round, such as persistency or personal responsibility were mentioned to be the factors for such continuity. Interviews revealed that for the majority of participants the category of long-term impact is not relevant, and they reflect upon it neither before joining a project nor after it. “The only problem at that point [evaluation] is that you cannot clearly see the impact – the long-term impact of what you have done. What can I write in that report? Six years later, when I look back, now I can tell a little bit more. This feedback can be given after certain numbers of years, not immediate” (Y. Ömer Erzurumlu). Participants were also critical about a duration of such projects and, to a certain extent, it could be a reason for a long-term impact not to be such an easy category to ponder upon. “Projects like this should not be considered for a year. It should be much longer. Otherwise, this is a short term.” (Y. Ekinci). This resonates with the thoughts expressed by both project managers and funders about the longitudinal nature of societal changes and the overarching discrepancy of designing, funding and implementing projects that are short-term.

5. Discussion

5. 1. THERE ARE DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT LONG-TERM IMPACT IN THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

In the official documents, project managers and funders demonstrate a different understanding of long-term impact. For the former group, defining a long-term impact of a project implies establishing values that would make that project be continuous in the future. Values of trust and influence, that were derived from the analysis, are driving forces and factors that guarantee the anticipated long-term impact. The official discourse, as described by project managers, implies that a project creates a fundamental base for a long-term impact to occur eventually. However, for funders a concept of long-term impact has mostly to do with a value of effectiveness and success of the foundation itself. This category is a part of their strategy that is aimed at effective resource deployment. The need to be seen as effective necessitates funders to include criteria of long-term impact and sustainability in a project application and reporting forms. Those are crucial differences that were extracted in the official documents and lead to the equivocality of the long-term impact understanding.

5. 2. THERE ARE DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING ABOUT LONG-TERM IMPACT IN UNOFFICIAL DISCOURSE

The equivocality can also be explained by obvious differences in the unofficial discourse, as has been observed during semi-structured interviews. According to interviewed project managers, a long-term impact is an ambiguous term that must be included in a project application as it is required by funders; however, it is not that much important in day-to-day work. The long-term impact is based on the value of freedom and therefore may or may not unfold on itself, as was observed in the analysis. The long-term impact, according to project managers, is the inspiration for their work, and at the same time, they fully anticipate and embrace its vagueness, as they link it

with freedom, have a rather loose, idealistic approach. Funders, on the other hand, are in all respect pragmatic. Having the long-term impact category in application forms is, to a wider extent, based on the need to justify financial spendings. Therefore, the long-term impact category has a lot of leverage in making a funding decision and is based on fundamental values of effectiveness and success of the foundation itself. This understanding is very much different from a more idealistic one held by project managers as it is very pragmatic and based on economic attributes and logic,

5. 3. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL DISCOURSE ARE DISADVANTAGEOUS

The differences between official and unofficial discourses are not only between different stakeholders but also within a single level of stakeholding. Official discourse as presented in the foundation's strategy is very different from the unofficial interpretation as was told in the interview with their representative. The same value of effectiveness is described and understood differently. In the official source, the effectiveness related to the long-term impact is presented as the strategic goal of the foundation. Whereas in the informal interpretation, this category has mainly to do with a mere justification of limited resources. It appears that the official understanding of long-term impact in the foundation is indeed long-term itself, however, the informal discourse is based on short-term effectiveness. Whereas the official application prepared by project managers was based on the value of trust, however, the unofficial discourse revealed that it was described in this way so as to fit the project application form and meet the funder's requirements, merely to check the necessary boxes. During interviews, long-term impact was explained as a category to develop in time organically. Such bold differences not only between different stakeholders but also within one level are disadvantageous as it does not provide the common ground to be established when talking about the long-term impact both within an organization but

also among different players. Such differences create tensions between grantmakers and beneficiaries, hinder the impact assessment processes and foster a systemic challenge.

5. 4. THE DANGER OF LONG-TERM IMPACT INFLATION

One very important disadvantage of such different understandings is the potential inflation of the long-term impact descriptions. If one promises to have a long-term impact and shows at least an understanding of this concept, it is a good enough reason to justify the limited financial spending. However, due to its longitudinal nature and the fact that a project is funded for a rather short term in comparison to the time needed for a societal change to take place, beneficiaries are not required to report on such long-term change in the future. This implies that there is no control or assessment foreseen in order to check if long-term impact objectives have been reached. Project managers may use it to their own advantage and describe the long-term impact as broad and ideally as possible. This leads to everyone talking about the long-term impact – it creates a long-term impact bubble. Hence, project managers are, in a sense, forced to address it if they want to receive funding for their project. Eventually, it leads to a situation when nearly every project needs to have a long-term impact foreseen.

5. 5. SHARED RESPONSIBILITY LEAVES NO ONE RESPONSIBLE

Funders assess projects according to long-term impact as a selection criterion, but that is where it often ends. Such assessments are hard to accomplish and require a lot of human and financial resources to be invested. According to the interviewed funders representative, responsibility for a long-term impact stays with project managers, essentially in terms of finding additional financial support for the continuity of the project. Project managers, on the other hand, criticize the contemporary system of short-term funding that is granted for a singular project. They interpret impact assessment studies as

a reason why such limited funding is the status quo. Although both parties care about the long-term impact, the responsibility to carry out an impact assessment many years after the project's end seems to be lost in the misunderstanding of the concept itself and, therefore, not being taken care of at all. From a funder's perspective, it is rather irrational – if a gardener invests in a plant that is supposed to have a colourful blossom after some years, then it seems incoherent to stop caring for it before it does blossom eventually. And if a project manager is driven by the value of creating a long-term change, it then seems sensible to keep track and make sure that such anticipated change happens. Both examples would require parties to be keen on assessing the long-term impact. However, the case study showed that this responsibility is lost in between.

Conclusion

The long-term impact assessment is a challenge for cultural leaders working in fields of project management, cultural policymaking, monitoring and evaluation, etc. Above-described patterns generate tensions and misunderstandings between parties involved. If well understood and communicated, these differences may resolve into a more integrated whole. There is a gap between official and unofficial discourses, or in aspirations and reality. Funders, project managers and participants have different understandings about the concept of long-term impact. These differences are rooted in contrasting values systems of each actor that contrast not only among them but also in one's formal and informal discourse. Stakeholders do not have an adequate response to it, as values and behaviours are rarely put into question, and, therefore, new stakeholders across boundaries need to be engaged, such as researchers or academics. A technical solution such as introducing a new evaluation method would not solve a more prominent challenge that requires leadership skills. For

that, a space for such discussions should be created, where informal understandings would be shared and trust could be established. The task to create a safer space for discussions and experimentation can be taken up by anyone involved in the system, there are no instructions for that in theory.

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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON CULTURE AT DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT LEVELS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FROM A SIGMA AND BETA CONVERGENCE PERSPECTIVE

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ANNOTATION

The paper focuses on convergence of public expenditure on culture per capita in European countries. The sigma and beta convergence in period of 2009-2018 is computed for three different levels of government – general, central and local government. Various government levels are regarded due to the subsidiarity principle and Decentralization theorem. According to them, the public good (in this case the culture) should be provided in the most effective way as close to the citizens as possible respecting local preferences or the scope of the benefit. For each government level, the sigma and beta convergence is computed for two types of indicators - the general indicator extracted from the General government expenditure by function (COFOG) division 08 - Recreation, culture and religion and partial indicator of Cultural services (sub-division 0802). Results show, that there is a sigma and beta convergence of expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion (division 08) per capita in European countries in estimations made for higher government levels and sigma and beta convergence of cultural services (sub-division 0802) per capita on local government level.

KEY WORDS

Public expenditure, government levels, COFOG, cultural services, convergence

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JEL CLASSIFICATION: H40, H72

1. Introduction

Through the culture humans can pertain skills and knowledge and record it to so-called collective “cultural code” of the nation, which accumulates the skills, experience and knowledge of the generations (Leakey, 1996). Beside it, cultural and creative activities generate a range of cultural, economic, social and personal benefits for people (ANA, 2019). Thus, the culture is undoubtedly an integral part of the society and its position is obvious and undeniable.

From the public finance perspective, the culture is supported by public expenditure, because it increases the social welfare, produces positive externalities, etc. According to Cwi (1980) art and culture might be considered as merit goods (a term introduced by Musgrave, 1959). Cwi (1980) defines merit goods as “goods, which some persons believe ought to be available and whose consumption and allocation are felt by them to be too important to be left to the private market”. Cwi (1980) evaluates goods in the field of art and culture from the merit good, the market failure and public benefits perspective. According to Musgrave (2018) a concept of merit good is best applied where individual choice is restrained by community values. Although merit goods are private goods, they generate strong positive externalities when they are consumed (Becchetti et al., 2020).

Governments support culture by public spending at different government levels. The principle of subsidiarity is usually adopted in democratic countries, where the fiscal federalism and the decentralization is applied. The subsidiarity principle itself, as well as the Decentralization theorem proposed by Oates (1972) suggests, that public goods (in this case the culture) should be provided in the most effective way as close to the citizens as possible respecting local preferences or the scope of the benefit. The final result is that, local public goods should be provided by local governments, regional public goods by regional government as national public goods by the central government (or the highest level of the government according to the

form of state (unitary/federal)). That is the reason, why several government levels are considered in this research.

The research motivation resists in perception of the need of culture, that is common for all humans. It arises from the perspective, that all humans (all countries ´citizens) need a culture, because it serves for several purposes: as a channel of expression of emotions, instrument to decrease the social pressure in a community and the instrument of creating bonds between people (UNESCO, 2002) or to create a so-called cultural code (mentioned in Leakey, 1996). As the need of culture is common for humans and the culture is supported by public spending, there is the question, if the support of culture converges across countries, knowing that poorer EU member states and poorer EU regions have been converging towards a higher level of GDP per capita since year 2000 (Alcidi et al. 2018). Like in researches on GDP convergence, the sigma and beta convergence methods are used to capture the convergence of public expenditure on culture in European countries.

2. Literature Review

The paper itself contributes to the literature on public expenditure on culture. Existing literature deals mainly with the level of public expenditure on culture in different countries, but the concept of convergence was not applied, yet. That makes a paper´s purpose quite unique, when no research on expenditure on culture convergence is found in the empirical literature.

The government expenditure on culture is usually monitored by governments at country level and by some organizations as La Caixa, Ibis World (2020) or Culture & Creativity. In the empirical strand of literature, certain researches on public expenditure on culture regarding the federal constitution of the government could be found, e.g. Čopić et al. (2013) or Tu, Tao and Guo (2017). Čopić et al. (2013) stress

in their report also the relationship between central and local funding for culture in EU countries in 2001-2011. They mention, that although the central government level stipulates the conditions of providing public goods in culture, local government have a great degree of freedom. The effect of autonomous local decision-making process in the field of culture is investigated also by Tu, Tao and Guo (2017). They consider a relationship between the expenditure on culture and fiscal decentralization in Chinese provinces in 1997-2015. Their results show, that expenditure decentralization in China reduced the proportion of government expenditure on culture tot total government expenditure. An independent think tank in Australia called A New Approach (ANA, 2019) evaluates public expenditure on culture in Australia on different government levels, because as in many other countries, also in Australia the responsibility for cultural expenditure is split between levels of government. One of their findings is, that the highest government level decreased per capita expenditure on culture during a decade, while sub-national governments have increased it. Kopańska (2018) makes a research on Polish municipalities in 2002-2014, which are regarded as important makers of local cultural life, because they decide about 70% of public expenditure on culture in Poland. According to her findings, there still persist differences in the inter-municipal level of public expenditure on culture. This differences are evaluated from the local socio-economic point of view, local financial conditions, local political incumbent and factors influencing costs of cultural services. Mosafari, Aboutorabi and Hajamini (2020) evaluate the relationship (Granger causality) between public expenditure on culture and sustainable development in EU countries in 2000-2015 to explain the importance of culture in development policies. They found a two-side Granger causality between cultural expenditure and indicators of sustainable development.

3. Data and Methods

Data are collected from the Eurostat database (European Commission, 2020) for the longest possible time series - period of 2009-2018. Data are of two types. First data on government expenditure are extracted from the Government finance statistics, sub-section of General government expenditure by function (COFOG). Here, the division of Recreation, culture and religion is taken into account (division GFo8 of COFOG) and sub-division of Cultural services (sub-division GFo8o2 of COFOG). Data on GFo8 and GFo8o2 (million Euro) are collected for three types of government levels (in Eurostat labeled as sectors(S)): S13 - General Government (abbreviated as GG), S1311 - Central Government (abbreviated as CG) and S1313 - Local Government (abbreviated as LG). To compute values on expenditure in per capita terms, data on population are extracted from the Eurostat's Population section, where the sub-section of Population on 1 January by age and sex (Total) in number of persons is used. The analysis is provided in the programming environment R, the R version 4.0.3 (Bunny-Wunnies Freak Out) released on 2020-10-10 (R Core Team, 2020).

There are 31 European countries involved to the research, namely Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. In case of CG GFo8o2 and LG GFo8o2 (Cultural services) investigation, Germany and Austria are excluded from the research due to missing data on central and local government level.

The concept of sigma and beta convergence was introduced and developed mainly by Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1992, 2004) to evaluate the convergence of economic growth. This concept is emulated in this research and following four types of convergence are computed:

1. Sigma convergence based on standard deviation – trend regression (sigma convergence form multiple periods), estimation method is ordinary least square (OLS), linear and non-linear trend are projected,
2. Absolute beta convergence – estimation method is OLS, linear and non-linear trend are projected,
3. Absolute beta convergence - estimation method is non-linear least square (NLS),
4. Conditional beta convergence – estimation method OLS, a dummy variable is introduced to express the post communistic nature of some countries in the sample, where initial conditions differed from those of western European countries. Dummy variable is defined as nominal value “West” or “Post”, then is in R transformed to binary values (1 and 0, 1 when country is West, 0 when Post) using the `to.dummy` function from the package REAT (Wieland, 2019).

Sigma convergence (σ -convergence) refers to dispersion of indicator in question between countries or regions. When the dispersion of the indicator in question across a group of countries or regions falls over time, there is σ -convergence (Young, Higgins and Levy, 2008). The variance σ^2 and the standard deviation σ are computed in a following manner:

$$\sigma^2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (y_i - \bar{y})^2 \quad \text{and} \quad \sigma = \sqrt{\sigma^2}$$

(1)

where y_i is a variable in question, i is an index for spatial elements (countries, regions) and \bar{y} is a simple arithmetic average (Simonescu, 2014). In case of empiric investigation, sigma convergence is indicated by negative sign of the time estimate.

When the partial correlation between indicator in question over time and its initial level is negative, there is beta convergence (β -con-

vergence) (Young, Higgins and Levy, 2008). Sala-i-Martin (1996) expresses the (absolute) beta convergence using the following formula:

$$\ln\left(\frac{y_{it}}{y_{i,t-1}}\right) = \alpha - \beta \ln(y_{i,t-1}) + u_{it}$$

(2)

where y_i is a variable in question, i is an index for spatial elements (countries, regions), t is time, u_{it} is an error term. In this paper, other regressors are not included to the equation (2) to provide a relative comparability of the sigma and beta convergence results, when sigma convergence employs only the variable in question.

In case of absolute beta convergence based on the OLS, to conclude, that there is a beta convergence, beta should be negative. Absolute beta convergence with estimation method NLS is originally introduced by Barro and Sala-i-Martin (2004). In this case, beta should be positive (greater than zero). Absolute beta convergence (unconditional beta convergence) is related to the case, when all countries or regions in the sample are assumed to converge towards the same steady-state (Monfort, 2008). Conditional beta convergence is used, if the steady-state may depend on certain countries' specifics. That is why the conditional beta convergence was also computed using the dummy variable respecting the economic conditions, as mentioned hereinbefore. In case of conditional beta convergence, the beta should be negative. Beside the beta estimator, the lambda and half-life estimators are usually presented. Lambda expresses the yearly rate of convergence resp. the convergence speed. Half-life expresses the period (in years, when yearly data) in which differences among countries or regions will be reduced by 50%.

4. Results

Public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion presents a low proportion in % of GDP. For the whole public sector (GG) it refers on approximately 1.3% of GDP (see Table 1 part 1).

		2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
1.	08 as % of GDP	GG	1.38	1.36	1.32	1.30	1.28	1.29	1.28	1.27	1.30
		CG	0.64	0.61	0.60	0.59	0.59	0.61	0.61	0.64	0.65
		LG	0.74	0.73	0.69	0.67	0.69	0.68	0.67	0.64	0.65
2.	0802 as % of GDP	GG	0.61	0.60	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.57	0.55	0.55	0.56
		CG	0.29	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.26	0.27
		LG	0.34	0.34	0.33	0.32	0.33	0.32	0.32	0.30	0.31
3.	08/TE in %	GG	2.92	2.91	2.91	2.86	2.82	2.85	2.88	2.91	3.04
		CG	1.97	1.94	1.98	1.95	1.91	2.01	2.05	2.22	2.30
		LG	7.13	7.27	7.18	7.12	7.41	7.50	7.47	7.27	7.41
4.	802/TE in %	GG	1.31	1.29	1.28	1.27	1.29	1.28	1.26	1.28	1.33
		CG	0.89	0.78	0.80	0.81	0.83	0.80	0.80	0.88	0.92
		LG	3.00	3.08	3.06	3.10	3.29	3.20	3.26	3.29	3.35
5.	802/08 in %	GG	44.76	44.33	44.12	44.16	45.48	44.55	43.11	43.70	43.51
		CG	41.00	37.94	38.05	39.34	39.57	36.61	35.44	38.50	37.47
		LG	41.97	42.52	43.30	45.29	46.05	42.88	45.54	45.73	46.77

Table 1.: Shares of division 08 and subdivision 0802 on GDP and on total expenditure (TE) and share of subdivision 0802 on division 08 in 31 European countries in 2009–2018 (averages at various government levels)

Source: author's own calculations

At the central government level (CG) it presents 0.6% of GDP and at the local government level (LG) it present 0.7 % of GDP. Logically, the public expenditure on Cultural services as subdivision of the 08 division presents much lower proportion in % of GDP. For the GG it refers on approximately 0.6% of GDP. At the CG and also LG it presents approximately 0.3% of GDP (see Table 1 part 2). From the part 3 and part 4 of Table 1 it is obvious, that LG spends more on culture when expressed to total expenditure of the given government level. The share of the Cultural services expenditure on expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion (see table 1 part 5) presents around 43-44% for the whole public sector. Beside the other subdivision as

0801 Recreational and sporting activities, 0803 broadcasting and publishing services, 0804 Religious and other community services, 0805 R&D recreation, culture and religion ad 0806 Recreation, culture and religion n.e.c., the expenditure listed in the subdivision of 0802 Cultural services presents an important part of this division. The averages for the CG and LG are of the same nature. Averages for the CG are rather decreasing during the monitored period and they range from 41% in 2009 to 35.44 % in 2015 (the lowest value). Contrary, averages for the LG are increasing in the same period and they range from 41.97% in 2009 to 46.77% in 2017 (the highest value).

In the case of sigma convergence, we can conclude, that there is a sigma convergence, when the dispersion is decreasing. Contrary, an increasing dispersion implies a lack of sigma convergence (Mendez, 2020). Table 2 shows results of the sigma convergence, figures displaying the linear and non-linear trend are listed in Appendices.

From the sigma convergence perspective, there is a convergence of public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion (division GFo8 of COFOG) per capita among 31 European countries in at all levels of government (the sign of the estimate (see Table 1 is negative)). The sigma convergence of public expenditure on Cultural services (sub-division GFo802 of COFOG) per capita is not observed at higher government levels (GG and CG, at CG the divergence is statistically significant). Local public expenditure on Cultural services converge from a sigma convergence perspective.

Government level and indicator	Estimate	P-value	Significance	R-Squared
GG08pc	-0.0058	0.0292	**	0.4676
CG08pc	-0.0059	0.0117	**	0.5689
LG08pc	-0.0070	0.0277	**	0.4742
GG0802pc	-0.0014	0.1621		0.2287
CG0802pc ^a	0.0151	0.0089	***	0.5953
LG0802pc ^a	-0.0353	0.0015	***	0.7374

Table 2.: Estimated sigma convergence (OLS)

*** denotes a statistical significance at 1% significance level, ** at 5% significance level and * at 10% significance level

^a Germany and Austria excluded due to missing data

Source: author's own calculations

In case of absolute beta convergence (OLS) convergence, the estimate of beta should have a negative sign. Results of absolute beta convergence (OLS) are shown in Table 3, figures projecting the linear and nonlinear trend are listed in Appendices.

Government level and indicator	Estimate	P-value	Significance	R-squared
GG08pc	Beta	-0.01792	0.0378	0.1404
	Lambda	0.0020	-	
	Half-life	344.9	-	
CG08pc	Beta	-0.01973	0.0317	0.1495
	Lambda	0.0022	-	
	Half-life	313.0	-	
LG08pc	Beta	-0.0113	0.1066	0.0873
	Lambda	0.0013	-	
	Half-life	550.4	-	
GG0802pc	Beta	-0.0143	0.1172	0.0825
	Lambda	0.0016	-	
	Half-life	431.9	-	
CG0802pc ^a	Beta	-1.993e-04	0.9830	0.0002
	Lambda	2.2152e-05	-	
	Half-life	3.1291e+04	-	
LG0802pc ^a	Beta	-0.0356	1.0700e-04	0.4321
	Lambda	0.0040	-	
	Half-life	172.2	-	

Table 3.: Estimated absolute beta convergence (OLS)

*** denotes a statistical significance at 1% significance level, ** at 5% significance level and * at 10% significance level

^a Germany and Austria excluded due to missing data

Source: author's own calculations

According to results in Table 3, we can conclude, that there is an absolute beta convergence of public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion per capita at the general government level and central government level, the local government beta approximates the statistical significance level of 10%. In case of Cultural services, beta is negative and statistically significant only in case of the lowest government level. Lambda indicates about 0,2% speed of convergence in case of convergence observed in expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion. In case of Cultural services on the local government level the convergence speed is 0,4%. A half-life indicator expresses, that the differences will be reduced about 50% in a period exceeding 300 years, when considering the convergence of expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion. For Cultural services at the local government level, a half-life indicator presents a half value of those mentioned hereinbefore, what might be caused by higher speed of convergence at the local level. However, considering the R^2 , estimations suffer from its low values, except of the last case.

Observed results of absolute beta convergence estimated by the OLS and NLS method of estimation do not differ. Just to remind, in the case of absolute beta convergence estimated by the NLS method of estimation, the beta should be positive (greater than zero). As the Table 4 shows, positive and statistically significant beta in case of expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion is estimated for GG and CG. Positive and statistically significant beta in case of expenditure on Cultural services is observed for the lowest government level (LG). Lambda indicates about 0.2% speed of convergence in case of convergence observed in expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion. In case of Cultural services on the local government level the convergence speed is 0.5%. A half-life indicator expresses, that the differences will be reduced about 50% in a period exceeding 300 years in case of the whole public sector and 284 years in case of central government level, when considering the convergence of expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion. For Cultural services at the local

government level, a half-life indicator presents a value of 142 years, what again might be caused by higher speed of convergence at the local level.

Government level and indicator		Estimates	P-value	Significance	R-squared
GG08pc	Beta	0.0195	0.0560	**	-
	Lambda	0.0022	-		
	Half-life	316	-		
CG08pc	Beta	0.0217	0.0501	**	-
	Lambda	0.0024	-		
	Half-life	284	-		
LG08pc	Beta	0.0119	0.1254		-
	Lambda	0.00132	-		
	Half-life	522	-		
GG0802pc	Beta	0.0154	0.1430		-
	Lambda	0.0017	-		
	Half-life	403	-		
CG0802pc ^a	Beta	0.0002	0.9830		-
	Lambda	0.0000	-		
	Half-life	313	-		
LG0802pc ^a	Beta	0.0429	0.0009	***	-
	Lambda	0.0049	-		
	Half-life	142	-		

Table 4.: Estimated absolute beta convergence (NLS)

*** denotes a statistical significance at 1% significance level, ** at 5% significance level and * at 10% significance level

^a Germany and Austria excluded due to missing data

Source: author's own calculations

Finally, the conditional beta convergence is estimated. Table 5 shows results of the conditional beta convergence, where the dummy variable (labeled as West) for western European countries is introduced. The positive sign of the West coefficient expresses, that in western countries of the Europe the public expenditure on culture grow faster than in post-communistic countries. The negative sign of the West coefficient expresses, that in post-communist countries of the Europe the public expenditure on culture grow faster than in western countries. For the beta coefficient, its negative sign is desired. Regarding both beta and West estimates, the conditional beta convergence of expenditure on culture is rarely observed. The only

one case is convergence of local expenditure on culture. Speed of convergence is similar to previous values (0.4%) and also half-live indicator (176 years) approximates the values observed in previous estimations made for the local government level.

Government level and indicator		Estimate	P-value	Significance	R-squared
GG08pc	Beta	-0.0092	0.3955		0.1878
	West	-0.0227	0.2116		
	Lambda	0.0010	-		
	Half-life	676.5	-		
CG08pc	Beta	-0.0141	0.1459		0.2080
	West	-0.0263	0.1615		
	Lambda	0.0016	-		
	Half-life	438.9	-		
LGO8pc	Beta	-5.4995e-03	0.4387		0.2077
	West	-3.3049e-02	0.0485	**	
	Lambda	6.1274e-04	-		
	Half-life	1.1312e+03	-		
GG0802pc	Beta	-5.4189e-03	0.5858		0.1808
	West	-2.8961e-02	0.0774	*	
	Lambda	6.0374e-04	-		
	Half-life	1.1481e+03	-		
CG0802pc ^a	Beta	0.0054	0.6517		0.0976
	West	-0.0303	0.5778		
	Lambda	-	-		
	Half-life	-	-		
LGO802pc ^a	Beta	-0.0348	2.3681e-04	***	0.4364
	West	-0.0089	6.6206e-01	***	
	Lambda	0.0040	-		
	Half-life	176.2	-		

Table 5.: Estimated conditional beta convergence (OLS)

*** denotes a statistical significance at 1% significance level, ** at 5% significance level and * at 10% significance level

^a Germany and Austria excluded due to missing data

Source: author's own calculations

Considering the potential influence of Germany and Austria exclusion in the case of the CGo802pc and especially LGO802pc variable, an additional computation of sigma and beta convergence on the reduced sample of countries was provided. Unfortunately, these two countries do not publish values for COFOG subdivision, while values for ten main COFOG divisions are published for all government sectors in the Eurostat database. That is the reason of the use

of GGo802pc variable on reduced sample (Germany and Austria excluded) in the additional computation. However, results obtained in the additional investigation do not differ from those obtained for the whole sample of the countries. The sigma convergence of the GGo802pc, the absolute beta convergence (both OLS and NLS estimator) and conditional beta convergence are not observed. But the R² is reduced in all estimations. Beside it, the examination of the CGo8pc and LGo8pc time-series was provided, too. It did not reveal the outlier character of the values for Germany and Austria. Regarding the results of the additional investigation of reduced GGo802pc sample and the examination of the time-series of CGo8pc and LGo8pc variables, the potential exclusion of the Germany and Austria from the sample might not bias the results.

Finally, to achieve a better overview of main findings, the Table 6 is constructed. Here the summary of all results obtained from partial investigations is shown.

Government level and indicator	Sigma (OLS)	Absolute Beta (OLS)	Absolute Beta (NLS)	Conditional Beta
GGo8pc	**	**	**	
CGo8pc	**	**	**	
LGo8pc	**			
GGo802pc				
CGo802pc ^a	*** divergence			
LGo802pc ^a	***	***	***	***

Table 6.: Summary of public expenditure on culture convergences

*** denotes a statistical significance at 1% significance level, ** at 5% significance level and * at 10% significance level ^{divergence} in this case the statistically significant sigma divergence is observed

^a Germany and Austria excluded due to missing data

Source: author's own calculations

It is obvious, that dispersion of public expenditure Recreation, culture and religion at various government levels falls over the time. In case of public expenditure on Cultural services, the anomaly is present, when the divergence of monitored indicator is observed at the central government level. At the local level the sigma convergence is observed. Absolute beta convergence confirms the results in case of public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion for the general and central governments and convergence of public expenditure on Cultural services of local governments. Unfortunately, the conditional beta convergence, which regards on different initial conditions of countries involved to the research, does not confirm the results obtained for public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion. Contrary to this, it confirms the convergence process at the local government expenditure on Cultural services.

3. Conclusion

The culture is equally important in all countries and it is coessential as education or health. Thus, the same principles in public support of the culture should be adopted in democratic countries. In this paper, public expenditure on culture is examined. Assuming, that the culture is equally important in all European countries and convergence of GDP per capita is obvious among them, the public expenditure on culture is investigated from the sigma and beta convergence perspective. Public expenditure on culture for 31 European countries is derived from the COFOG classification of public expenditure on Eurostat, where expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion presents a division 08, and expenditure on Cultural services is its subdivision 0802. Current structure of the countries' public sector indicates, that principles of fiscal federalism and fiscal decentralization were there applied. While the fiscal decentralization in western European countries was implemented a quite long time ago, in former

communistic countries certain delay might be observed. Decentralization in post-communist countries was frequently introduced to public sector and public finance at the beginning of the 21st century. One of its basic ideas, principle of subsidiarity, was respected. Shift of competences and powers from the highest government level to lowest ones has followed tendencies promoted by the theory of fiscal federalism theory and local governments have begun to carry about tasks in various fields of public goods and public services including also the field of cultural services. From this reason, public expenditure on culture of various government levels are investigated.

As results show, in the case of the sigma convergence, the dispersion of per capita public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion at various government levels falls over the time. In case of per capita public expenditure on Cultural services, sigma convergence is observed only at the local government level, while on the central government level the divergence is observed. From the beta convergence perspective, results of the absolute beta convergence confirms the results in case of public expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion for the general and central governments and convergence of public expenditure on Cultural services of local governments. Results partially differ in the case of conditional beta convergence, which assumes different initial conditions of countries involved to the research. Conditional beta convergence is observed only in the case of the local government expenditure on Cultural services, similarly to previous investigations. It might imply, that local governments really face the provisioning of cultural goods. They are the closest to citizens and simultaneously their proportion of expenditure on culture on total expenditure is higher than that of central governments.

However, the provided research might have certain limitations. In the case of beta convergence (absolute and conditional) other control variables were not included to the estimations. Beside it, estimations results are presented under the low R^2 values in the prevalent part of beta convergence. Finally, the discussion might be led about the

application of the concept of sigma and beta convergence. Currently, there are few studies applying this concept on other variable except of the GDP or income. E.g. Aldy (2006) applied a sigma convergence concept mentioned in Barro and Sala-i-Martin (1992) on an examination of the per capita carbon dioxide emissions to evaluate the climate change. Arvanitidis, Kollias and Anastasopoulos (2014) applied a concept of sigma and beta convergence on defence expenditure, while Saba, Ngepah and Nsiah (2002) focused on convergence clubs in the case of the expenditure on defence.

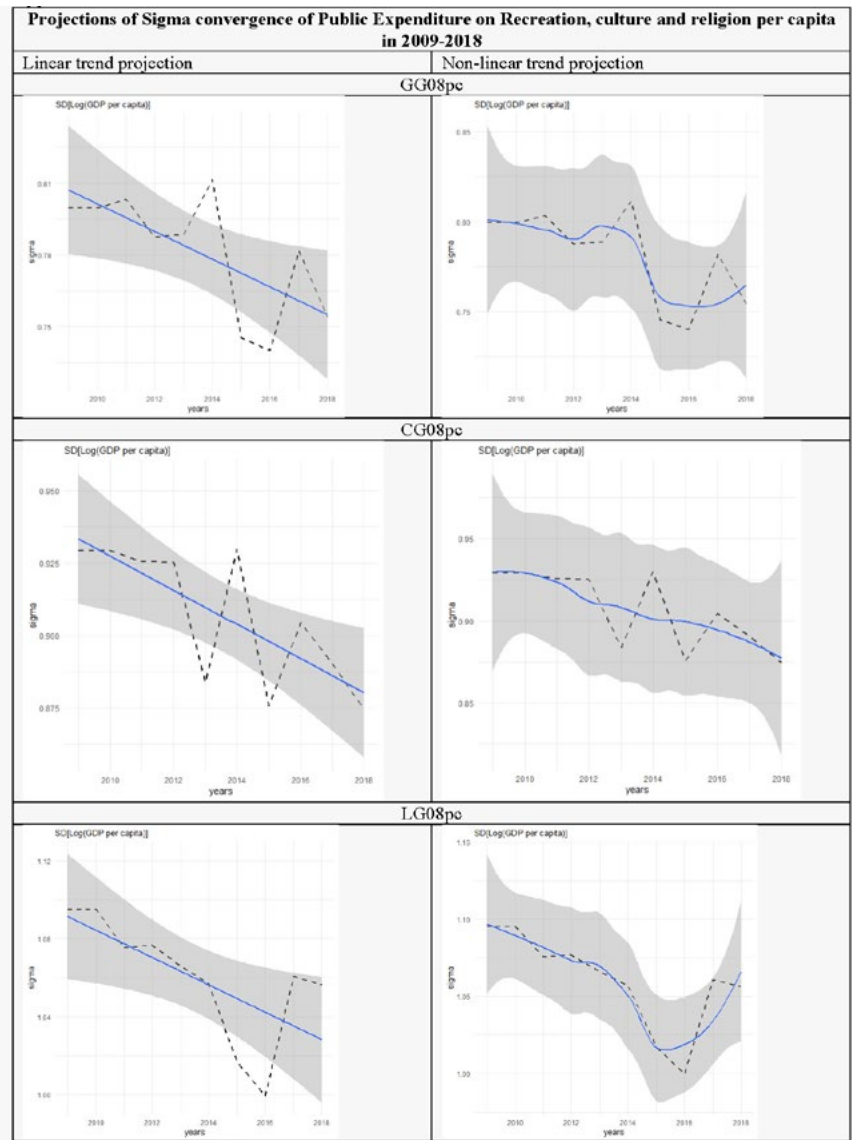
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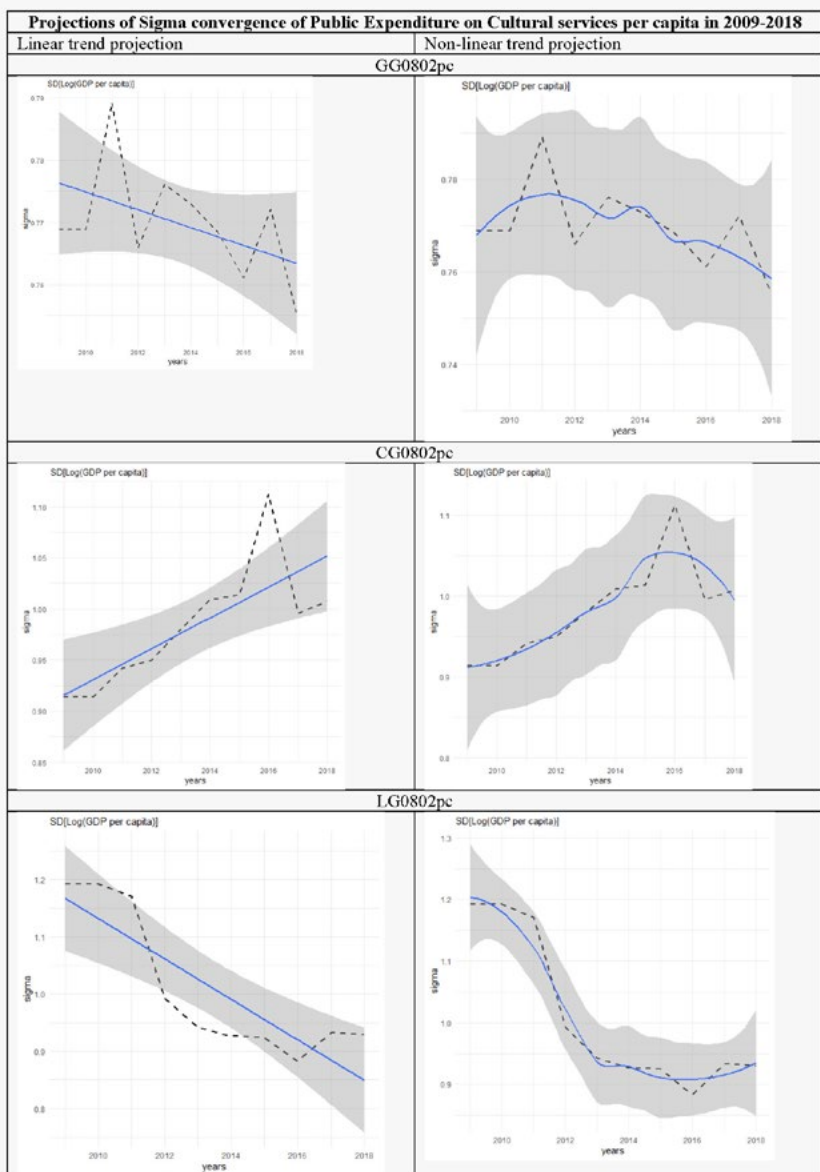
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Appendices



Source: own computations in R



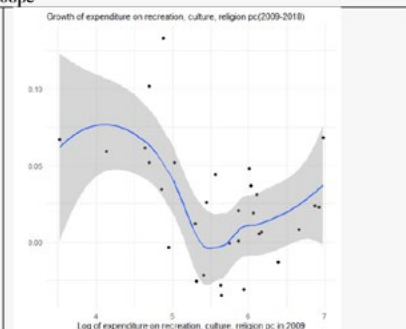
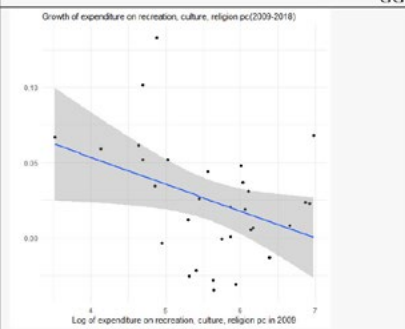
Source: own computations in R

Projections of Absolute Beta convergence of Public Expenditure on Recreation, culture and religion per capita in 2009-2018

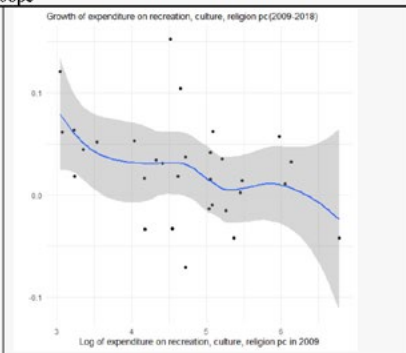
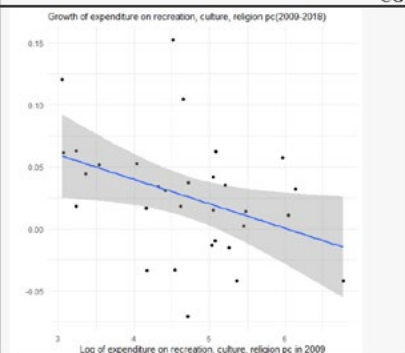
Linear trend projection

Non-linear trend projection

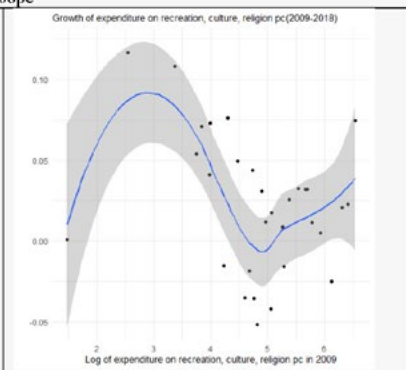
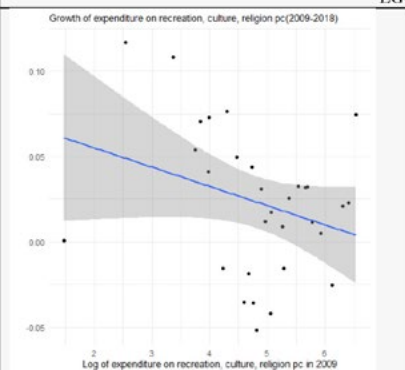
GG08pc



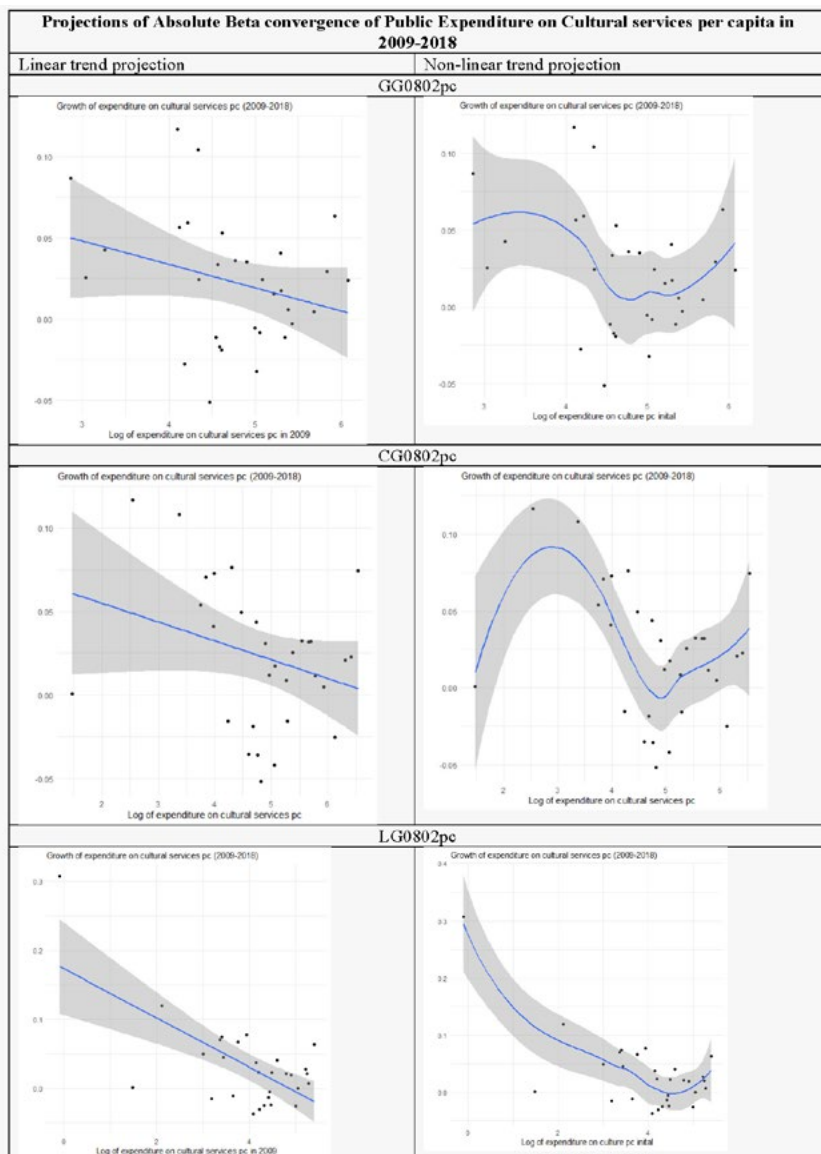
CG08pc



LG08pc



Source: own computations in R



Source: own computations in R

Prof. Dr. Nzeza Bunketi Buse, Ribio

PRODUCING DATA FOR CULTURE IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT: CONSTRAINTS AND CHALLENGES OF A JOURNEY

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ANNOTATION

Speaking from a sub-Saharan African context, culture is not most of the time considered as a productive and lucrative sector. It is commonly seen as leisure to only entertain people. Unfortunately, this underground discourse emerges even among political elite. The first consequence is that cultural dimension is absent from most development plans.

For scholars and researchers, the challenge is to start producing data and figures. However, this initiative is highly difficult in a context where the culture of database in public administration or in business is not widely shared. This paper aims to present and to underline the beginning of the journey of gathering, analyzing and publishing data in the cultural sector in a sub-Saharan African context with its specific constraints, challenges and perspectives.

Through analysis of studies on economic impact of COVID-19 period on the creative sector and related debates, it appeared clear that Sub-Saharan African states should commission to researchers and to consulting firms field studies in order to map and to understand the creative ecosystem. Civil society and private should, on their sides too, sensitize and mobilize their members in that perspective.

KEY WORDS

Sub Saharan Africa, Culture, Statistics

JEL CLASSIFICATION: O12

1. Introduction

There is a popular conception of culture even spread among political elite about the status of culture sector. It is for leisure only and very far from any contribution to social and economic development. The first consequence is that cultural dimension is absent from development planning. Measures to support culture in order to boost job creation and poverty reduction are lacking.

We have documented debates around the request of support from creative people made to their Governments across many African countries. In some of them, relief funds have been made available in countries such as Kenya, Senegal and South Africa. The question was to provide data supporting the request for guiding state intervention. It was important to know which sector is most affected than another; the nature of relief expected, the number of operators, etc. Data were lacking. In Senegal, by example, the Association des Métiers de la Musique du Sénégal (AMS, 2020) conducted a quick online survey to assess the negative impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. Why waiting for an unprecedented situation for producing data? What should be done in order to embed the “data for culture” culture if the creative sector is supposed to be part of people’s well-being and of sustainable economic growth?

Grabbing from our experience in collecting quantitative surveys made in Africa during the lockdown period about COVID-19 impact (Buse, 2020b), we encountered difficulties and challenges according the continent context and environment. The paper recommends some actions to be implemented by the States, Researchers, Civil society and Private to track information for enhancing the creative sector.

2. Historical background

The situation which is tried to be painted here is commonly shared by sub-Saharan African countries. Most of them have been colonialized by France and just a few by Belgium. Those two countries are quite similar because of their Latin-inspired organization. Others were colonialized by the United Kingdom.

Sub-Saharan countries face quite the same difficulties and challenges. From Senegal to Ethiopia, from Chad to Zambia, the economic, political, and social landscape is not too distant from one country to another. Indeed, South Africa is excluded from this group due to its better organization than other sub-Saharan countries. Even in the cultural field, it is very well advanced. It cannot fall under the category we are investigating now. Some British colonialized countries, even less developed than South Africa, have an upper organized cultural sector like Ghana (West Africa) and Namibia (Southern Africa). Nigeria is not as well organized as South-Africa but Government has created department monitoring and following up the lucrative film sector.

Those African countries (West and Central Africa mainly) inherited from their colonizers the type of relationship with culture and arts from a Latin perspective standing from the Renaissance movement. They were kingdoms where creators (comedians, painters, sculptors, etc.) were invited to the palace just to entertain the King or Queen with his or her dignitaries. They were paid to perform such duties. Or, royal families commissioned some artworks for their prestige to be put in front of their castles or front of public facilities.

3. The current conception of the culture

That historical background conducted to the vision that culture is more a leisure tool. Creators are paid to perform by the state which is their big and main employer. Two consequences result from that:

- **Culture is not linked directly to social and economic development.** Cultural goods and services are only for symbolic consumption. They contribute to moral, affective, and intellectual well-being. To some extends, they are just a factor of social cohesion. In the Democratic Republic of Congo in the time of Zaire, culture was funded by the Unique political party to support President Mobutu's vision and to strengthen his dictatorial authority (White, 2006). Furthermore, the cultural policy of Zaire was the "mobutism" which was the doctrine based on the vision and actions of President Mobutu (Ekanga, 1975),
- **The state intervention is a sine qua non condition** to make the cultural sector work properly and enable creators to earn money. In other terms, the state is the main provider of resources. So, culture must receive public funds to run correctly.

Unfortunately, that vision continues to be present in the mindset of most of the current political elite on the continent (Northern African and South African exempted). What also astonishes, is that many creators embrace that conception.

Or, the situation has evolved over the decades since independence. The economic and social environment, liberalism, and consumerism ideology have played a disruptive role. The two mentioned conceptions are not consistent with nowadays realities:

- **Culture has not only one face, but two:** the older face is symbolic, spiritual, linked to people's identities, way of life, customs, etc.; the new one is commercial. Cultural goods and services are like any others that can be produced and sold. They are part of an industrial process. The concept of "Cultural industry" in the 1940's (Adorno-Horkheimer, 2012) from the School of Frankfurt is a reference. Today, the World Trade Organization agreement focuses also on the place of cultural goods and services in commercial exchanges. The debate around the principle of the "cultural exception" excluding cultural goods and services from the international trade agreement raised by UNESCO under France's advocacy shows how the economic value of the culture is at stake,
- Even, The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) releases regularly a report on the creative economy. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in partnership with UNESCO published a joint report in 2013 regarding the same issue. Many other independent reports by firms or studies led by academia on the economic value of the cultural sector may be mentioned,
- **The state regulates and but not necessarily operates.** After the collapse of the communist bloc, many countries have embraced the liberal ideology with the support of main western states. The role of the public sector is to organize, to create a framework to enable the private sector to function. So, cultural operators are exposed to market realities. Consequently, the cultural management field has been developed in universities and many scholars have invested it as their research area. By example, Pan-Atlantic University in Nigeria has created the Nollywood study center. In Egypt, the Senghor University of Alexandria has since 2007 a Department of cultural industries management more oriented towards the private sector. It differs from the older Department of Heritage management where activities mainly receive public funds.

That is not to say that public intervention is banned. But it is not mandatory. The state continues to support cultural fields where it feels necessary. For instance, during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic, many studies showed a negative economic impact on the sector on the continent (Buse, 2020b). Countries like Senegal, South Africa, and Kenya, just to mention a few, have devised a program to support the creation.

4. New deal: measuring the unmeasurable?

But what matters now? The new orientation considering culture as a driver of social and economic development through mainly creative and cultural industries remains a myth for most African policymakers. Although some countries and regional communities like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), even the African Union have made statements have produced legal instruments and action plans to promote the economic value of culture, real actions are still lacking on the ground.

Why? Many reasons are possible. One of them is the quasi-absence of evidence-based studies (data and figures) **measuring** the contribution of the creative and cultural sector to their economies. Is not it the culture only a symbolic entity? **How can we measure the unmeasurable?** Why should states invest in a sector where there is no proven possibility to generate income for financing their budgets?

Those questions should be addressed. It is the beginning of a journey. Some countries are well advanced in that perspective. Just to mention South Africa with SACO (South Africa Cultural Observatory). It is a statistical and socio-economic research project, launched in 2014, which **charts the socio-economic impact of the arts, culture and heritage (ACH) sectors and the cultural and creative industries**

(CCIs) in South Africa. It is hosted by the Nelson Mandela University on behalf of the Department of Arts and Culture.

Two of the key functions of SACO seem to be relevant according to this paper's perspective because they help to measure:

- The conceptualization and collection of statistics (data-bases),
- Monitoring and evaluating the impact of cultural events.

This example is just special as it has been mentioned above that South Africa likely uncommon regarding the relationship with arts and culture seen with economic lenses. Most sub-Saharan African states have not implemented yet concrete actions or projects aiming to establish monitoring, evaluation, and assessment tools.

5. COVID-19 and the necessity of measuring culture

The situation of the COVID-19 has seized the size of the matter. The creative and cultural sector has been affected. States as regulatory actors were expected to intervene. The main questions were:

- Which specific sectors need urgent support for emergency relief funds?
- What is the breadth of the disaster?
- How much money the creative and cultural sector has lost?

Answering those questions requires the use of measuring tools. In past, neither states nor cultural operators usually produced cultural statistics. However, data were necessary to guide any support needed. The Nairobi plan of action for cultural industries (African Union, 2005) adopted by African ministers in charge of culture recommends three phases intended to guide any action or policy for developing the creative sector:

1. Create an enabling environment to strengthen the framework for the African cultural industries;
2. Establish cultural industries as key contributors to sustainable development of African countries;
3. Ensure the competitiveness of African cultural industries.

Some scholars, academicians, organizations, and private firms on the continent started to conduct online surveys to assess the impact of the pandemic. The authorship of all those initiatives, except the SACO's one, was led by private bodies.

An article published last august (Buse, 2020b) titled COVID-19 and culture in Africa. A comparative analysis of economic impact studies collected available studies and merged them into an **interactive map** along with a **matrix of COVID-19 economic impact in the African cultural sector**.

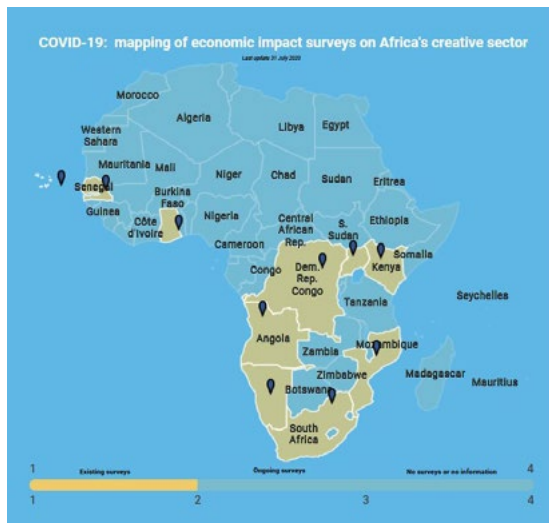


Figure 1: COVID-19. Mapping of economic impact surveys on Africa's creative sector

Note: <https://infogram.com/covid-19-impact-on-culture-africa-mapping-lhn-p279v1qyn6gq?live>

Source: Ribio Nzeza Bunketi Buse (2020b)

Quantitative data were available only for Senegal (Association des métiers de la Musique du Sénégal), DRC (Prof. Ribio Nzeza Bunketi Buse, 2020a), Namibia (Creative Industry Guide), Uganda (KQ Hub Africa), South Africa (SACO), Kenya (Heva Fund) and now Rwanda (Heva Fund).

Qualitative data came from Ghana (Prof. Robert Ebo Hinson, Dr. Nnamdi O. Madichie, and Belinda Bediako Asiedu) under the label of the Center for Strategic and Defense Studies and Lusophone countries like Cabo Verde, Angola, and Mozambique by Circulador, a Portuguese firm.

6. Constraints and challenges of measuring culture

Most of the surveys to assess the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in the cultural sector were conducted online. Two situations are possible in this case. Firstly, the Internet can be used merely as a collecting tool instead of face-to-face interaction between the researcher and the respondents. The sample has been cropped from the database.

Secondly, the Internet can be used at the same time as a sampling and a collecting tool because the characteristics of the database are unknown. Only volunteers can respond. In this case, the generalization of findings is limited.

Each report on the economic impact above mentioned falls into one of the situations explained. That means a problem of **lack of a database**. Many sub-Saharan countries don't have a database of their cultural operators to enable correct sampling for more reliable survey results. The culture of producing data is something not widely shared. The role of states in organizing census is evident.

The other constraint linked to the previous one is the **high level of informality** of African economies in all sectors and especially in culture: (53.3% in Senegal; 51.7% in Namibia, 80% in Kenya (Buse, 2020b). Some creators interviewed in DRC mentioned that they don't prefer registering for escaping paying multiple taxes while their business is not lucrative yet. They are smuggling every day to survive without any state support.

The third constraint affects the researcher because he cannot collect reliable information. After all, **financial items** are very sensitive. Will the report be disclosed to the fiscal administration? Does the researcher collaborate with public entities? Those inquiries make them suspicious and not keen to answer sincerely. At the end of the day, if no reliable data are produced, how can be possible to have support from public and private organizations who require evidence-based information to decide?

To address such relevant constraints, the challenges could be:

1. Organization by states of the cultural landscape by conducting a census and by collaborating with research firms if they cannot create ones to have facts, figures, and data on an important economic sector as culture;
2. Cultural civil society and economic chambers:
 - encourage their members/cultural operators to be keen in providing reliable information when needed by research firms. The intervention of any stakeholder in the sector is based by information provided by them;
 - encourage them to register with public organizations or their respective associations/chambers;
 - advocate for the elimination of any form of fiscal or tax harassment that often discourages cultural operators to provide information relating to their business

3. Researchers devise sound methodologies and tools to capture relevant data and information taking into account the local mindset and particular environment which require domestication of classical qualitative and quantitative instruments.

3. Conclusion

Producing data for culture is one of the important steps to enable the sector moving forward. The Nairobi plan of actions for cultural industries (2005) suggests three phases to establish a solid creative sector. The first is related to infrastructures and institutional framework. Many sub-Saharan countries already have cultural policies. But, the second phase is matching with the current situation. It recommends creating opportunities, strengthening capacities, and building databases. The promotion of cultural industries supporting economic development, job creation, and poverty reduction cannot be achieved without field research and studies. The absence of the managerial approach to culture in many cases explains the lack of data. African states in general should commission their Statistics offices in collaboration with research centres to conduct relevant ground studies in the creative sector. The next step would be exploiting this information in order to plan for the future.

In fact, it would not be insightful for a state to invest in a sector that he has not seized properly. That will be at risk and not fruitful.

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FESTIVAL DOKUMENTÁRNYCH FILMOV

JEDEN SVET: METODOLOGICKÉ VÝZVY NA MERANIE FUNKCIÍ UMENIA DOKUMENTÁRNYCH FILMOV

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ANNOTATION

Článok interpretuje a analyzuje metodologickú výzvu, ktorá vystala v priebehu výskumu aplikujúceho koncept umenia ako spoločenskej praxe cez teoretický rámec siedmych funkcií umenia (De Botton, Armstrong, 2013) v rámci filmového programu MFDF Jeden svet 2020. Výskum vychádza z dát vyzbieraných prostredníctvom dotazníka. Prostredníctvom dvojíc výrokov v dotazníku respondenti hodnotili jednotlivé funkcie umenia. Článok sa zameriava na analýzu rozptylu hodnotenia výrokov, pričom výsledkom je selekcia výrokov na tie, ktoré si už nevyžadujú dodatočnú elaboráciu a také, ktoré si vyžadujú dodatočné precizovanie.

KEY WORDS

filmový festival, dokumentárny film, práca s publikom

JEL CLASSIFICATION: Z11 Economics of the Arts and Literature

1. Úvod

Filmové festivaly sú rozmanité. Majú mnoho podôb, rôzne veľkosti a zloženie publika, rôzne nastavené ciele a priority, avšak jednu vec majú spoločnú – vytvárajú priestor na premietanie filmov, a teda sprístupňujú umenie divákovi a diváčkam, rôznorodým komunitám – celej spoločnosti. Ich cieľom je umožniť publiku oceniť umenie v zmysle nadobudnutia emocionálneho vzťahu k umeniu – filmu – jeho odkazu. Tento rok sa filmové festivaly museli vyrovnáť s novou situáciou – pandémiou COVID-19. Mnohé boli odložené, zrušené alebo sa prispôbili realite a uskutočnili sa v online priestore. Organizátori Medzinárodného festivalu dokumentárnych filmov Jeden svet Bratislava 2020 (ďalej len „MFDF Jeden svet 2020“) patrili medzi tie filmové festivaly, ktoré promptne zareagovali a adaptovali svoju formu na také podujatie, ktoré dodržalo epidemiologické nároky a svojim divákovi a diváčkam umožnili sledovať výber dokumentárnych filmov spolu s ďalšími sprievodnými podujatiami v rámci ich príbytkov, i počítačov či tabletov.

Novovzniknutá situácia vytvorila priestor aj pre vedecký pohľad na filmový festival v online priestore, so špeciálnym zreteľom na jeho inovatívnu online formu na jednej strane (prostredníctvom zisťovania demografických a geografických charakteristík jeho divákov a diváčok ako aj skúmanie spokojnosti s online formou) a zároveň vhodným prostredím na pokus o aplikovanie jedného z teoretických konceptov nahliadania na umenie prostredníctvom jeho funkcií, ktoré definovali teoretici umenia de Botton a Armostrong (2013) na strane druhej.

V prvej časti tento článok popisuje stav súčasného poznania v problematike výskumu umenia v rámci prístupov rôznych vedeckých disciplín, ako aj jeho nové rámcovanie umenia ako spoločenskej praxe. Následne detailne popisuje jednotlivé funkcie umenia, ktoré tvoria základ pre analytický rámec výskumu. Ďalej sa venuje predstaveniu metodiky výskumu, kde si stanovuje cieľ výskumu, kladie výskumnú

otázku a vysvetľuje postup realizácie výskumu. Cieľom tohto príspevku bolo interpretovať metodologickú výzvu v rámci aplikovania teoretického rámca siedmych funkcií umenia v rámci MFDF Jeden svet 2020, inými slovami identifikovať potrebu precizovania a klarifikácie výrokov, na základe ktorých boli hodnotené jednotlivé funkcie umenia. V poslednej časti ponúka zistenia a výzvy na ďalšie vedecké aktivity v tejto oblasti.

2. Umenie/dokumentárny film ako spoločenská prax

Podstatu umenia, jeho ocenenie v zmysle nadobudnutia emocionálneho vzťahu k umeniu (ang. art appreciation) ako aj jeho úlohu v našich životoch, je možné skúmať z rôznych uhlov pohľadu. Niektoré sú v tejto oblasti tradičnými, niektoré naopak prinášajú iný nový prístup. Tradične skúma umenie filozofia, ktorá sa zameriava na psychické zdroje umenia a taktiež estetika, ktorej predmetom skúmania je definícia estetického a problémom estetická hodnota. V poslednej dobe sa k týmto tradičným prístupom ku skúmaniu umenia pridali aj výskumy psychológov a neurovedcov a taktiež sa sformovala myšlienka umenia ako spoločenskej praxe, v rámci ktorej je umelecké ocenenie hodnotné zo sociálno-epistemickej perspektívy.

Psychologická perspektíva skúmania umenia sa venuje variabilite preferencií, emocionálnym reakciám na umenie ako aj posudzovaniu krásy z rôznych pohľadov. Vedecké výskumy sa v kontexte tejto perspektívy zameriavali na rôzne oblasti umenia ako napr. vizuálne umenie, hudbu či literatúru. V oblasti vizuálneho umenia boli definované rôzne formálne znaky vizuálneho umenia, ktoré ovplyvňujú estetické preferencie napr. symetria, farba či kontrast. (Taylor et al, 1999; Reber et al, 2004; Schloss a Palmer, 2011) V hudbe sa výskum

zameral na hľadanie vzťahu preferencií so spektrom osobnostných rozmerov jednotlivcov. (Rentfrow a Gosling, 2003) Oblasť literatúry a jej výskum ukázal vzťah medzi čítaním a empatiou, ako aj čítaním a sebareflexiou. (Koopman a Hakenmulder, 2015) Emocionálne reakcie na umenie boli skúmané z pohľadu vplyvu expertízy v umení (Silvia, 2006) či emocionálneho rozpoloženia. (Eskine et al., 2012) Okrem psychologickéj perspektívy je umenie aj prostriedkom, ktorý využíva neuroestetický výskum, ktorý skúma vizuálne umenie, hudbu, poéziu alebo performatívne umenia ako stimuly ovplyvňujúce nervové mechanizmy spojené s preferenciami, krásou, vznešenosťou a odpoveďami založenými na rozkoši. (Shermann a Morrissey, 2017).

Popri výskumoch psychológie a neuroestetiky priniesli posledné roky nový pohľad aj na oceňovanie umenia v zmysle nadobudnutia emocionálneho vzťahu k umeniu jeho novým rámcovaním a síce umenie ako spoločenská prax. Rámcovanie umenia ako spoločenskej praxe vychádza z jeho vnímania ako komunikačnej, dialógovej, dynamickej a transformačnej praxe, ktorá nahrádza prístup založený na oceňovaní umenia formou pasívneho rozjímania nad krásnymi, príjemnými alebo inak estetickými objektmi. (Moravcsik, 1991; Wolterstorff, 2015; Sherman a Morrissey, 2017) Pri definovaní umenia ako spoločenskej praxe nasledujú Wolterstorff (2015) ako aj Sherman a Morrissey (2017) definíciu spoločenskej praxe autora MacIntyry (1984), ktorý spoločenskú prax vnímal ako:

...akákoľvek koherentná, vnútorne komplikovaná podoba spoločensky ustanovenej kooperatívnej ľudskej činnosti, prostredníctvom ktorej dosahujeme dobrá inherentné tejto forme činnosti, a to v úsilí o dosiahnutie tých štandardov dokonalosti, ktoré zodpovedajú a do určitej miery definujú túto formu činnosti, čo systematicky rozširuje nielen ľudské schopnosti dosahovať dokonalosť, ale i ľudské chápanie príslušných cieľov a dober.“ (s. 187)

Tak ako z uvedeného textu vyplýva, ide o spoločenskú a kooperatívnu ľudskú činnosť, v rámci ktorej dochádza k rozširovaniu

ľudských schopností (sebapoznania) ako aj chápania (pochopenia ostatných) – kultivovaniu sociálno-epistemických zručností.

Umenie a dokumentárny film ako koherentná, vnútorne komplikovaná podoba kooperatívnej ľudskej činnosti rozširuje ľudské schopnosti (sebapoznanie) ako aj chápanie (pochopenie ostatných) a teda kultivuje sociálno-epistemické zručnosti. Ukotvenie umenia/dokumentárneho filmu v koncepte spoločenskej praxe poukazuje na jeho význam na individuálnej ale aj celospoločenskej úrovni. Autori de Botton a Armstrong (2013) posunuli teoretickú prácu s umením ako spoločenskou praxou tým, že vytvorili teoretický koncept nahlľadania na umenie prostredníctvom jeho siedmych funkcií ako sú zapamätanie, nádej, prežitie utrpenia, kompenzáciu, sebapoznanie, rast a scitlivenie. A práve tento koncept sme pri výskume aplikovali na dokumentárne filmy, pričom základnou ambíciou bolo zistiť divácku percepciu jednotlivých funkcií umenia resp. identifikovať nakoľko možno hovoriť o tom, že aj dokumentárne filmy plnia funkcie umenia v kontexte slovenského festivalu dokumentárnych filmov na základe hodnotenia divákov a diváčok a teda naplniť podstatu umenia ako spoločenskej praxe.

3. Sedem funkcií umenia podľa de Bottona a Armstronga

Prvým predpokladom, ktorý rámcovoval realizáciu výskumu prezentovaného v tomto príspevku bolo definovanie umenia v kontexte vyššie uvedeného nového prístupu k jeho rámcovaniu a síce umenie ako spoločenská prax, ktoré existuje v ľudských komunitách (Becker, 1982; Harrington, 2004; Shermann a Morrissey, 2017) a umožňuje kultivovať charakter človeka (Kieran, 2012) prostredníctvom - sebapoznania (Koopman a Hakenmulder, 2015, de Botton a Armstrong, 2013) na jednej strane a pochopenia ostatných (de Botton a Armstrong, 2013) na strane druhej.

Teoretici umenia de Botton a Armstrong (2013) sebapoznatie a pochopenie ostatných definovali prostredníctvom siedmy najbežnejších funkcií umenia: zapamätanie, nádej, prežitie utrpenia, kompenzácia, sebapoznatie, rast a docenenie. V nasledujúcom texte je týchto sedem funkcií umenia vysvetlených podrobnejšie.

Pod funkciou zapamätania vnímajú De Botton a Armstrong (2013) umenie ako akýsi „posilňovač“ pamäte, ktorý funguje ako trezor našich spoločných skúseností, ktoré dokáže uchovať v neporušenom stave a sprístupniť ich všetkým. Umenie tak v zmysle tejto funkcie sprístupňuje ľudskú skúsenosť, uchováva ju a robí ju dostupnou vtedy, keď ju potrebujeme (s. 8-12).

Ďalšou funkciou umenia je nádej resp. umenie ako zdroj nádeje. V rámci tejto funkcie nám umenie ukazuje idey, myšlienky, obrazy či artefakty, ktoré nás dokážu povzbudiť a zároveň pomôcť nás preniesť sa cez skepsu, ktorou trpíme (s. 13-22).

Tretou funkciou podľa De Bottona a Armstronga (2013) je umenie ako vzor dôstojného utrpenia. V zmysle tejto funkcie nám umenie pripomína, že v ľudskom živote má nezastupiteľné miesto aj utrpenie a pomáha nám, aby sme sa menej desili osobných tragédií a vnímali ich ako nerozlučnú súčasť plnohodnotného života (s. 26 - 31).

Po utrpení predstavujú de Botton a Armstrong (2013) umenie ako kompenzačný prostriedok – a jeho funkciu kompenzácie, keďže umenie dokáže zachytiť podstatu cností a v rôznych formách nám ich predstavovať tak, aby nám pomohlo vyrovnať sa s čiastočnými nedostatkami našej povahy a nasmerovať nás k naplneniu nášho potenciálu (s.32-39).

Ako piatu funkciu uvádzajú vyššie uvedení autori sebapoznatie a predstavujú umenie ako sprievodcu ľudskosťou (ťažko definovateľnou a pomenovateľnou), ktorú vieme cez umenie nielen identifikovať, ale vieme sa s ňou aj stotožniť (s. 44-48).

Šiesta funkciu rast, v rámci ktorej umenie funguje ako rozširovač obzorov, predstavuje sofistikovanú zbierku skúseností iných ľudí a zoznamuje nás s rôznymi kultúrami, rozširuje náš pohľad na svet aj

na seba samých. Idey alebo postoje, ktoré umenie stvára, sú jeho diváci schopní si osvojiť spôsobom, ktorý ich obohacuje (s.50 – 58).

Ako poslednú funkciu uvádzajú autori de Botton a Armstrong (2013) scitlivenie, a umenie definujú aj ako kalibrátor citlivosti, ktorý nás dokáže vyslobodiť zo zajatia zvyku a s ním spojenej slepoty voči veciam, ktoré nás obklopujú a obnovuje tak našu citlivosť. Táto funkcia umenia nám pomáha pozeráť sa vďaka umeniu na známe veci novými očami (s. 59 – 62).

4 Metodológia výskumu

Nasledujúca časť predloženého príspevku popisuje a vysvetľuje metodologický prístup k realizovanému výskumu. Cieľ výskumu bol čiastočne rámcovaný požiadavkami kurátoriek a riaditeľiek MFDF Jeden svet 2020 a tomuto cieľu ako aj samotnému predmetu výskumnej aktivity bol prispôsobený spôsob zberu dát.

MFDF Jeden svet, ktorý existuje už približne 20 rokov „...je slovenský medzinárodný festival dokumentárnych filmov, ktorý sa venuje globálnym témam a ľudským právam.“¹ V roku 2020 bol prvýkrát realizovaný v online forme z dôvodu opatrení súvisiacich s pandemiou COVID-19, čo prinieslo viaceré výzvy ako do jeho samotnej realizácie, tak aj do jeho vnímania zo strany divákov a diváčok, keďže ide o etablovaný formát spojený s množstvom sprievodných podujatí, ktoré bolo tiež potrebné previesť do online formy. Práve pre toto sa stal predmetom výskumu, ktorý je popísaný v nasledujúcom texte.

4.1 CIEĽ VÝSKUMU A VÝSKUMNÁ OTÁZKA

Plánovaný cieľ výskumu mal niekoľko rovín, z ktorej sa tento príspevok venuje len jednej, v krátkosti však predstaví aj ostatné. Prvým

1 Oficiálna webová stránka MFDF Jeden svet 2020, Dostupné na: <https://clovekvhrozeni.sk/co-robime/jeden-svet/> [31.12.2020]

zámerom bolo skúmať divácku reakciu na online formu festivalu spolu so sprievodným program, ktorým boli diskusie k niektorým vybraným filmov. Druhou rovinou výskumu bolo identifikovať demografické a geografické zloženie divákov a diváčok, nakoľko toto boli dáta, ktoré absentovali aj klasickej forme festivalu a teda v zásade neexistovalo detailnejšie dátové poznanie o publiku festivalu. A v neposlednom rade bol využitý teoretický rámec popísaný v predchádzajúcej kapitole, ktorý vychádzal z predpokladu, že dokumentárny film je forma umenia a teda by mohol plniť aj rôzne funkcie umenia, a práve tento cieľ a jeho ne/naplnenie je prezentovaný v predložennom článku.

Zároveň, MFDF Jeden svet prekročil hranice filmového festivalu v štandardnom vnímaní a je možné ho vnímať aj ako vzdelávacoo-osvetový program, ktorý reflektuje na aktuálne celospoločenské témy v oblasti ľudských práv, životného prostredia, chudoby, medziľudských vzťahov a otázok vplyvu technológií na ľudstvo.² Snaží sa teda otvárať globálne témy a prostredníctvom dokumentárneho filmu ako formy umenia a odhaľovať, ukazovať a šíriť realitu týchto globálnych výziev aj medzi slovenských divákov a diváčky. Práve na tento rozmer festivalu reflektovala spomenutá tretia kľúčová rovina cieľov výskumu, ktorá mala ambíciu zistiť divácku percepciu jednotlivých funkcií umenia resp. identifikovať nakoľko možno hovoriť o tom, že aj dokumentárne filmy plnia funkcie umenia v kontexte slovenského festivalu dokumentárnych filmov na základe hodnotenia divákov a diváčok.

V súčasnosti hovoríme o nenaplnenej ambícii, keďže realita výskumu odhalila metodologické výzvy, ktoré čiastočne ovplyvnili možnosť naplnenia cieľa výskumu. Príspevok sa teda zameria na kritickú reflexiu metodologického postupu pri realizácii výskumu, ktorý bude bližšie popísaný neskôr. Cieľom tohto príspevku je teda identifikovať potrebu precizovania a klarifikácie výrokov, na základe ktorých boli

2 Oficiálna webová stránka MFDF Jeden svet 2020, Dostupné na: <https://clovekvhrozeni.sk/co-robime/jeden-svet/> [31.12.2020]

hodnotené jednotlivé funkcie umenia. Autorky si na základe vyššie definovaného cieľa položili nasledujúcu výskumnú otázku:

Pri ktorej z funkcií umenia bol priemer rozptylu hodnotenia oboch výrokov najvyšší resp. najnižší?

Pod rozptylom výrokov autorky rozumejú rozdiel v hodnotách pri výroku 1 (V_1) a výroku 2 (V_2), pričom v ideálnom prípade by mal byť rozdiel týchto výrokov nulový t.j. respondent/respondentka odpovedali rovnako na oba výroky v rámci jednej funkcie umenia napr. na oba „úplne súhlasím“ alebo na oba „skôr nesúhlasím“ a pod.. Čím vyšší je rozdiel medzi hodnotami oboch výrokov, tým silnejšia je indikácia, že výroky bude potrebné precizovať (napr. sú nejasné, nie sú komplementárne alebo si vzájomne odporujú či sa nedostatočne vylučujú).

Autorky nevyslovovali ani pre jednu z vyššie uvedených výskumných otázok hypotézy, nakoľko neexistujú dáta, na základe ktorých by mohli byť formulované a teda by bola ich validita a relevantnosť pochybná.

4.2 ANALYTICKÝ RÁMEC

Ako už bolo vyššie spomenuté, pre účely analýzy bol využitý prístup teoretikov umenia de Bottona a Amstronga (2013), ktorí definovali sedem najbežnejších funkcií umenia a síce: zapamätanie si, nádej, prežitie utrpenia, kompenzácia, sebapoznanie, rast a scitlivenie (s.7). Tieto boli následne formulované do 3 resp. 2 výrokov³, prostredníctvom ktorých bola interpretovaná každá funkcia umenia. Výroky boli formulované tak, aby čo možno najlepšie vystihovali podstatu funkcie umenia podľa uvedených autorov, aby boli komplementárne

3 Pôvodne boli vytvorené 3 výroky pre každú funkciu umenia, avšak pri pilotnom testovaní dotazníka sa ukázalo, že matica s výroky a Likertovou škálou je príliš komplikovaná a znižuje ochotu respondenta dokončiť vypĺňanie dotazníka.

a zároveň aby dostatočne zachytili význam dôraz v jednotlivých funkciách umenia t.j. aby neboli synonymické. Jednotlivé výroky následne diváci a diváčky MFDF Jeden svet 2020 hodnotili na 5-stupňovej Likertovej škále⁴. V tabuľke 1 sú zobrazené jednotlivé funkcie umenia a k nim relevantné výroky.

funkcia umenia (F1-F7)	výrok 1 a 2
zapamätanie si	„Tento film mi objasnil súvislosti v rámci rôznych spoločenských udalostí, ktoré som predtým nevedel*a.“
	„Tento film mi pripomenul fakty, udalosti, osobnosti a pod., o ktorých som si myslel*a, že som už na ne zabudol*dla.“
Nádej	„Vďaka tomuto filmu som si uvedomil*a, že vždy existuje možnosť neprestať dúfať v lepšiu budúcnosť.“
	„Tento film pre mňa môže byť inšpiráciou pre zvládnutie ťažkej situácie v živote.“
prežitie utrpenia	„Tento film mi pripomenul, že utrpenie je prirodzenou súčasťou života.“
	„Tento film mi ukázal, že utrpenie je možné prežiť aj dôstojne.“
kompenzácia	„Tento film prispel k tomu, že som sa zamyslel*a nad sebou. Film mi tak môže pomôcť lepšie sa vyrovnávať s mojimi silnými aj slabšími stránkami.“
	„Tento film mi môže pomôcť byť lepšou verziou seba samého.“
sebaboznanie	„Vďaka tomuto filmu dokážem lepšie pomenovať stav svojej mysle, lepšie uchopiť a pomenovať to, nad čím rozmýšľam.“
	„Tento film mi predstavil novú kultúru a rozšíril mi tak pohľad na svet.“
rast	„Tento film ma obohatil o idey a postoje, s ktorými sa v mojom vlastnom svete nestretávam.“
	„Tento film mi umožnil získať novú optiku, nový pohľad na pre mňa už známu tému.“
scitlivenie	„Vďaka tomuto filmu som zistil*a, že to čo sa mi predtým mohlo zdať zvláštne, môžem skúsiť prijať ako súčasť života.“
	„Vďaka tomuto filmu dokážem citlivejšie vnímať aj spoločensky marginálne/okrajové témy.“

Tabuľka 1 Funkcie umenia podľa de Bottona a Armstronga spolu s ich vysvetľujúcimi výroky

4 úplne súhlasím (1) - súhlasím (2) - neviem sa rozhodnúť (3) - skôr nesúhlasím (4) - úplne nesúhlasím (5) + nie je relevantné pre tento film (X)

Respondenti a respondentky sa vyjadrovali ku každému výroku bez toho, aby poznali relevanciu výroku ku konkrétnej funkcii umenia. Celkovo teda vyjadrovali úplný súhlas (1) až úplný nesúhlas (5) na už spomenutej Likertovej škále (1-5) pre všetky filmy, ktoré si pozreli. Celkovo sa teda vyjadrovali k 14 výrokom na škále od 1 do 5 resp. 6⁵.

4.3 SPÔSOB ZBERU DÁT, ČASOVÉ OHRANIČENIE VÝSKUMU A POSTUP REALIZÁCIE VÝSKUMU

Výber spôsobu zberu dát bol ovplyvnený niekoľkým aspektmi. Na jednej strane opatrenia súvisiace s pandémiou COVID-19 neumožnili realizovať kontaktné výskumné aktivity (ako napr. rozhovory čo fokusové skupiny). Na druhej strane bol záujem kurátoriek a riaditeľiek festivalu o reprezentatívne dáta nakoľko šlo o prvý ročník, kedy bol festival výskumne analyzovaný. Zvolený bol teda štruktúrovaný dotazník, ktorý obsahoval viaceré druhy otázok. Dotazník bol pilotovaný siedmimi potenciálnymi respondentami a respondentkami výskumu napr. riaditeľkami filmového festivalu, vedeckými pracovníkmi, ako aj bežnými divákmi festivalov. Podľa ich pripomienok bol dotazník adaptovaný a upravený. Následne bol dotazník v elektronickej forme distribuovaný mnohými kanálmi, aby dosiahol čo najvyššiu responzivnosť.

Zber dát bol realizovaný počas trvania festivalu t.j. 5.-11.2020, ako aj po ukončení premietania filmov, špeciálne víťazného filmu, ktorý bol dostupný dlhšie⁶. Celkovo bolo počas 12 dní úplne vyplnených 379 dotazníkov. Následne boli dáta vyhodnocované pomocou MS Excel.

5 V dotazníku bola uvedená aj možnosť „X“ nie je relevantné pre tento film

6 Okrem 24 hodín, počas ktorých bol k dispozícii ako tak ostatné filmy z programu festivalu, bol prístupný aj ako víťazný film – celé 4 dni po ukončení festivalu – od 12.11. do 15.11. 2020

4.4 ĎALŠIE METODOLOGICKÉ VÝZVY

Pri analýze dát bolo odhalených niekoľko ďalších metodologických výziev, ktoré by mohli byť predmetom precizovania ako napr. ako pracovať s kombináciou hodnotenia výrokov v rámci jednej funkcie umenia, ak sa respondent*ka na jeden výrok vyslovil/a v rámci Likertovej škály (uviedol/a hodnotu od 1-5), druhý však označil ako nerelevantný pre daný film. Podobne otázne je ako pracovať so stredovou hodnotou Likertovej škály t.j. „neviem sa rozhodnúť“ (hodnota = 3 v súčasnom spracovaní dát). A v neposlednom rade otázkou na diskusiu zostáva, aká je hranica priemeru rozptylu, kedy je výroky možné považovať za dostatočne vhodné pre meranie danej funkcie výskumu - či hodnota musí byť rovná o resp. aká je hranica tolerancie napr. hodnota rovná 1, čo je presne rozdiel dvoch najbližších hodnôt Likertovej škály. Na druhej strane, za predpokladu, že výroky budú len vzájomnou „reformuláciou“ jeden druhého /teda budú vnímané ako skoro alebo úplne totožné), rozptyl bude logicky nízky až nulový, čo opäť môže indikovať potrebu precizovať obsah a/alebo formuláciu výrokov.

5 VÝSLEDKY VÝSKUMU A ICH INTERPRETÁCIA

Nasledujúca časť je venovaná výsledkom výskumu - ponúka spracovanie metodologickej vývy t.j. rozptylu hodnotenia výrokov pri každej funkcii umenia a záverom zároveň otvára priestor pre ďalšie otázky a výzvy, ktoré je možné vedecky a analyticky spracovávať.

5.1 FUNKCIE UMENIA AKO TEORETICKO-ANALYTICKÝ RÁMEC - METODOLOGICKÁ VÝZVA

Ako bolo už vyššie uvedené, autorky sa v tomto príspevku zamerali na metodologickú výzvu v aplikácii teoretického rámca siedmych funkcií umenia podľa teoretikov umenia de Bottona a Armstronga (2013). Tie boli formulované do dvoch vysvetľujúcich výrokov, ktoré následne

hodnotili respondenti na Likertovej škále (podrobnejšie pozri v časti Analytický rámec). Nižšie uvedená tabuľka zobrazuje jednotlivé funkcie umenia spolu s ich vysvetľujúcimi výroky a zároveň hodnotu priemeru rozptylu oboch výrokov, ktorá bude bližšie popísaná nižšie.

funkcia umenia (F1-F7)	výrok 1 a 2	priemer rozptylu výrokov
zapamätanie si (F1)	„Tento film mi objasnil súvislosti v rámci rôznych spoločenských udalostí, ktoré som predtým nevedel*a.“ „Tento film mi pripomenul fakty, udalosti, osobnosti a pod., o ktorých som si myslel*a, že som už na ne zabudol*a dľa.“	1,19 (n=308)
nádej (F2)	„Vďaka tomuto filmu som si uvedomil*a, že vždy existuje možnosť neprestať dúfať v lepšiu budúcnosť.“ „Tento film pre mňa môže byť inšpiráciou pre zvládnutie ťažkej situácie v živote.“	0,77 (n=345)
prežitie utrpenia (F3)	„Tento film mi pripomenul, že utrpenie je prirodzenou súčasťou života.“ „Tento film mi ukázal, že utrpenie je možné prežiť aj dôstojne.“	0,99 (n=317)
kompenzácia (F4)	„Tento film prispel k tomu, že som sa zamyslel*a nad sebou. Film mi tak môže pomôcť lepšie sa vyrovnávať s mojimi silnými aj slabšími stránkami.“ „Tento film mi môže pomôcť byť lepšou verziou seba samého.“	0,41(n=335)
sebapoznanie (F5)	„Vďaka tomuto filmu dokážem lepšie pomenovať stav svojej mysle, lepšie uchopiť a pomenovať to, nad čím rozmýšľam.“ „Tento film mi predstavil novú kultúru a rozšíril mi tak pohľad na svet.“	1,21 (n=309)
rast (F6)	„Tento film ma obohatil o idey a postoje, s ktorými sa v mojom vlastnom svete nestretávam.“ „Tento film mi umožnil získať novú optiku, nový pohľad na pre mňa už známu tému.“	1,01(n=356)
scitlivenie (F7)	„Vďaka tomuto filmu som zistil*a, že to čo sa mi predtým mohlo zdať zvláštne, môžem skúsiť prijať ako súčasť života.“ „Vďaka tomuto filmu dokážem citlivejšie vnímať aj spoločensky marginálne/okrajové témy.“	1(n=296)

Tabuľka 2 Funkcie umenia podľa de Bottona a Armostronga spolu s ich vysvetľujúcimi výroky a priemer rozptylu hodnotenia výrokov

Zdroj: autorky

Zoradenie výrokov podľa poradia od najvyššieho po najnižší rozptyl ilustruje graf č. 5.



Graf 1 Zoradenie priemeru rozptylu výrokov v rámci siedmich funkcií umenia

Zdroj: autorky

Ako je možno vidieť z vyššie uvedeného grafu č. 1 X, ako aj z tabuľky č.2, rozdiely medzi hodnotami priemeru rozptylu sa pohybujú medzi hodnotami 0,41 až 1,21, t.j. najvyšší priemerný rozdiel medzi výrokmí je 1,21 a najnižší je 0,44 stupňa Likertovej škály.

Za referenčný bod, kedy je možné považovať kvalitu výrokov ako dostačujúcu, je podľa autoriek stanovený priemer rozptylu rovný ako 1 (pri zaokrúhlení na celé číslo). K takto stanovenej hodnote viedli autorky minimálne dva argumenty. Po prvé, je to presne rozdiel dvoch najbližších hodnôt v Likertovej škále na oboch extrémoch (súhlasná vs. nesúhlasná). Zároveň posun o jednu hodnotu v Likertovej škále neznamenaá presun k opačnému extrému, inými slovami, posun od hodnoty 1 (úplne súhlasím) k hodnote 2 (skôr súhlasím) je rovný 1, avšak respondent zostáva v „súhlasnej“ časti Likertovej škály, čiže nejde o radikálnu zmenu jeho názoru.

Zhoda v hodnotení funkcií umenia - prežitie utrpenia, scitlivenie je pomerne vysoká, nakoľko priemer rozptylu výrokov oscilujú okolo hodnoty 1 (0,99, 1, 1,01). Tieto výroky je teda možné považovať za výroky s takým priemerom rozptylu, ktoré už nepotrebujú ďalšie reformulácie či klarifikáciu resp. respondenti*tky reagovali konzistentne na oba výroky, ktoré mali vyhodnocovať v rámci vyššie spomenutých funkcií umenia.

Ostatné štyri funkcie umenia majú priemer rozptylu hodnotenia výrokov buď vyšší - to platí pre funkcie zapamätanie (1,19) si a sebaopoznanie (1,21) alebo nižší - v prípade funkcií umenia nádej (0,77) a kompenzácia (0,41). V týchto štyroch funkciách je teda priestor na dodatočné preformulovania resp. vyjasnenie či zjednodušenie.

Výrok, ktoré vysvetľujú funkciu umenia sebaopoznanie sú pomerne komplikované a zachytávajú relatívne široký záber možností, v ktorých sa jednotliviec dokáže spoznávať. Hovoria o stave mysle, jej pochopení a pomenovaní a zároveň otvárajú priestor pre hodnotenie sebaopoznania v kontexte novej kultúry a jej vnímania (de Botton a Armstrong, 2014, s. 50-58). Prvý výrok sa skôr zameriava na spoznávanie seba samého - svojho prežívania, vnímania a myslenia. Druhý výrok je skôr o spoznávaní nového - novej kultúry a následné využívanie jej získanej optiky na nahliadanie na svet okolo. Keďže ide o dva pomerne rozdielne pohľady na sebaspoznanie - toto mohlo spôsobiť vyšší rozptyl priemeru vzhľadom na hodnotenie funkcie. Táto funkcia je vhodnou na analyzovanie vzhľadom na konkrétne filmy a sledovanie extrémnych opačných hodnotení respondentov, čo by mohlo naznačiť istú závislosť od konkrétneho filmu alebo tematických zameraní filmov.

Podobne je možné nahliadať aj na funkciu umenia zapamätanie si, ktorej hodnota priemeru rozptylu hodnotenia výrokov je veľmi blízko vyššie spomenutej funkcii umenia sebaspoznanie. V zásade hovorí o učení sa, avšak v dvoch pomerne rozdielnych rovinách. Na jednej strane ide o učenie sa nových informácií a faktov či súvislostí („nevedel*a som a už viem“) a na druhej pripomenutie si už získaných

poznatkov (zabudol*a som a spomenula som si“). Práve táto funkcia môže byť veľmi silno citlivá na špecifickú osobnosť jednotlivca a poznanie témy, ktorú spracováva konkrétny film.

Na druhej strane výroky, ktoré vykazujú komparatívne najnižší priemer rozptylu t.j. najvyššiu zhodu v hodnotení popisujú funkciu umenia kompenzácia. Otázne zostáva nakoľko je možné tieto výroky považovať za obsahovo takmer zhodné alebo ich respondenti vnímali odlišne a teda priemer rozptylu reálne odzrkadľuje ich dostatočnú kvalitu pre vysvetlenie funkcie a teda jej hodnotenie. Toto by bolo vhodné validovať inou výskumnou metódou. Podobne je možné nahliadať aj funkciou umenia, ktorej priemer rozptylu hodnotenia oboch výrokov je menší ako 1 a síce nádej. V tomto prípade je potrebné dodatočné skúmanie, keďže oba výroky poukazujú na iný rozmer vnímania nádeje a zároveň jasne pomenúvajú jej podstatu.

Záver

Filmový festival MFDF Jeden svet sa v roku 2020 uskutočnil v online priestore a divákovi a diváčkam ponúkol novú skúsenosť s umením – dokumentárnym filmom. Prezentovaný výskum podujatia sa uskutočnil na základe dopytu organizátoriek podujatia. Jeho základ tvorili požiadavky organizátoriek na získanie poznania o publiku festivalu ako aj spokojnosti divákov s online formou a rámcovanie dokumentárnych filmov (umenia) ako spoločenskej praxe. Prostredníctvom zvolenej metódy zberu dát – dotazníka mal výskum potenciál zodpovedať viacero výskumných otázok smerujúce k získaniu poznania štruktúry publika podľa veku, pohlavia a geografického rozloženia ako aj spokojnosti divákov s online formou podujatia. Tento príspevok sa však zameriaval na analyzovanie metodologickej výzvy, ktorá vyvstala v priebehu analýzy zozbieraných dát. Vychádzajúca z predpokladu, že dokumentárny film ako formu umenia je možné rámcovať ako spoločenskú prax a skúmať prostredníctvom plnenia rôznych funkcií

ostala naplnenou len čiastočne. Realita výskumu odhalila metodologické výzvy, na základe ktorých bola identifikovaná potreba precizovania a klarifikácie niektorých z dvojíc výrokov, prostredníctvom ktorých boli hodnotené jednotlivé funkcie umenia. Pri analýze priemeru rozptylu hodnotenia oboch výrokov došlo k identifikácii výrokov, ktoré si už nevyžadujú dodatočnú elaboráciu - funkcie umenia prežitie utrpenia, scitlivenie a rast, avšak boli identifikované aj také, ktoré si vyžadujú dodatočné precizovanie a síce kompenzácia, nádej, zapamätanie si a sebaspoznanie. Práve tieto sú výzvou pre realizáciu ďalších výskumných aktivít.

Pod'akovanie

Autorky by na tomto mieste rady poďakovali Matejovi Polákovi, za pomoc pri spracovávaní dát z výskumu a Milošovi Desetovi za podporu a konzultácie. V neposlednom rade patrí veľká vďaka organizátorkám a organizátorom MFDF Jeden svet 2020 a všetkým respondentkám a respondentom, ktoré*í venovali svoj čas vyplneniu dotazníka a pomohli tak k realizácii výskumu.

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ZHLUKOVÁ ANALÝZA MÚZEÍ ZA ROK 2017

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ABSTRAKT

Na Slovensku v roku 2017 fungovalo 124 múzeí, ktoré sa výrazne líšia veľkosťou, počtom návštevníkov, počtom zbierkových predmetov a pod. Pre aplikáciu pokročilejších analýz (napríklad meranie efektívnosti) je vhodné najprv uvažovať o vytvorení homogénnych skupín subjektov.

Cieľom príspevku je rozdeliť súbor múzeí na homogénne skupiny použitím zhlukovej analýzy. Na vytvorenie podskupín bola použitá Wardova metóda minimálneho rozptylu, ktorá bola aplikovaná na údaje o múzeách v Slovenskej republike z rok 2017. Výsledkom bolo vytvorenie dvoch zhlukov, ktorých vnútrozhlukové rozdiely sú prijateľné pre ďalšie analýzy napr. meranie efektívnosti.

KEY WORDS

múzeá, zhluková analýza, Wardova metóda, popisná štatistika

JEL CLASSIFICATION: O12, X12

1. Úvod

V posledných rokoch sa rozvíja ekonómia kultúry, ktorá skúma ekonomické aspekty produkcie, distribúcie a spotreby širokého spektra kreatívnych statkov a služieb, obchodovania s kultúrnymi statkami, oceňovanie kultúrneho dedičstva, kultúrnu politiku a i. (Towse, 2011) (Ginsburgh & Throsby, 2014). Rastie dopyt po ekonomickom hodnotení kultúrnych inštitúcií, ide skúmanie efektívnosti divadiel, múzeí, knižníc, galérií a pod., ktoré je rovnako relevantné ako pri iných inštitúciách verejného sektora (školy, nemocnice). Poskytovanie kultúrnych statkov a služieb rovnako vyžaduje verejné zdroje, ktoré sú vzácne a ich alokácia podlieha verejnej voľbe. Na vyhodnotenie optimálnej alokácie verejných zdrojov medzi verejné inštitúcie je potrebných čo najviac možných informácií o efektívnosti ich fungovania.

Analýzy efektívnosti narážajú na rôzne typy problémov. Častokrát chýbajú dostatočné údaje resp. je komplikované porovnávať inštitúcie, ktoré sa medzi sebou výrazne líšia. Preto je dôležitým krokom pred analýzou efektívnosti rozdelenie súboru na homogénne podskupiny aplikáciou štatistických metód (napr. PCA alebo zhlukovou analýzou).

Autori v príspevku prezentujú postup prípravy dát vhodný pre nasledujúce analýzy efektívnosti. Porovnanie ekonomickej efektívnosti subjektov je spoľahlivé v skupinách vtedy, ak sú tieto subjekty vzájomne porovnateľné.

Cieľom príspevku je preto rozdeliť súbor múzeí na homogénne skupiny použitím Wardovej metódy minimálneho rozptylu, ktorá bola aplikovaná na údaje o múzeách v Slovenskej republike z rok 2017. V príspevku uvádzame krátku charakteristiku metódy, výber premenných do zhlukovej a analýzy a výsledky

2. Zhluková analýza ako príprava pre meranie efektívnosti kultúrnych inštitúcií

Identifikácia efektívnych, resp. neefektívnych subjektov, je možná prostredníctvom parametrických, neparametrických a pomerových prístupov. Neparametrické modely, merajú prevažne relatívnu efektívnosť subjektov medzi sebou. Parametrické modely majú zväčša absolútny charakter, pričom najvýraznejším obmedzením je špecifikácia matematického vzťahu medzi vstupmi a výstupmi (Barrio a kol., 2009). Spôsob, akým sa interpretujú neefektívne subjekty, delí metódy merania efektívnosti na deterministické a stochastické. Deterministický prístup berie do úvahy iba neefektívnosť samotnú, zatiaľ čo stochastický, zvažuje okrem neefektívnosti aj možný šum spôsobený náhodnými chybami.

Častým spôsobom merania efektívnosti kultúrnych inštitúcií je neparametrická deterministická metóda DEA (Data Envelopment Analysis), ktorá operuje na báze lineárneho programovania. Tento prístup je založený na koncepte vyjadrenom v článku od Farrella z roku 1957 (Farrel, 1957), ktorý sa zaoberal myšlienkou merania efektívnosti produktivity subjektov. Jeho idea vyústila v skutočnosť, že v roku 1978 Charnes a kol. navrhli technológiu merania efektívnosti založenú na matematickom programovaní s názvom DEA (Charnes a kol, 1978). Od tej doby prechádzala metóda mnohými modifikáciami. V súčasnosti je dostupné veľké množstvo modelov, ktoré môžeme využiť v spojení s rozličnými predpokladmi o analyzovaných skutočnostiach.

Kľúčovým procesom pri aplikácii DEA modelu, je správny výber vstupov a výstupov. Autori Carvalho a Costa (2014), Basso a Funari (2004), Taheri a Ansari (2012), Herreto-Prieto (2013) a Camarero, Garrido a Vincente (2011) indentifikovali ako vhodné na DEA analýzu pri múzeách nasledujúce premenné:

- a) na strane vstupov:
 - počet zamestnancov
 - priestor a dostupnosť
 - vybavenosť múzea – hovorí o expozíciách a počte zbierkových predmetov múzea
- b) na strane výstupov:
 - počet návštevníkov
 - počet podujatí
 - sociálny dopad - v sebe zahŕňa agregované informácie o všetkých kultúrnych a vzdelávacích podujatiach múzea, no aj o seminároch, konferenciách, či vydaných publikáciách.

Zhluková analýza je dôležitým nástrojom k identifikovaniu vzorov a trendov v dátach. Jej hlavným cieľom je rozdelenie subjektov do skupín na základe mier podobností, ktoré môžu byť merané rozličnými spôsobmi, a to mierami korelácie, vzdialenosti alebo asociácie. Zhluk je skupina objektov, ktorých vzdialenosť, t.j. nepodobnosť, je menšia ako tá, ktorú majú objekty, čo do zhľuku nepatria (Meloun, Militký, 2004).

Metód zhľukovania je viacero. Za pomerne najvšeobecnejšie môžeme považovať ich delenie podľa spôsobu organizácie objektov, a to na:

- Hierarchické metódy – vychádzajú z jednotlivých objektov, pričom na úplnom začiatku každý jeden vystupuje ako samostatný zhluk. Ich spájaním sa počet klastrov znižuje, až sa nakoniec spoja do jedného celku. Klasickým výstupom hierarchických metód zhľukovania je dendrogram. V rámci ďalšieho členenia sa rozdeľujú na divízne a aglomeratívne.
- Nehierarchické metódy – organizujú analyzované subjekty do nehierarchického systému zhľukov, ktorý vytvárajú sukcesívnym rozkladáním súboru objektov do množín. Tieto rozklady sa postupne iteratívne zlepšujú, kým nie je dosiahnutý taký rozklad, že ďalšie zlepšenie už nie je možné. Metódy tohto typu produkujú

zhluky s definovanou vnútornou homogenitou, ktoré nie sú systematicky usporiadané. Na rozdiel od hierarchických metód nevytvárajú stromovú štruktúru (Trebuňa, Beres, 2010).

Pred samotným zhlukovaním subjektov je potrebné overiť, či údaje majú tendenciu sa zhlukovať. Ak sa táto tendencia v dátach nenachádza, môže sa stať, že algoritmus bude generovať náhodné klastre, čo by malo negatívny dopad na výsledky analýzy. O tom, či dáta túto tendenciu majú, sa môžeme presvedčiť viacerými spôsobmi, napr. pomocou Hopkinsovej štatistiky alebo vizuálnou metódou VAT (Visual Assessment of cluster Tendency):

- Hopkinsonova štatistika je hodnota, ktorá predstavuje pravdepodobnosť, že dáta pochádzajú z rovnomerného rozdelenia. Hraničnou je hodnota Hopkinsonovej štatistiky 0,5, pričom čím je bližšie k nule, tým dáta majú vyššiu tendenciu zhlukovania sa.
- VAT je maticou vzdialeností objektov, ktorá vyjadruje výšku hodnoty tejto miery pomocou farebnej škály. Generuje sa tak, že sa najprv vypočíta matica vzdialeností objektov obsiahnutých v súbore pomocou Euklidovej vzdialenosti, potom sa prvky v matici reorganizujú spôsobom, aby boli objekty oplývajúce vysokou podobnosťou blízko pri sebe. Nakoniec sa matica vizualizuje pomocou implementovania farebnej škály na hodnoty vzdialeností (Bezdek, Hathaway, 2002).

3. Dáta a výber premenných do zhlukovej analýzy

Dáta do zhlukovej analýzy pochádzajú z výkazov KULT 9 - 01, ktorý každoročne zbiera Ministerstvo kultúry Slovenskej republiky (MK SR) v spolupráci so Štatistickým úradom Slovenskej republiky. Tento zber údajov sa realizuje v zmysle zákona č. 540/2001 Z. z. o štátnej štatistike v znení neskorších predpisov. Ročný výkaz o múzeu

poskytuje súbor stodesiatich premenných, ktoré sú rozdelené do štyroch modulov:

- Modul č. 1 – Zaoberá sa sieťou múzeí, jeho výkonmi a veľkosťou expozície,
- Modul č. 2 – Pojednáva o ekonomických ukazovateľoch a teda finančnom zabezpečení činnosti.
- Modul č. 3 – Zapodieva sa personálnym vybavením múzeí.
- Modul č. 4 – Obsahuje informáciu o čase, ktorý bol potrebný na vyplnenie výkazu.

V roku 2017 sa štatistického zisťovania zúčastnilo 124 spravodajských jednotiek.

Na základe prípadových štúdií spomínaných v kap. 2 bolo do zhlukovej analýzy vybraných nasledujúcich šesť premenných: *Počet zamestnancov*, *Celkové výdavky a náklady*, *Počet návštevníkov*, *Počet dočasných aktivít*, *Výnosy z vlastnej činnosti*, *Počet zbierkových predmetov*. Premenné *Celkové náklady a výdavky* a *Výnosy z vlastnej činnosti* boli do analýzy zahrnuté kvôli tomu, že sú to finančné ukazovatele, ktoré tiež značnou mierou charakterizujú efektivitu múzea. Sumárne štatistiky premenných môžeme vidieť v Tab. 1.

	Aritmetický priemer	Variačný koeficient	Minimum	Maximum
Výdavky a náklady (€)	433 441	1,34	0	3 439 716
Počet zamestnancov	17	1,12	0	82
Počet dočasných aktivít	102	1,68	0	1 472
Počet návštevníkov	43 345	1,62	0	378 445
Výnosy z vlastnej činnosti (€)	93 696	2,31	0	1 255 146
Zbierkové predmety (ks)	129 298	4,87	0	6 480 872

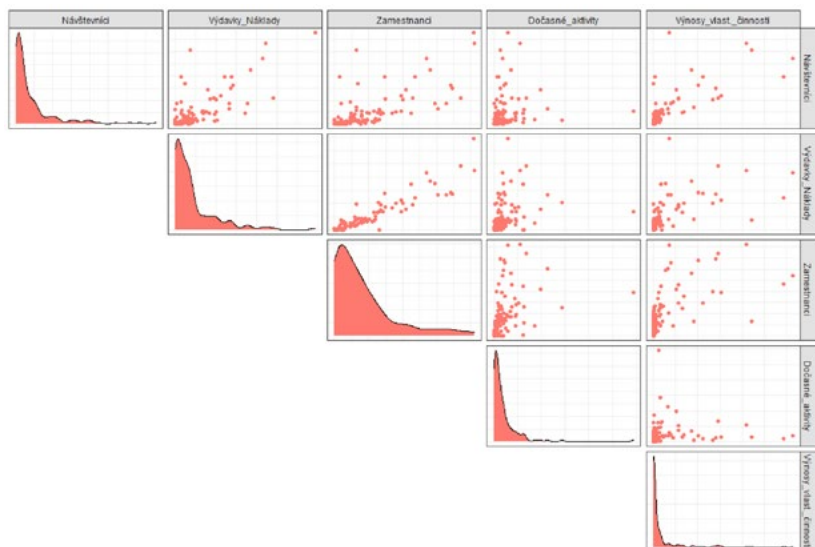
Tab. 1: Popisná štatistika vybraných premenných múzeí obsiahnutých vo výkaze KULT 9–01 (za rok 2017) N=124

Zdroj: vlastné výpočty

Múzeá obsiahnuté v súbore ($N=124$ subjektov) dosahovali priemerné celkové ročné výdavky a náklady v hodnote viac ako 400 000 €, priemerne zamestnávali 17 ľudí, zorganizovali priemerne 102 dočasných aktivít za rok, navštívilo ich priemerne viac ako 40 000 návštevníkov, z vlastnej činnosti dosahovali výnosy priemerne viac ako 90 000 € a mali vo vlastníctve priemerne takmer 130 000 zbierkových predmetov.

Zároveň je potrebné zdôrazniť vysokú variabilitu v sledovaných premenných. Keďže premenné boli merané v rôznych merných jednotkách, na zistenie a vzájomné porovnanie variability sme použili bezrozmernú štatistiku - variačný koeficient - čo predstavuje podiel smerodajnej odchýlky na aritmetickom priemere. Jeho hodnota vyššia ako 0,5 znamená vysokú variabilitu, teda nehomogénosť údajov. Ako je možné vidieť v Tab. 1, najvyššiu variabilitu má premenná zbierkové predmety, kde smerodajná odchýlka predstavuje takmer päťnásobok aritmetického priemeru. Za touto premennou z pohľadu vysokej variability nasledujú výnosy z vlastnej činnosti, kde smerodajná odchýlka tvorí viac ako dvojnásobok aritmetického priemeru. I ďalšie premenné majú vysokú variabilitu.

Analyzované premenné sú ďalej charakterizované vysokou kladnou šikmosťou, čo znamená, že veľa subjektov je zhromaždených pri nižších hodnotách premenných a len malá časť subjektov má vyššie hodnoty premenných (viď Obr. 1).



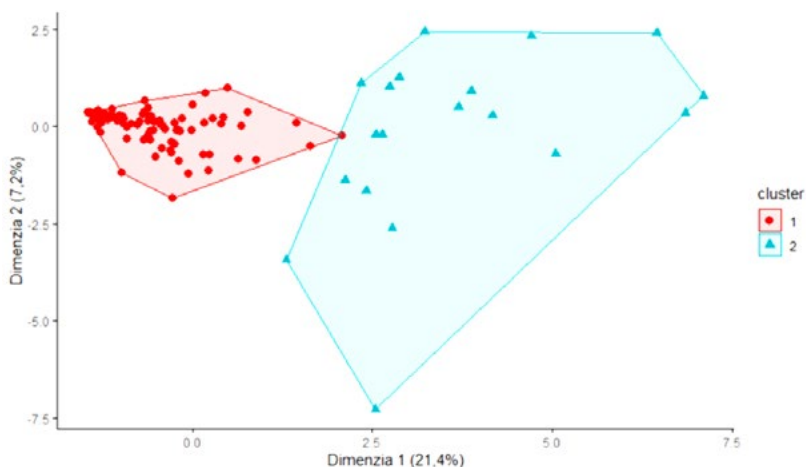
Obr. 1: Matica bodových grafov a odhadov hustoty rozdelenia v rámci závislostí premenných

4. Výsledky zhlukovania múzeí

Z popisných charakteristík analyzovaných premenných vyplýva, že medzi sledovanými subjektami sú veľké rozdiely, čo indikuje prípadné vytvorenie homogénnejších podskupín (zhlukov). Pred samotnou zhlukovou analýzou sme overili vhodnosť získaných údajov na tento typ analýzy. Hopkinsonova štatistika mala hodnotu $H = 0,118$, čo poukazuje na skutočnosť, že sa v údajoch týkajúcich sa múzeí nachádzajú štatisticky významné zhľuky. Metóda VAT tak isto potvrdila vhodnosť údajov na zhlukovú analýzu.

Za mieru vzdialenosti medzi jednotlivými objektami sme zvolili Euklidovu vzdialenosť. V kombinácii výsledkov interných validačných metód a validácií stability sme došli k záveru, že bude najvhodnejšie použiť hierarchickú aglomeratívnu Wardovu metódu minimálneho rozptylu.

Po aplikácii Wardovej metódy sme určili ako optimálny počet zhlukov dva. Na obr. 2 môžeme vidieť graf vyobrazujúci polohu jednotlivých subjektov a ich zadelení podľa farby do dvoch zhlukov v priestore dvoch umelo vytvorených dimenzií. Tieto dimenzie boli generované algoritmom nazývaným PCA (Principal Component Analysis), ktorý dopomohol k vytvoreniu dvojrozmerného priestoru vysvetľujúceho takmer 30 % celkovej variability dát. I keď väčšina variability údajov ostáva nevysvetlená, je možné si na grafe všimnúť práve tendenciu, akou sa subjekty zhhlukujú.



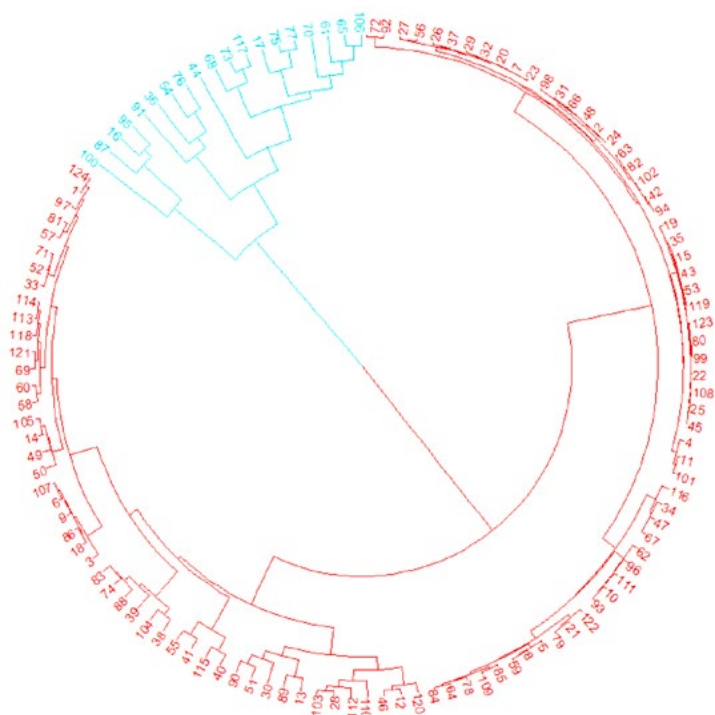
Obr. 2: Graf zhlukov múzeí v dvoch dimenziách

Zdroj: vlastné výpočty v programe R

Ako už bolo vyššie spomenuté, údaje majú vysokú kladnú šikmosť, teda v súbore múzeí sa nachádza veľké množstvo jednotiek s menším úhrnom zdrojov. Podobný trend rozdelenia je možné zachytiť v obr. 2 pohľadom na umiestnenie spravodajských jednotiek v rámci prvej dimenzie dát opisujúcej pätinu celkovej variability. Je možné teda predpokladať, že múzeá sa zhľukujú na základe veľkostných parametrov.

Spájanie jednotlivých subjektov do zhľukov vidíme v dendrograme na obr. 3. Tento graf je štandardným výstupom hierarchických metód, akou je i tomto príspevku využitá Wardova metóda minimálneho rozptylu. Je možné z neho vyčítať stromovú štruktúru spájanie subjektov, v našom prípade múzeí označených ich poradovým číslom.¹ Zhľuky sú rozlíšiteľné farbou červenou a modrou - každá z nich predstavuje rovnaký zhľuk, akým sú označené zhľuky na obr. 2. Je možné si všimnúť, že jednotlivé zhľuky majú od seba pomerne vysokú vzdialenosť. Naznačuje to ich výraznú rozdielnosť.

1 Názvy múzeí podľa jednotlivých číselných označení je možné získať na požiadanie u autorov príspevku.



Obr. 3: Kruhový dendrogram zobrazujúci vzdialenosti analyzovaných subjektov i farebne odlišené dva hlavné zhluky múzeí: zhluk 1 – červená farba, zhluk 2 – modrá farba
Zdroj: vlastné výpočty v programe R

CHARAKTERISTIKA ZHLUKOV

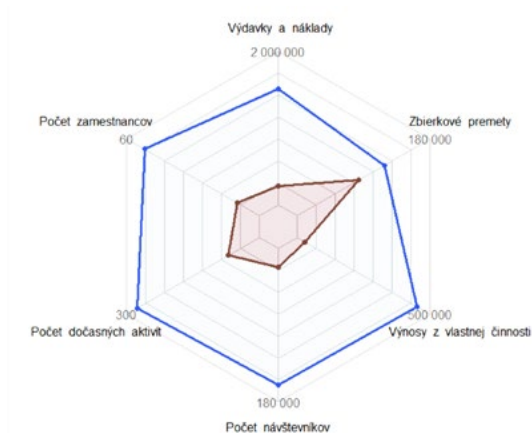
Pre bližšie špecifikovanie charakteru zhľukov sme vytvorili tabuľku sumárnych štatistík pre vybrané ukazovatele (Tab. 2). Každá z premenných sa výrazne odlišuje v rámci zhľukov, či už z pohľadu aritmetického priemeru, variability, minima alebo maxima. Z hľadiska počtu, sa v prvom zhľuku nachádza až 105 múzeí, zatiaľ čo v zhľuku druhom 19 múzeí.

		Aritmetický priemer	Variačný koeficient	Minimum	Maximum
Výdavky a náklady (€)	Zhluk 1	239 015	1,06	0	1 000 991
	Zhluk 2	1 507 903	0,47	373 189	3 439 716
Počet zamestnancov	Zhluk 1	10	0,96	0	46
	Zhluk 2	52	0,37	13	82
Počet návštevníkov	Zhluk 1	22 176	1,45	0	195 506
	Zhluk 2	160 329	0,64	17 784	348 445
Počet dočasných aktivít	Zhluk 1	70	1,21	0	427
	Zhluk 2	277	1,26	30	1 472
Výnosy z vlastnej činnosti (€)	Zhluk 1	28 992	2,15	0	360 930
	Zhluk 2	451 272	0,82	46 605	1 255 146
Zbierkové predmety (ks)	Zhluk 1	126 388	5,38	0	6 480 872
	Zhluk 2	145 376	1,36	0	813 976

Tab. 2: Popisná štatistika dvoch zhľukov múzeí : zhľuk 1 (N=105), zhľuk 2 (N=19)

Zdroj: vlastné výpočty v programe R

Na radarovom grafe (Obr. 4) je vizuálne vyjadrená odlišnosť aritmetických priemerov premenných v rámci jednotlivých zhľukov. Každá os začína vo svojom jadre nulou, pričom dosahuje limitu vyjadrenú číslom na jej kraji. Prostredníctvom tejto vizualizácie môžeme pohľadom jasne usúdiť, že rozdielnosť v rámci zhľukov, čo sa týka aritmetických priemerov, je vysoká.



Obr. 4: Grafické porovnanie priemerov premenných zahrnutých do zhlukovej analýzy pre vytvorené zhluky múzeí: zhluk 1 – červená farba, zhluk 2 – modrá farba

Zdroj: vlastné výpočty v programe R

Predpokladáme, že hlavnými faktormi ktoré vstúpili do zhlukovej analýzy a rozdelili súbor múzeí na dva zhluky, je veľkosť zdrojov a popularita múzea. Od nich sa ďalej odvíjajú premenné ako návštevnosť, náklady, výnosy a celá ich kapitálová štruktúra. Konštatujeme, že zhluk 1 je skupinou veľkosťou malých a stredných múzeí, zatiaľ čo zhluk 2 obsahuje múzeá výrazne väčšie. Zhlukovou analýzou sa potvrdila nehomogenita pôvodného súboru múzeí, ktorý bol rozdelený na dve hlavné podskupiny, v rámci ktorých sa dajú vzájomne porovnať subjekty.

5. Záver

Príspevok ukazuje, ako je možné pred samotným meraním efektívnosti subjektov odstrániť problém ich nehomogénosti, a to rozdelením do zhlukov pomocou zhlukovej analýzy. Porovnanie ekonomickej efektívnosti subjektov je relevantné vtedy, ak sú analyzované subjekty vzájomne porovnateľné.

Do našej analýzy múzeí v SR za rok 2017 vstúpilo 124 subjektov. Každý bol charakterizovaný šiestimi údajmi, a to počtom zamestnancov, počtom návštevníkov, počtom zbierkových predmetov, výdavkami a nákladmi, počtom dočasných aktivít a výnosmi z vlastnej činnosti. Na základe Wardovej metódy minimálneho rozptylu sa javí ako optimálne skúmať dve podskupiny zhlukov. V takto vytvorených skupinách je už možné merať efektívnosť subjektov. V prvej skupine sa nachádza 105 a v druhej skupine 19 subjektov. Vzhľadom na vysoký počet jednotiek v prvej skupine je možné postupovať ďalej a rovnakým spôsobom rozdeliť prvú skupinu na ešte viac homogénne podskupiny. Limity analýzy sú viazané na výber metódy a výber premenných do zhlukovej analýzy.

Príspevok bol podporený projektom VEGA 1/0806/18.

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SPILOVER EFFECTS OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES – THE CASE OF KINO ÚSMEV, KOŠICE

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ANNOTATION

This paper points out the relevance and importance to study spillover effects of cultural and creative industries and holistic approach towards the analysis and methods used in the research of impacts, spillovers or crossovers of the cultural sector. Based on the thorough analysis and evidence library collected by European research partnership on Cultural and Creative Spillovers, this paper uses a case of Kino Usmev, an art-house cinema and cultural centre in Košice, Slovakia, to offer preliminary mapping of its spillovers and suggestions to further study.

KEY WORDS

spillovers, knowledge spillovers, crossovers, cultural and creative industries, cinema studies

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JEL CLASSIFICATION: O12, X12

1. Introduction

The problematic measurement of cultural and creative industries (CCI's) and their impacts on the immediate and wider economy and society has been a point for discussion among researchers and cultural practitioners for decades. Relevance to studying the qualitative and quantitative relationships between culture and other sectors became ever more needful with the “rise of the creative class” (Florida, 2002) and strong political agendas of economic regeneration of cities and regions through arts and culture. Based on the current concepts prevailing in literature, this paper aims to perform the preliminary mapping of spillovers of Kino Usmev in Košice, bottom-up, non-profit initiative operating in the second biggest city in Slovakia, the European Capital of Culture 2013. For the preliminary mapping the desk research (case study) and semi-structured interviews with manager staff of Kino Usmev were conducted. In the final chapter, based on the preliminary spillovers mapping, suggestions for further research are made and results discussed.

2. Cultural and Creative Spillovers

In order to study the cultural and creative spillovers of Kino Usmev, we offer literature overview on the topics of measurement of cultural and creative industries, spillovers and cinemas.

2.1 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The problematic measurement of arts, culture and creative industries and their impacts on the immediate and wider economy has been a point for discussion among researches and cultural practitioners for decades. The relevance to study the qualitative and quantitative relationships between culture and other sectors became ever more needful with the “rise of the creative class” and strong political agendas of economic regeneration of cities and regions through arts and culture.

In the literature we can find various approaches, from authors supporting culture as means of urban and social regeneration, promoting the need of broad investment in the arts, culture and creative industries, supporting big flagship revitalization projects with alleged impacts on the wider economy (Florida, 2002; Smith, 2000 ; Landry, 2000 ; Evans, 2001; Sacco, 2009), authors in the middle of the discourse, highlighting the benefits of investment in culture, cultural clustering, new operational models for culture and combination of business such as Bassett (1993); Throsby (1994), Scott (1997), Mommaas (2004), Bailey et al (2004), towards authors with strong critique of commodification of culture, imbalances created by the flagship projects and with strong emphasis on the role of pre-existing communities and locally specific cultural realities (Zukin, 1989; Gibson, 2005; Stevenson, 2004; Miles and Paddison, 2005; Lin and Hsing, 2008).

In recent years, the discourse has shifted more towards new models of economic development, using rather “economic sustainability” and evading the need for the use of term “growth” (as expressed by the growth in the GDP) (Throsby, 2017). Human and social capital play key roles in these concepts.

The “four capital model” described by Ekins, Dresner and Dählstrom (2007) to evaluate the sustainability of human ecosystems brings the holistic approach as opposed to theories centered on one indicator (such as culture and/or technology, cultural heritage, etc..). The model suggests that the four capitals are – built, environmental, economic and social as crucial in assessing the sustainability. Combination of the four capitals forms the objective criteria of ecosystem, the interactions and relationships in the city (or area) and these can be combined by the qualitative criteria such as cultural amenities, symbolic value and quality of public spaces (Weijs-Perrée et al. 2019).

Theory of commons also contributes to the topic of sustainability of ecosystems with constant free flow of resources between population and focusing on urban development rather through sharing the resources and supporting creative individuals than focusing on neoliberal precariousness of creative work (Dockx and Gielen 2018).

In terms of cultural policy, creative industries, human capital and reformulation of neoliberal approach towards economic development, Gross and Wilson (2018) introduce three dimensions for research to help reassess UK cultural policy – cultural opportunity, ecology of cultural opportunity and capabilities approach. In the line of critique of commodification of culture, neoliberal cultural policies in UK inspired by works of Florida (and others), Gross and Wilson (2018) mention the capabilities approach – focusing on maximizing people's freedoms – what they can be, what they can do and that they have reason to value. They call it “account for human flourishing”, and it is opposed to the “creative class” approach.

Gross and Wilson (2018), however, go beyond the economic potential of creativity and raise the question of democratic knowledge production, learning which cultural capabilities are present and which need to be developed. They introduce cultural democracy as a pluralist process of co-produced knowledge and shared decision making, in other words, cultural democracy is characterized by the cultural capability of actors and processes, the ecosystem and interactions inside of it.

In general, the study of cultural and creative industries has shifted broadly across the research field towards the „ecological“ language. Researchers believe that the term „cultural and creative ecologies“ better describe the actual relationships and complexity of the sector. For example, Potts et al. (2008) believe that the ecology concept more accurately describes the nuances and market failures of production and consumption in CCI's and at the same time it does not carry the economic scale which is central for concepts like creative city, creative cluster or creative economy (in De Bernard and Comunian, 2020 forthcoming).

De Bernard and Comunian (2020, forthcoming) describe the CC ecologies/ecosystems coming from the thorough systematic literature review as a model of „creative space“ for interrelations between actors, but also the exchange of „products“. A model where the relations

between the actors are more important than institutions and other units (such as firms, or „the economy“), should be more inclusive which has wide impacts on the methodology used to study the relations and quality of interactions. A model where the „general health of the system“ should be of a greater concern than individual actors, in other words, the number and quality of connections between actors should be of central concern of this approach.

Lazzaro (2021) concludes with similar thoughts:

„Overall, the policy approach calls for a bottom-up, communitarian interaction, involving all different parties, users and stakeholders. From a temporal perspective, the decisive role of public support, not only through funding, but also by contributing to the design of regional strategies and ecosystems, stresses the need of combining short- and long-term and dynamic orientations.“

However, the common ground of all authors mentioned above is the struggle to find the most suitable methodology to measure the impact of culture, combining qualitative and quantitative methods and coming back to causality between variables being one of the biggest challenges in the future research.

In line and as a follow up of these challenges and dilemmas for further research, in 2014 the European Research Partnership on Cultural and Creative Spillovers was launched, as a collaborative research partnership joining universities, research bodies, foundations, funding agencies and regional development bodies to demonstrate the value of public funding in the arts and explore and map the value chain within arts, cultural and creative industries and between them and other sectors of the wider economy and society. The motivation was strengthened by the fact that European union in 2012 made the spillover effects of the arts, culture and creative industries subject of its agenda for the first time. The need to evaluate the effects of arts and CCI's responsibly and gather the evidence base of the most

effective and suitable methodologies was the priority of the research partnership (TFCC, 2018).

The Partnership published two reports, first in 2015 conducted by Tom Fleming Consultancy Group where cultural and creative spillovers were defined as:

“The process by which activities in the arts, culture and creative industries has a subsequent broader impact on places, society or the economy through the overflow of concepts, ideas, skills, knowledge and different types of capital.”

They identified 17 spillovers divided into three categories – the knowledge spillovers, industry spillovers and network spillovers. In 2018, The Partnership published its second report after gathering the evidence library of 73 studies evaluating European cultural and creative activities and they updated the amount of spillovers, summarized the methodologies used and challenges for future study (CCS, 2018)

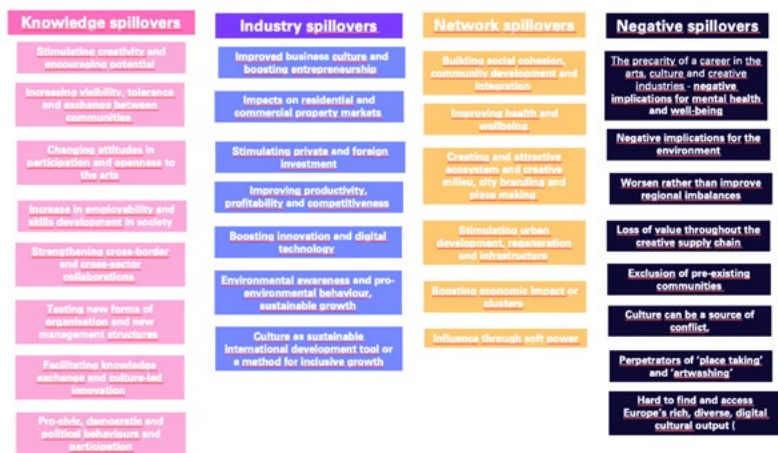


Figure 1: Categories and types of spillovers

Source: CCS, 2018

Figure 1 above shows updated 21 spillovers of CCI's, supplemented by the new category of spillovers – the negative spillovers, which shows the clear shift in research towards greater objectivity as possible means to policy reevaluation.

The main conclusions and findings of the CCS, 2018 report are:

- When using proxies to determine and describe CCI's spillovers, there is a significant threat of missing the relationship **dynamics factors** and qualitative dimension of the research.
- **Economic evaluations and methods (such as Return on Investment)** are more suitable for measuring the level of health and well-being due to stronger public service nature of these sectors. Not to say, that the public service of the arts is not present, however the sector has more variety and complexity of actors involved and more complicated and decentralized relationships.
- Causality is the greatest issue of all the „impact“ assessment or measurements of arts and culture. Numerous case studies and researchers address this limit, especially with the sole use of quantitative methodologies.
- **Mixed and experimental** methods (Randomized control trials, Logic Modelling, Action Research, mini-Delphi, Systemic thinking, Mediated Discourse Analysis, Value Stream mapping, Value based approach) are more suitable to analyze the dynamics of CCI's. The experimentation with methods and searching for the „right“ method for case studies is the biggest challenge of the spillover analysis.
- Ethnographic approaches seem to work very well with CCI analysis. Observation, evaluation, critical analysis and re-evaluation are crucial for the validity and accuracy of the results.
- Qualitative research such as using focus groups, interviews are necessary for the in-depth analysis of environment, projects and organizations.

- Primary data gathered specifically for certain research project of CCI's are very important.
- The priorities of research, due to the complicated dynamics of the field, should be set in collaboration with stakeholders as prior to setting the research questions and goals. This goes in hand with the democratization principle and epistemological scale of the collaborative knowledge creation.
- The research on CCI's should be ideally long term and in partnership with universities to achieve the validity accuracy and rigorousness. This also supports the „capacity sharing“, which is crucial for the exhausting and costly long term research projects.
- The holistic approach is crucial in order to understand the sector and avoid generalization.
- There is no one right methodology, each organization and project require different approach.
- Cultural professionals should actively participate in research with their knowledge and, where appropriate, in the development of methodology.
- Primary mapping of spillovers before the start of the research paid off and helps to prioritize the research questions.

The spillover approach had adjusted to this theoretical, conceptual and methodological transformation and brings interesting possibilities of further investigation. At the same time, the common ground of all authors mentioned above is the struggle to find the most suitable methodology to measure the impact of culture, combining qualitative and quantitative methods and coming back to causality between variables being one of the biggest challenges in future research.

2.2 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CINEMAS AS COMMUNITY ACTORS

There are numerous studies dedicated to cinemas, as places of cultural exchange, social encounters, community experience and means for community building. Out of all CCI's, cinemas stand out as a specific

form of art presentation, especially because compared to theatres, operas, art galleries and other cultural venues, they tend to be more accessible for greater variety of audiences and watching film in the cinema tends to be the most common experience out of many possible encounters with art for many people and societies.

In the literature, the accessibility of cinemas and their perception as a public good is described in multitude of studies on cinema-going, from different fields – from historic, geographic, economic, sociological and psychological perspective. Cinema-going as set of relationships (Allen, 2006), as a place where different trajectories coexist and the “thrown-togetherness” takes place (Massey, 2005), cinemas as “public goods”, open to all as central civic identities historically, especially in local contexts (Leveridge, 2010), cinemas as contributors to social wellbeing (Sedgwick, 2000), etc.

Authors make strong distinction between commercial (multiplex) cinemas and community (art-house) cinemas and specific experience and audiences that prefer one or another (Bordwell, 2002; Bergillos, 2020). Where for the commercial cinemas the audiences need to be attracted by effective marketing and in the community cinemas the audience tend to be more loyal and regular, looking for specific experience and relationships (Chuu, 2009). In this particular distinction the non-profit character of the community (art-house) cinema is an important factor for building community and specific artistic experience and collect grants and public funding to balance the market failure of the “public good” (Delgado, 2013; Di Maggio, 2006).

By many authors and their case studies, cinemas are presented as community projects for public use that support inclusion and social cohesion (Delgado, 2013; Crowe, 2007; Crowe, 2018; Hollinshead, 2011), and at the same time they describe the extended influence of cinemas in form of spillovers to other businesses, shops and restaurants around them (Jacobson, 2003; Hubbard, 2000).

“These cinemas are important cultural assets. As is discussed in more detail further in the chapter, the transitional¹ cinema can be seen as a cultural asset and the art it exhibits, film, can be seen as a community good. The people have gathered to save a pillar of the community. Its value as a cultural asset comes from this in tandem with the benefits it extends to local businesses and to other citizens.”(Delgado, 2013)

Cinemas as means for cultural regeneration and community enhancement were most significantly used in the public policy in New South Wales, Australia, where the Regional Cinema Program was launched in the late 1990s to help revitalize communities in decay in certain cities and build promote healthier and stronger urban environments by investing to revitalize old cinema buildings.

Based on this brief literature overview on the topic of cinemas, it is evident that there are certain spillovers reappearing in numerous case studies, mostly pointing out the social, cultural and economic benefits of cinemas and their effects on local communities.

Another important relevance factor for our research is based on the audience study of National Centre for Culture and Further Education that revealed that cinema is the third most visited cultural activity in Slovakia, after national heritage sites and folklore presentations, cinemas were the most visited cultural venues in Slovakia in 2017 (Mrva, 2018).

1 Transitional cinema is a community cinema, which changed legal form from private company to a non-profit

3. Preliminary spillovers mapping in Kino Úsmev

Kino Úsmev is an art-house cinema in the city center of Košice. The building of the cinema itself is almost 100 years old, but the “new” Kino Úsmev has started its contemporary history only in 2016.

The non-profit organisation CInefil ran several film clubs and organised film screenings and artistic events in Košice since early 2000s, eventually looking for a stable venue that could accommodate the project of “Centre for Audiovisual Culture” a space for film presentation (a cinema), but also a platform for collaboration between different artistic forms, audience building, research, entrepreneurship, etc. As original cinema Kino Úsmev in the city center closed down due to lack of resources for technological transformation and growing attractivity of multiplexes in 2012, the non-profit Cinefil decided that the best venue to realise the project of audiovisual centre is the building of Kino Usmev due to relatively good shape and technical dispositions of the old cinema. After three years of negotiations with the municipality, Cinefil got the building of Kino Usmev for rent for 15 years and re-opened partially reconstructed and digitised cinema in June 2016.

In the case of Kino Usmev, the non-profit factor plays a significant role in sustaining the project. However, the evolution of public funding for Kino Usmev shows irregularity, which can be interpreted as insecurity. Indeed, project based yearly funding does not go hand in hand with the possibility of strategic planning, investment and development. On the other hand, the table shows a clear increase in public funding since the re-opening of the cinema, which has helped to develop various program activities and collaborations, with a potential to reach more of an audience and different communities. In 2015, Cinefil got a grant from the Slovak Audiovisual Fund for digitization of the technology and since then it gets regular subvention

for the amount of tickets sold for Slovak films (program support). Funding from the Slovak Arts Council is connected to the art program – concerts, discussion, art exhibitions, and cannot be used to develop the audiovisual program.

A successful grant application with Active Citizens Fund – Slovakia in 2019 was very important especially in terms of organizational and community development. This was a strategic three-year grant of 96 000€ with the project called “Open Usmev”. The project aims to work on organizational development (workshops for staff), transparency of the organization (annual reports, marketing), reaching out to vulnerable communities – introducing new regular formats of free screenings, Autism Friendly Screenings, Dementia friendly screenings and an inclusive film school for kids “Klapka, Úsmev!” which launched in February 2020. It connects children from “mainstream” families with Roma children from excluded community of Luník IX, children from orphanages, children from immigrant families and children with physical and mental difficulties. The project aims to not only connect people from different communities, but also to create a network between cultural organizations and non-profits working with vulnerable groups to create accessible culture “for all”. The film school “Klapka, Úsmev!” was fully occupied and according to quarterly grant report, it involved 34 people from different backgrounds and organizations only in its first month of operation.

According to CCS report (2018) and various reports experimenting with mixed-method approach in spillover evaluation, the preliminary mapping of spillovers to set the goals and scopes of further research have proven to be effective. In November 2020, we conducted semi-structured interviews with three members of staff of Kino Usmev - Ivana Gavalcová (office manager), Michal Sabo (cinema manager) and Lukáš Berberich (director/program). Ivana Gavalcová and Lukáš Berberich have been with the organization CINEFIL prior to the re-opening of Kino Usmev, Michal Sabo joined the team three years ago and is considered a long term employee. The transcripts and

questions are in the attachment of this paper and even though they were not specifically tailored to provide the preliminary spillovers mapping, we believe that in the combination with detailed case-study we are able to make a basic mapping. In the figure below, we can see the spillover mapping in the situation not affected by COVID-measures (before the pandemic).

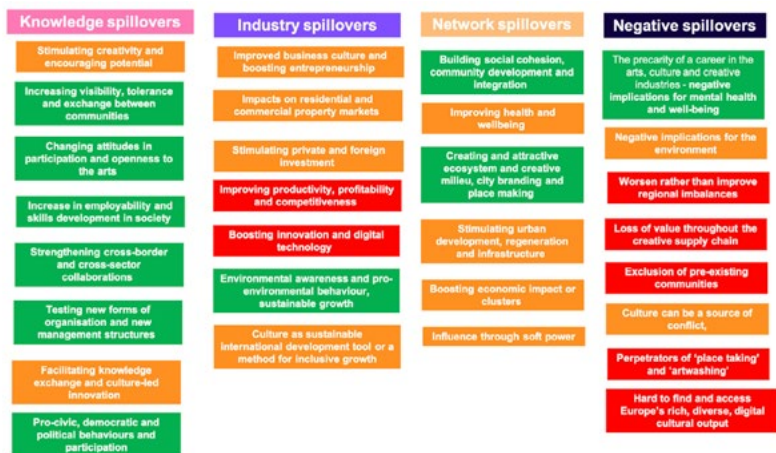


Figure 2: Kino Usmev Spillovers mapping

Source: Author's analysis

The green spillovers are the ones certainly present (connection to specific activity/proof of existence), however the scope significance in broader context is not of a concern at this moment. The orange areas are spillovers that need to be analyzed more thoroughly, because the evidence is not direct, however, it does not mean they do not exist. The red areas are spillovers that do not seem to have any direct or indirect connection to Kino Usmev.

The indicators for the preliminary mapping of spillovers are connected to either answers from the semi-structured interviews or the case study overview. It is obvious that the majority of existing spillovers are knowledge and network spillovers connected to notions of **community, democracy, participation, visibility, tolerance, integration and environmental awareness**. The common indicator of existence of these spillovers are projects – especially the three-year Active citizens fund project, which is specifically aimed at community development, working with marginalized communities, promoting openness and tolerance and green initiatives. This suggests further question, such as to what extent are these spillovers sustainable and long term (the project ends in November 2021) and also it might indicate a certain role public funding (or in this case, foreign funding) plays (and could play) to promote social cohesion and social rather than economic spillovers. At the same time, it does not directly indicate that without the project the spillovers were not existent or would not be existent at all. In fact, the answers from interviews suggest that the „community“ is the essence for Kino Usmev’s activities and serves as a motivating force and is in the centre of the interest for the employees. Audience is also involved in creation of the program and cross-border and cross-sector cooperations are very important, especially in relation to situation connected to the spread of COVID-19.

An interesting knowledge spillover that emerged from interviews and was indicated by all three respondents is the **„new forms of organization and new management techniques“**. In Kino Usmev the management structure is organic and horizontal. There are no fixed working hours and staff members are taking on tasks depending on their interests or the overall needs of the organization and solidarity (helping one another). The main motivation for employees is the self-realization, development of own projects and learning new skills. The friendly work environment is motivational and priority.

As opposed to the positive spillover connected to new forms of management was a contradictory **„the precarity of careers in arts**

and culture and creative industries – negative implications for mental health and well-being“ of the employees. The responses from interviews indicate that the financial situation creates stressful situations and often multiplication of job roles for some of the staff members. The situation is worse during the COVID times of uncertainty and brisk changes in policies. The staff is motivated, however financially under rated and organization is in long-term under-staffed. This could have great impacts on sustainability of the organization in future.

Network spillover **„creating attractive ecosystem and creative milieu, city branding and place making“** is the one spillover that is almost entirely external (unintentional, not connected to projects or organizational strategies and goals). The existence and significance of this spillover can be confirmed through social media and media mapping, trip advisor top results for tourists, but most significantly through google and Facebook reviews, which exceed in terms of rating and amount the majority of cultural and leisure spots in Košice. This spillover is interesting as a subject of further study and could have interesting economic dimensions.

The orange marked areas were not detectable through our preliminary mapping but are not to be completely excluded. The majority is connected to the economic, development and revitalization concepts. The ambiguity of their existence comes from the lack of evidence.

The red areas were excluded and seem to have no potential even if subjected to further study. However, it does not mean that in the future they might not emerge. Two of them are industry spillovers – **improving productivity, profitability and competitiveness** – as we discussed the decision making and organizational structure, this spillover is to be discarded. **„Boosting innovation and digital technology“**, even though Kino Usmev has ambition to become „Centre for audiovisual culture“ currently it does not conduct (intentionally or unintentionally) activities or specific innovation driven projects that could support this spillover. The rest of the excluded spillovers

are connected to the factors of **art washing**, „**global places**“, **lack of diversity and regional imbalances** that sometimes cultural and creative projects create, especially if they are connected to big flagship projects and culture-led urban regeneration. From the case study is evident that Kino Usmev is a bottom-up initiative, based on the community support conducting activities focused on inclusion and building on the nostalgia of old and beloved cinema and therefore it does not comply with these sorts of spillovers. However, it does not mean that the threat of becoming a „placeless“ and posh place can come, if potential big investments are not carefully managed, as the attractiveness of the central position in the city center is very obvious.

In conclusion, we can see that the major spillovers connected to Kino Usmev operation are related to social, community, democracy and environmental factors, which goes in line with the research on overview of art-house cinemas and their social values for local communities (Allen, 2006; Massey, 2005; Leveridge, 2010; Delgado, 2013; Sedgwick, 2000; Crowe, 2018; Bergillos, 2020), and at the same time that the non-profit character, eligibility to public funding and projects are important in the sustainability and broader impacts of cultural organizations (Delgado, 2013; DiMaggio, 2006).

The horizontal and organic management structures inside the cinema, with great level of trust, flexibility, solidarity and focus on self-motivation and self-realization goes perfectly in hand with the “human capabilities” approach and promoting cultural democracy and cultural opportunity of Gross and Wilson (2018) and theory of commons – sharing resources (in this case the skills and time of employees) by Dockx and Gielen (2018). This may be the result of non-profit and non-business approach towards management, due to lack of resources and adequate remuneration opportunities for employees. At the same time Gross and Wilson (2018) are also addressing the problem of precarity of cultural work and cultural workers and address it as a great challenge in future of cultural organizations.

The orange areas of spillovers that are not so significant in the preliminary mapping seem to also confirm the literature overview on culture led urban regeneration intentions in policies and CCI spillovers report. Because in both cases, the significance, relationships and causality of (mostly, but not exclusively) economic spillovers are harder to find and prove. They require broader mix-method approach and data collection.

There are raising several interesting points for discussion from the preliminary mapping of spillovers in Kino Usmev, that we would like to subject to further study. The literature overview suggests existence of different spillovers in different cultural organizations. Therefore, we believe it is important to inquiry the facilitators and constraints of spillover existence, how are internal motivations of staff and external environment surrounding cultural organization facilitating and/or limitation the emergence of certain spillovers.

Simultaneously, we are interested in mapping the range and significance of certain spillovers. This does not suggest the quantification of those, instead finding the best method to map the range and geographical scope of their effect.

The preliminary mapping of Kino Usmev has shown the undeniable spillovers towards the wider community. The limits of the case study are in its rather descriptive scope.

In the further research we suggest introducing and testing more advanced and solid research methods, which will help deeply analyze and understand the processes of spillover creation.

We propose the use of qualitative methods proceeding from social and anthropological research practice, such as in-depth interviews, focus groups and participatory action research. The validity of the research will be reassured through heuristic methods of re-validation and critical analysis of results until the consensus of all parties involved is reached.

4. Conclusion

This paper offers an introduction into spillover approach towards measurement of cultural and creative industries, explains the relevance of the proposed concept and uses case study of one Kino Usmev as an example of potential for further study and spillover mapping. Spillover approach goes beyond the economic factors or “impacts” of CCI’s and offer more holistic, tailored, mix-method and subsequently more adequate mapping of the range and scope of areas, activities and relationships between the CCI’s and CCI’s and other industries.

Based on the CCS (2018), the preliminary mapping of spillovers is very relevant, to decide on which spillovers are important for further study, what sets of indicators they require and what methods would be the best suitable for the study. We provided the preliminary mapping of spillovers in the non-profit CINEFIL that runs Kino Usmev in Košice. The preliminary mapping was based on desk research and semi-structured interviews with three staff members/managers.

Preliminary spillover mapping in Kino Usmev follows the basic concepts and findings proposed in the literature overview. Accordingly with the CCS (2018) findings, the spillovers most relevant/visible in the Kino Usmev case are the knowledge and network spillovers, with the industry spillovers either non-existent or requiring further research and more adequate methods. This has been the case of many other studies dedicated to cultural and creative industries measurement. At the same time, the majority of spillovers evident already in the preliminary mapping are connected the notions of democracy, community building, civic engagement, community empowerment and environmental awareness and the evidence base for these values are to be found in projects (public grants), this shows the importance of the non-profit legal form allowing to apply for public support and broadening the range of activities and engagement with different communities and promoting important civic values. At the same time, however, it does not exclude the possibility that these values would not be present or stressed without the public support.

Some of the spillovers directly support the cultural and creative ecologies approach towards human capabilities (Gross and Wilson, 2018) and theory of commons (Dockx and Gielen, 2018), such as “testing new forms of organisation and new management techniques”, where the organic and horizontal management structure of Kino Usmev allows the self-realisation and creativity of the employees and puts the development of individual skills and micro-projects at the highest level of benefits for the employees. The solidarity within team and sharing of the resources and knowledge, corresponds directly with the theory of commons concept.

At the same time, due to lack of financial resources and multiplication of responsibilities, the negative spillover of precarity of working conditions, which could lead to impacts on health and wellbeing are also present and significant and should be subject to further study, especially with the fragility connected to the spread of COVID-19 and long term cultural lockdowns.

The spillovers connected to business environment, urban regeneration, branding and could be described as more “economic” than others, should be subject to further study and identification of specific indicators.

In general, the preliminary mapping of Kino Usmev has shown the significance of knowledge spillovers from within the organisation which reassures the need for the mix-method participatory research using social and anthropological research methods including interviews, field research, desk research, multi-level stakeholder focus groups and heuristic methods of re-evaluation of results.

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